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This Map, which first appeared in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of *Abraham Ortelius*, Antwerp, 1570, was inserted in the First Edition of *The Principall Navigations*, 1589. It is referred to by Hakluyt in the preface (p. xxx) as 'one of the best generall mappes of the world.' The map here reproduced in facsimile is taken from the original in the First Edition of *The Principall Navigations*.

Map of the World, ... 356

This is a facsimile of the Map sometimes, but rarely, found in copies of the Second Edition of *The Principall Navigations*; it is now believed to be the Map alluded to by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene 2. in the passage 'He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies.' It is also held to be the first map engraved in England upon the projection called Mercator's, but which was really the work of Edward Wright, mathematician and hydrographer, and author of *Certaine Errors in Navigation*, 1599.

Map of the World by Robert Thorne, . . . 176

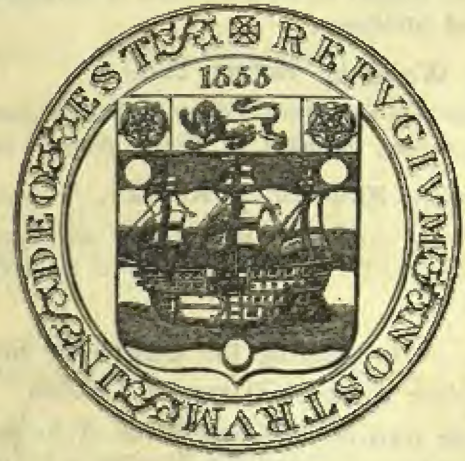
From the very rare *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America*, published by *Richard Hakluyt*, 1582.

Chart of Wardhouse (Vardö), ... 416

From *De Bry's Collections of Travels and Voyages. Petits (Eastern) Voyages, Part X. Frankfort*, 1613. This chart represents Wardhouse as seen by John Huighen van Linschoten, the Dutch traveller, in 1594-5.

Map of Europe, ... 488

From the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of *Abraham Ortelius* 1570.



Seal of the Russia Company, 1555.

From *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, edited by E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote. (By permission of the Hakluyt Society.)

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A Russian Lodia, or Small Coaster, ... 80

From *De Bry's Collections of Travels and Voyages. Petits (Eastern) Voyages, Part III. Frankfort*, 1601.

Chart of the Northern Ocean by William Burrough, 224

William Burrough or Borough was born at Northam in Devonshire in 1536. In 1583 he was Comptroller of the Queen's Navy: in 1587 he was Vice-Admiral (on The Lion) under Drake in the Cadiz Expedition of that year. He died in 1599. His map of Russia, mentioned on page 209, is now lost, but several of his charts are still extant. The Chart here reproduced is in his own handwriting, and bears his signature. It is taken from the original in *Saxton & Ryther's Atlas* in the British Museum, which was Lord Burghley's own copy.

Plan of Moscow, ... 384

From G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573. This plan shows Moscow before its burning by the Crim Tartars in 1571.

Map of Russia, ... 486

Made by Anthony Jenkinson in 1562 to illustrate his travels through Russia and Persia. This map was included in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of *Abraham Ortelius*, 1570, and is taken from that edition.

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In 1619 he resigned office in favour of Buckingham. He died on 14th December, 1624. His portrait is taken from the engraving by William Rogers in the Cracherode Collection in the British Museum.

The Ark Royal, ... 208

This vessel (Lord Howard of Effingham's flagship against the Armada) was built at Deptford in 1587 by Richard Chapman, a Government Shipwright. She is sometimes called the 'Ark Raleigh,' and may originally have been built for Sir Walter Raleigh, and afterwards sold by him to the Government. She was about 700 tons burden, with a length of keel of about 100 feet and a beam of about 37. When in commission she carried a crew of about 400 men of whom 100 were soldiers and 32 gunners. Effingham, in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated 'the laste of Februarie, 1587,' says 'I praie your Lordship tell her Matie from me that her money was well geven for the *Arke Rawlye*, for I think her the odd ship in the worlde for all conditions, and truely I think there can no great ship make me change and go out of her.' After taking part in numerous expeditions she was rebuilt in 1608 and re-christened the 'Anne Royal' in honour of James I.'s Queen. This reproduction is from the engraving in the Print Department of the British Museum.

The first Action in the English Channel against the Armada, ... 212

From Robert Adams' Charts engraved by Augustine Ryther, for P. Ubaldini's *Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam Vera Descriptio*, 1588, in the British Museum. From these charts the Armada tapestries were designed for Lord Howard of Effingham. This chart shows the position of the fleets on the morning of 21st July, 1588. The dotted line to the south from Plymouth shows the course taken by the English main fleet across the front of the Spaniards until they had weathered the Armada, while the dotted line zig-zagged along the English coast shows the beat to windward by a small squadron of eight English ships, which joined the main fleet in the first attack on the Armada.

Sir Horatio Pallavicini, ... 216

Son of an Italian merchant. He was recommended to Queen Mary, and appointed Collector of Papal Taxes. According to tradition he abjured Romanism on Mary's death and appropriated the sums collected for the Pope. He lent large sums of money to Queen Elizabeth as well as to the Netherlands and Henry of Navarre. As a gentleman-adventurer, he fitted out a ship at his own cost, and commanded her in the Channel against the Armada. He was afterwards charged with the custody of Don Alonzo de Luzon, and three other important Spanish prisoners, until an exchange was arranged. He died on 6th July, 1600, and at his death the Queen owed him nearly £29,000, equal to about £230,000 of our money. This was never fully paid. The portrait is reproduced from John Pine's (Armada) *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, London, 1753.

The Fleets at close Quarters, ... 220

From Adams' Series of Views of the Armada in the British Museum. The various types of vessels engaged are well shown.

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The last Action in the English Channel against the Armada, ... 224

From Adams' Chart No. 10. This shows the final battle off Gravelines on 29th July. The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada is shown ashore at Calais 'assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoys and drumblers,' with the larger English vessels standing by to support them. The squadron in mid-channel probably represents Howard rejoining the main fleet with his pinnaces after the galliasse was abandoned (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. I., p. 272).

Relics from the Spanish Armada, ... 232

These interesting relics of the Spanish Armada were recovered in June, 1903, from the wreck of the Spanish Galleon 'Florencia' in Tobermory Bay, Isle of Mull. The 'Florencia' was one of the largest ships in the Armada—a galleon of over 900 tons, with a complement of 400 soldiers and 86 sailors. She is mentioned in the Duke of Medina's Diary as having fought gallantly in the actions in the English Channel on 23rd July, 1588. She was blown up in Tobermory Harbour where she had put in to water—tradition says by a member of the Clan Maclean—in August 1588.

The Gun is a bronze breech-loader, 4½ feet long, and was recovered fully charged. The diameter of the bore at the muzzle is an inch and seven-eighths, and the ball, if of iron, would weigh about 7 ozs. The breech block with its square shaped handle is shown above the gun. The block was kept in position by a wedge inserted behind it. The square hole shown in the engraving was to allow the escape of gas.

The Compasses (reproduced full size) are also of bronze, and have the head of each leg formed into a semicircle, so that by their cross action they could easily be extended or contracted as required with one hand. Despite their long immersion these relics are perfectly preserved: they are illustrated here by permission of the Duke of Argyll and of the Syndicate on whose behalf Captain William Burns is conducting the dredging operations in Tobermory Bay.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, ... 240

From the engraving by J. Houbraken of the picture formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Worsley, Bart. The Earl of Essex was born at Netherwood, Herefordshire, on 10th November, 1567, and when only thirteen took his M.A. degree at Trinity College, Cambridge. He saw service in the Netherlands in 1585-6 and distinguished himself at the battle of Zutphen. In 1590 he married clandestinely Sir Philip Sidney's widow. In 1591 he commanded the forces despatched to help Henry IV. against the League, and in 1596 along with Lord Howard of Effingham, the Cadiz Expedition. He was appointed Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland in 1599, but after six months' absence in Ireland he returned to England, was imprisoned and stripped of all his honours. On 8th February, 1601, he attempted to raise the city of London against Elizabeth. On the 19th he was found guilty of high treason and on the 25th February, 1601, was beheaded in the Tower.

Sir Robert Southwell, ... 248

From the print after the original by Henry Cornelius Vroom. Sir Robert Southwell of Woodrising, Norfolk, was the son-in-law of Lord Howard of Effingham by his marriage with Frances, Lord Howard's third daughter. He commanded the

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'Elizabeth Jonas' a vessel of from 850 to 1000 tons against the Spanish Armada, and the 'Lion' in the Cadiz Expedition of 1596.

The Action in Cadiz Bay, 21st June, 1596, . . 256

From a very rare Dutch engraving. The date (9th June) on the engraving is reckoned by the 'old style.'

The Defences of Acre, ... 367

From Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.*, printed at Basle, in 1552.

Tyre in the Sixteenth Century, ... 369

From Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.* The importance of Tyre as a seaport is shown by the number and variety of vessels anchored before it.

Jerusalem, ... 370

From Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.* The view shows the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Solomon's Temple.

Map of the Coasts of Abex, ... 458

From *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies*, printed at London, 1598. The map was engraved by Robert Beckit. This English edition is almost the first book with English made maps.

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manuscript *Kiyâfet-ul-Insâniyyeh* (personal descriptions of the Osmanli Sultans) in the Oriental Department of the British Museum. This manuscript was composed in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589) by *Lukmân Shahnâméji* (royal poet annalist), and illustrated with portraits after contemporary originals.

A Turkish Carramuzzal, ... 136

The 'Carramuzzal' or 'Brigandine' was a favourite craft with the Turkish pirates who infested the Mediterranean in the 16th and 17th centuries. Hakluyt says they were vessels 'like unto ye French Gabards, sailing daily upon the river of Bordeaux, which sail with a misen or triangle saile.' In order that the extent and variety of armament may be clearly seen, the illustration shows the carramuzzal without mast or rigging. It is taken from the *Architectura Navalis* of *Joseph Furttenbach* printed at Ulm in 1629.

Plan of Alexandria, ... 160

From G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573, in the British Museum. The 'roade' or dock, 'made very fencible with strong wals,' in which the galleys wintered, and from which John Fox carried off the galley 'Captain of Alexandria,' is shown to the right of the main harbour.

Plan of Constantinople, ... 256

From G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

A Venetian Merchantman, ... 368

This and the two succeeding illustrations are taken from the *Architectura Navalis* of *Joseph Furttenbach*, Ulm, 1629. In the sectional plan the internal arrangements of a 'great ship' of the period are seen, and it is of interest to note that the fore and mizzen

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masts are stepped on the main deck, and not like the mainmast, on the keel. The measurements are given in 'palmi,' or spans of about nine and a-half inches each.

A Venetian Merchantman (section), . . . 376

A Venetian Merchantman (measurements), . . 384

Sailing Chart of the Mediterranean, . . . 512

Reproduced by permission of Prince Trivulzio from the original in his collection at Milan. The chart bears the inscription, 'Jacobus Russus Messanensis me fecit in nobili civitate Messane, Anno Domini 1564.' These charts were drawn on sheepskin or vellum, and many of them were beautifully illuminated.

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'New Buckingham in Norfolke was John Eldred's first being. In Babilon hee spent some parte of his time, and the rest of his earthly pilgrimage hee spent in London, and was Alderman of that Famous Cittie.' He traded to the East, and was a member of the Levant Company.

The Emperor Akbar, ... 16

Akbar (or 'the great') Mogul Emperor of India, is the 'Selabdim Echebar King of Cambaia,' frequently mentioned by Hakluyt. He came to the throne in 1556, when between thirteen and fourteen years old, and reigned until 1605. In addition to being a great conqueror, he was a wise and enlightened ruler. The present picture represents him as he appeared towards the middle of his reign, when at the height of his power, and after he had founded his new religion. It is reproduced from an original in an album of miniatures and calligraphic specimens of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, preserved in the Department of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum.

Plan of Ormuz, ... 32

From the copy in the British Museum of G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

English Sailing Chart, 1592, ... 128

This chart, drawn by T. Hood, and engraved by Ryther in 1592, is reproduced from the original in a volume of miscellaneous papers entitled *Sea Tracts*, Vol. II., in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, by permission of the College authorities. It gives the coast lines from the latitude of the Orkneys to the Cape Verde Islands. Thomas Hood, 'Doctor in Phisicke,' was also a lecturer on navigation, a seller of compasses, and author and editor of various books on mathematics and navigation. Specimens of his charts are very rare.

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Map of Egypt, ... 176

From the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies*, printed at London, 1598. It is of interest to note the 'diche begonne in auncient tyme and somewhat attempted of late by Sinan the Bassa to joyne both the Seas together'—now the Suez Canal.

George Fenner, ... 272

George Fenner, 'a man that had beene conversant in many sea-fights,' belonged to a Sussex family, and was probably a native of Chichester. The family produced several other seamen, of whom William Fenner, Viceadmiral under Drake and Norris in the Portugal voyage (see p. 483), and Thomas Fenner, captain of the 'Dreadnought' in Drake's Cadiz Expedition (see p. 438), are best known. The action off the Azores between the Portuguese squadron and George Fenner's ships (see pp. 281-3) is 'memorable as the earliest revelation to English seamen of the power their superiority in gunnery was to give them' (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I. 93). On his return from the voyage to Guinea in 1566, Fenner traded with the Low Countries. In 1588 he commanded the 'Galleon Leicester' against the Armada, and in 1597 accompanied Essex in the Islands voyage. The portrait is taken from that in John Pine's *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, London, 1753, in the British Museum.

Plan of Goa, ... 384

From the copy in the British Museum of G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

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Despatch from Sir Francis Drake, ... 440

This despatch, dated 27th April, 1587, gives Drake's account of the burning of the Spanish ships in Cadiz Harbour. It is reproduced by permission from the original preserved in the Public Record Office. The postscripts are in Drake's own handwriting. The despatch, which is addressed 'To the righte honorable Sir Ffrauncis Walsingham, Knighte principall Secretary to Her Matie with all haste haste poste haste' runs as follows:

Righte honorable Theise are to geive to understande that on the seconde of this moneth we departede out of the sound of Plymouth we had sighte of the Cape venester the vth: we were encountrede with a violente storme duringe the space of five daies by which meanes our fleate was putt a sonder and a greate leake sprange uppon the Dreadenoughte: the 16th we mette all together at the Rocke & the 19th we arrivede into the roade of Cales in Spaigne where we founde sondrie greate shippes some laden some halfe laden and some readie to be laden with the kings provisions for Englande; we staiede there untill the 24th in which meane tyme we sanke a Biskanie of 12^{c} tonnes, burnte a shippe of the Marquice of Santa Cruse of 15^{c} Tonnes and 31 shippes more of 1000 800 600: 400 to 200 tonnes the peice carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, And departede thence at our pleasure with as moch honour as we coulde wishe notwithstandinge that duringe the tyme of our aboade there we were bothe oftentymes foughte with all by 12 of the kinges gallies (of whome we sanke two and allwaies repulsed the rest) and were (withoute Ceassinge) vehemently shott at from the shoare but to our litle hurte, god be thanked, yeat at our departure we were Curteouslie written unto by one Don Pedro generall of those gallies; I assure your Ho: the like preparacion was never hearde of nor knowen as the kinge of Spaigne hathe and dailie makethe to invade Englande. He is allied with mighte Prynces and Dukes in the Straits of whome (besides the forces in his owne domynyons) he is to have greate aide shortlie: and his provisions of breade and wynes are so greate as will suffice 40000 men a wholle yeere, which, if they be not ympeached before they joyne, wilbe verie perillous, Our entente therfore is (by gods helpe) to intercepte their meetinges by all possible meanes we maye, which I hope shall have such a good successe as shall tende to thadvauncement of gods glorie, the savetie of her highnes royall person, the quyett of her countrie, and thannoyaunce of the Enemie. This service which by gods sufferaunce we have done will (withoute doute) breade some alteracyon of their pretences howebeit all possible preparacions for defence are very expediente to be made: Thus moch touchinge our proceedinges and farther entente in this actyon I have thoughte meete to signifie unto your honour & would use more larger discourse but that wante of leisure causeth me to leave the same to the reporte of this bearer, And so in verie greate haste with remembraunce of my humble duetie doe take my leave of your honour: ffrom aboarde her highnes good ship the Elizabethe Bonadventure the 27th of Aprill 1587

Your honours redye allwayes to
be comaunded

FRA: DRAKE

I leave the report of dyvers prisonars to the bearer herof and pray pardon for not writtyng with my owne hand, I am overcom with businesses

Your honours ever redy

FRA: DRAKE

I dare not a most writ unto your honour of the great forces we hear the K. of Spayne hath out of the

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straytts prepair in yngland strongly and most by sea: stope him now and stope hym ever: look well to the cost of Sussex I will sourly writ you mor as ocasyon shalbe menestred and with the grace of god will fight with them for it is the Lord that geveth victory.

Chart of Cadiz Harbour by William Borough, . 448

This chart of Drake's operations in Cadiz Harbour, April, 1587, was drawn by William Borough Vice-admiral on the 'Lion,' and is reproduced by permission from the original preserved in the Public Record Office. It was in this expedition that Borough was put under arrest by Drake for insubordination, and afterwards court-martialled and condemned to death. He was, however, subsequently pardoned.

Map of the Coast of Guinea, ... 528

From the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies*, printed at London, 1598.

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the British Museum of Boissardi's *Bibliotheca sive Thesaurus Virtutis* published at Frankfort in 1628.

Map of the World by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, . 176

This, the only known map by Sir Humphrey Gilbert now in existence, is taken from the copy in the British Museum of his *Discourse of a Discoverie of a new passage to Cathaia* published in London in 1576. It was 'made onelye for the particular declaration of this discovery.'

Sir Martin Frobisher, ... 208

Frobisher was born about 1535. He made his first voyage, to Guinea, in 1554. In 1571 he was employed in sea service off the coast of Ireland, where he attracted the notice of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. On the grant of a charter to the Company of Cathay in 1577 he was appointed Captain-general and admiral of the Company's fleet. In 1576-78 he was occupied in his voyages in search of the North-west passage. In 1580 he was made clerk of Her Majesty's ships. In September 1585 he sailed for the West Indies in Drake's expedition as vice-admiral on the 'Primrose'. He was in command of the 'Triumph' against the Armada in 1588 and was knighted by Lord Howard of Effingham for 'that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved himself' in the fight on the 25th July. In 1594 in the 'Dreadnought' he was employed at the relief of Brest and Crozon, was wounded in the hip while landing his men at Crozon, and taken back to Plymouth where he died shortly after his arrival. The portrait is taken from the copy in the British Museum of Holland's *Herwologia*, 1620.

Map of the World, A.D. 1578, ... 256

This map, made to illustrate George Best's Discourse 'to proove all partes of the worlde habitable,' is taken from the British Museum copy of *A True*

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Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the North-Weast, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher, General. Imprinted at London by Henry Bynnyman, 1578.

Map of Meta Incognita, ... 336

This 'particular card' intended to set 'so farre forth as the secretes of the voyage may permit' Frobisher's discoveries on the coast of Meta Incognita is taken from Bynnyman's *True Discourse* cited above.

Map of the World, by Michael Lock, . . 368

According to the fragment of Autobiography preserved in the British Museum, Michael Lock or Lok was born in 1532. He says: 'My late father, Sr William Lok, knight, alderman of London, kept me at scholes of grammer in England till I was xiii yeres old, which was A^{o} Dni, 1545, and he being sworn servant to King Henry the VIIIth his mercer and also his agent beyond the seas dyvers affayres, he then sent me over seas to Flanders and France to learn those languages and to know the world. Synce which tyme I have contynued these xxxii yeres in travaile of body and study of mynde, following my vocation in the trade of merchandise, whereof I have spent the first xv yeres in contynuall travaile of body, passing through allmost all the cuntrees of Christianity. Namely out of England, into Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, Germany, France, Spayne, Italy and Greece, both by land and by sea, not without great labo^{rs}, cares, dangers and expenses of mony incident; having had the charge (as capitayn) of a great ship of burden 1000 tuns, by the space of more then iii yeres in dyvers voyages in the Levant seas, wherewithall I returned into England. In which travailes, besides the knowledge of all those famous common languages of those cuntries, I sought allso for the knowledge of the state of all their common wealths, chiefly in all matters apperteining to

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the traffique of merchants. And the rest of my tyme I have spent in England under the happy raigne of the Queenes Matie now being.' Lock was one of the promoters of Frobisher's voyages and was greatly impoverished through their failure financially. He was imprisoned in the Fleet at the instance of William Borough in 1581. He died about 1615. The map, which is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, is taken from the copy in the Hunterian Library, University of Glasgow, of the *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America*, published by Hakluyt in 1582.

Letter from John Davis to Walsingham, 3rd October, 1585, ... 392

John Davis, or Davys, 'the Navigator,' was born at Sandridge about 1550. He was a neighbour and companion of Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert. In 1585-6 he made his voyages in search of the North-west passage, and on his return home from his first voyage in 1585 he wrote this letter to Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1589 he joined the Earl of Cumberland's expedition off the Azores, and in 1591 he went with Thomas Cavendish as Rear-admiral on the 'Desire.' In 1598 he was pilot of a Dutch ship, the 'Lion,' and in 1600 was appointed Pilot-major of the first East Indian fleet under Captain James Lancaster. In 1605, when pilot of the 'Tiger' under Sir Edward Michelborne, his ship was treacherously attacked by Japanese pirates near Bintung, in the Straits of Malacca, and he was killed. He wrote a treatise on navigation, the *Seaman's Secrets*, first published in 1594, and the *Worldes Hydrographical Description*, published in 1595, and he invented the 'backstaff,' for taking the altitude of the sun.

The following is the translation of the letter, which is reproduced from the original in the British Museum:

> ‘Right honorable most dutyfully craving pardon for this my rashe boldnes, I am herby, according to my duty, to signyfy unto yor honor that the north-west passage is a matter nothing doubtfull, but at any tyme almost to be passed, the sea navigable, voyd of yse, the ayre tollerable, and the waters very depe. I have also found an yle of very grate quantytie, not in any globe or map dyscrybed, yelding a sufficient trade of furre and lether, and although this passage hath bine supposed very impassible, yeat through Gods mercy, I am in experience ann ey wyttnes to the contrary, yea in this most desperate clymate; which, by Gods help, I wyll very shortly most at large revele unto yor honor as sone as I can possible take order for my maryners and shipping. Thus depending up^{n} yor honors good favor, I most humbly comytt you to God this third of October.
>
> Yo^{r} honors for ever most dutyfull
>
> John Davys.’

Map of the Earl of Cumberland's Voyage to the Azores, by Edward Wright, 1589, . . 466

‘The excellent Mathematician and Enginier Master Edward Wright’ was born at Garveston, Norfolk, about 1558. He went up to Caius College Cambridge in 1576, graduated B.A. in 1580-1, M.A. in 1584 and was a fellow from 1587-96. He accompanied the Earl of Cumberland to the Azores in 1589 and wrote the account of the voyage. It is now generally held that he was the discoverer of the so-called ‘Mercator's’ projection. He was appointed lecturer on navigation to the East India Company. He died in 1615. The map here reproduced was made by Wright to illustrate the Earl of Cumberland's Voyage to the Azores in 1589 and is taken from a copy of his *Certain Errors in Navigation* published in London in 1599, now in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

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In 1572 he went to Flushing and was present at the siege of Middleburgh. Then proceeding to La Rochelle he served under the Prince of Condè. He next saw service at Steenwick, besieged by the Spaniards, where he was placed by the Prince of Orange in sole command. In 1582 he convoyed in the 'Tiger' the English merchants to Russia (Vol. iii., page 303). He tried to induce the Russia merchants to finance a voyage 'to the hithermost parts of America' and wrote the 'briefe and summary discourse' for that purpose (page 134).

In 1584 he was made Commander of the Garrison of Coleraine and in 1585 was made Lieutenant-General of the Land Forces in Drake's West India Expedition of that year, an account of which appears in Vol. X of this edition. In 1588 he was appointed Constable of Carrickfergus and later, Governor of Ulster. He died in London in 1593. Stowe says: 'He was quicke-witted and affable, valiant and fortunate in warre, well-read in mathematiks, and of good experience in navigation, whereuppon some have registred him for a Navigator, but the truth is, his most inclination and profession was chiefely for lande service, he utterly abhorred pyracy.' The portrait is reproduced from that in Holland's *Herωologia*, cited above.

Map of the New World, A.D. 1587, . . . 272

This map dedicated 'to the most learned and accomplished Richard Hakluyt,' is the one referred to in Jaques Noel's letter to 'Master John Growte student in Paris' given on p. 272. In this letter Jaques Noel, who was the nephew of Jaques Cartier and accompanied him to Canada criticises from personal observation the position on the map of the River of Canada and 'the great Lake which is above the Saults.'—The map which is a beautiful example of the copperplate engraving of the period is taken from the copy, in the British Museum, in Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, annotated by Richard Hakluyt and published at Paris in 1587.

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A Virginian Warrior, ... 304

From the original water colour drawing by John White. Little is known of John White beyond what appears in Hakluyt's pages. He went out to Virginia in the Expedition under Sir Richard Grenville in 1585. He returned in June 1586 when Drake's expedition took off the Settlers.

He was 'Governour of the Planters in Virginia' in 1587 and at their earnest request returned to England to obtain supplies for the Colony. In 1588 Raleigh sent him back, and arranged that three ships then fitting out for John Watts, a London Merchant, should take on board a number of passengers and stores for Virginia. The owner of the ships however would not permit any passengers or stores to go on board except John White 'and his chest.' Owing to the lateness of the season he was unable to land on Virginia.

In 1590 he made another voyage to Virginia, but he could not find the colonists, and the expedition returned to England in October of that year.

This and the five following illustrations have been reproduced from a volume of White's water colour drawings which is preserved in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. It is clear that he was an accurate painter, and it is safe to assume that these contemporary sketches of the natives of Virginia at the time of their discovery by the English give a true representation of the people and their dwellings.

Chart of Virginia, by John White 320

The Village of Secoton, by John White . . . 336

A Virginian Priest, by John White 376

Chart of Virginia and Florida, by John White . 400

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A Native of Florida, by John White . . . 448

Map of America by John Dee, A.D. 1580 . . . 486

John Dee, Mathematician and Astrologer was born in London on 13th July 1527. He took his B.A. degree at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1542. In 1547 he went to the Low Countries to study, and became a student at Louvain in 1548.

On the accession of Queen Mary, Dee joined the Princess Elizabeth's party and was imprisoned for an alleged attempt on the Queen's life by poison or magic, but was allowed his liberty on giving security for his good behaviour. In 1555-56 he presented a supplication to Queen Mary for the recovery and preservation of ancient writings and monuments. On Queen Elizabeth's accession he entered her service and made an astrological calculation for the choice of a fit day for the coronation. He was consulted by Royal command on the Queen's illness. In 1578 he went to Germany to consult the Physicians there regarding the Queen's health. In 1580 he delivered to the Queen Rolls showing the Queen's titles to the newly discovered countries.

Dee was a great Alchemist and Spiritualist and was regarded by the common people as a Magician. In 1583 a mob broke into his house and destroyed a great part of his furniture, books, and chemical apparatus. He died in poverty in 1608. The original Roll from which this map has been reproduced is now preserved in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

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Map of Florida by James Le Moyne, A.D. 1564, . 112

'The skillful painter' James Le Moyne de Mourgues, 'sometime living in the Black-fryers in London' accompanied the second expedition under Laudonnière in 1564 for the relief of the French colonists in Florida. He was sent out by 'Monsieur Chastillion, then Admiral of France,' and his sketches 'lively drawn in colours' were engraved and published in De Bry's *Collections of Travels and Voyages, Grands (America) Voyages*, Part II., Frankfort 1591. The Map here reproduced is taken from the copy in the British Museum of De Bry's *Collections.*

Map of the Coasts of China 336

This map, which shows the 'trew description of all the coasts of China, Cauchinchina, Camboya, Syao, Malacca, Arraacan, Pegu, together with all the Islands thereabowts, both great and smale, with the cliffes, breaches, sands, droughts and shallowes, all perfectly drawn and examined with the most expert cardes of the Portingales Pilots' was engraved by Robert Beckit and printed in London by John Wolfe in 1598. The reproduction is taken from the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies*, London, 1598.

Sir John Hawkins, ... 400

Sir John Hawkins or Hawkyns was born in Plymouth in 1532. While a young man he made 'divers voyages to the Isles of the Canaries' and learnt 'that Negros were very good merchandise in Hispaniola and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea.' About 1559 he married Katharine, daughter of Benjamin Gonson, treasurer of the Navy. In October 1562 he commanded an expedition to Guinea and got into

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'For a last and fitting honour to the dead, two vessels of his own fleet and all his last taken prizes were sunk near where he lay, while ashore the fort which the Spaniards had just completed was given to the flames.' (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. II., p. 430.) The portrait here reproduced is taken from that in a copy in the British Museum of the Dutch Chart published by Judocus Hondius about 1595.)

Plan of Santiago, ... 112

Reproduced from the original in *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage* in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. The plan shows the English fleet at anchor before the town; Drake's ship, the 'Elizabeth Bonaventure' of 600 tons, distinguishable by the admiral's flag, the Cross of St. George, flown on the main mast, is shown in the foreground.

A Spanish Treasure Frigate, ... 160

The Spanish Treasure Frigates were specially designed by Pero Menendez Marquez to carry treasure from the West Indies to Spain. 'They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners. And having good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend us. For wee shall both leave and take at all times when we list' (p. 158). The Frigate here represented is '104 foote by the keele' and '34 foote in bredth' on the main deck. Her armament consisted of culverins (18-pounders) on the main deck, demi-culverins (9-pounders) on the upper deck, and falcons (3-pounders) on the spar deck. Forward on a platform on the main deck was 'a place of muskett defence for their musketers to plaie notwithstanding their great ordnance'—an extremely uncomfortable position, one would

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think, in a heavy sea. The legend aft reads: 'The armes of St. Diago a special note to know them.' The drawing, first reproduced by Mr. Julian Corbett in his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Volume II., p. 366, is taken from the original (sent home by an English spy) in the Record office.

The Rich Mines of Potosi, ... 172

Reproduced from a copy of *The Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, and the Navigation in the South Sea, along that Coast, and also of the ritche Mines of Potosi. Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones. Febru. 6. 1581.*, in the Hunterian Library in the University of Glasgow.

Sir Robert Dudley, ... 208

Sir Robert Dudley, the son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Lady Sheffield, was born on August 7th 1574, at Sheen House in Surrey. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in May 1588. He states that he held a colonelcy in the army assembled at Tilbury under command of his father in the same year. In 1594 he started on his expedition to Trinidad and Guiana, his first intention—to take an expedition into the South Seas—having been forbidden by the Queen. Besides the account of this voyage printed by Hakluyt (p. 203) two other accounts have been preserved, one by Captain Wyatt who commanded Dudley's 'main battle of pike,' and one by Abraham Kendall, his sailing master. (*Warner's Voyage of Sir Robert Dudley to the West Indies*, Hakluyt Society, 1899.) In 1596 Dudley commanded the 'Nonpareil' in the Cadiz expedition under Essex and Nottingham, and was knighted at Plymouth on the return of the expedition. In 1603 he began the lawsuit to prove his legitimacy, but the judgment given on May 10th 1605 went against him. In the same year he obtained a license

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Map of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh, . . 384

This map is reproduced from the original in the Manuscript Room in the British Museum. No doubt is now entertained that the map is the work of Sir Walter Ralegh himself and is in his handwriting. The fabled Lake and City of Manoa is shown in the centre of the map, with El Dorado slightly to the left. It is to be noted that for convenience of reference the map has been reproduced upside down, the northern coast of Guiana and the Atlantic Ocean being at the bottom of the map as here given.

Map of Drake's West Indian Expedition, 1585-6, . 502

This map 'newlie come forth by Baptista B.' serves to illustrate Drake's West Indian Expedition of 1585-6, 'the whole course of the saide viadge beinge plainlie described by the pricked line.' The 'summarie and true discourse' of the expedition by Master Thomas Cotes will be found at page 97. The map is reproduced from the original in *A Summarie and True Discourse* cited above.

the loss of many of his best hands. Short of provisions and water, deserted by the 'Roebuck' and with only three whole sails left, Cavendish next determined to 'beate for Saint Hellena, and there either to make ourselves happy by mending or ending.' In spite of continuous adverse winds he fetched within two leagues of the Island, but could not make it, 'the winde being continually at East-South-east, the most contrary wind that could blow.' He next tried to reach 'an Island which the cardes make to be in 8 degrees to the southward of the line,' probably Ascension Island, but 'I could by no means finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards England.' He died on the voyage homewards worn out with privations and disappointment. The portrait is taken from the copy in the British Museum of the unique chart engraved by Judocus Hondius about 1595. The chart itself is given at page 336.

Drake's Drum, ... 104

This drum, which now hangs in the hall at Buckland Abbey, is reproduced by permission of Lady Elliot Drake. It bears Drake's arms, and on it the last salute was probably beaten as his body was committed to the sea (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I., xi.) The legend connected with the drum forms the subject of Henry Newbolt's ballad *Drake's Drum*:—

'Take my drum to England, hang et by the shore,
Strike et when your powder's runnin' low;
If the Dons sight Devon, I'll quit the port o' Heaven,
An' drum them up the Channel as we drummed them long ago.'

Owing to the frail condition of the drum it was not found possible to remove it from the glass case which protects it, but it is hoped that the interest of the subject will excuse the want of clearness in the reproduction.

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Chart of Cape Horn, ... 112

This chart is taken from a manuscript (Sloane MSS. 61) in the British Museum. It shows the southern part of Patagonia, with Magellan Straits and the islands of Tierra del Fuego, with the open sea to the south. The manuscript, written in 1577, purports to be 'an exact copy of the originall to a haire' of the notes 'written and faithfully layed downe by Ffrancis Ffletcher, Minister of Christ and Preacher of the Gospell, adventurer and traveller in the same voyage' [Drake's circumnavigation]. The copy is by 'Jo. Conyers, Cittizen and Apothecary of London.' It was at the 'Insulae Elizabethides' that the incident narrated by Sir Richard Hawkins in his *Observations* took place, when Drake, 'going ashoare, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe upon the uttermost point groveling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people, that he had beene upon the Southermost knowne Land in the World, and more further to the Southwards upon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne.'

Sir Christopher Hatton, ... 136

Sir Christopher Hatton was born at Holdenby, Northamptonshire, in 1540. He entered St. Mary Hall, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, but took no degree. In November, 1559, he was admitted to the Society of the Inner Temple. As the portrait shows, he was a tall and handsome man, and he was noted for his graceful dancing. He quickly attracted Queen Elizabeth's attention, and became one of her gentlemen pensioners in 1564. In 1568 he was appointed Keeper of the Parks at Eltham and Horne, and in 1572 Captain of the Queen's Bodyguard. In October, 1573, Sir John Hawkins, being mistaken for Sir Christopher

Hatton, was stabbed in the Strand by a Puritan fanatic named Burchett. In November, 1578, Hatton was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, with a seat in the Privy Council, and on 1st December he was knighted at Windsor. He was returned to Parliament for Northamptonshire in 1584. He was a Commissioner for the trial of Anthony Babington and his fellow-conspirators in September, 1586, and played a most important part in the proceedings which ended in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. On 25th April, 1587, the Queen appointed him Lord Chancellor, which post he retained until his death on 20th November, 1591. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was in honour of Sir Christopher Hatton that Drake, on entering Magellan Straits, changed the name of his ship from the 'Pelican' to the 'Golden Hind,' the Hatton crest being a 'hind trippant or.' The portrait is taken from an engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum after the portrait by Ketel.

A Galley, ... 240

Reproduced from Furttenbach's *Architectura Navalis*, Ulm, 1629. Galleys were for long the main arm of the Continental navies. Propelled as they were by oars, for although they carried lateen sails they depended chiefly on the oars, they were very formidable vessels, especially in narrow channels and confined waters. As, however, the freeboard was necessarily low, and as the principal armament was carried at the bow and could not be used for broadside fire, they were of little value in the ocean, and could not move far from land. The English seamen soon found out their weak points. Writing to Drake after the first attack on Cadiz, Captain Thomas Fenner says, 'I assure your honour there is no account to be made of his [the King of Spain's] galleys. Twelve of Her Majesty's ships

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will make account of all his galleys in Spain Portugal and all his dominions within the Straits, although they are 150 in number. If it be to their advantage in a calm we have made such trial of their fight that we perfectly see into the depth thereof' (Corbett, *op. cit.* II. 92). The illustration gives a good idea of the appearance of these vessels. The guns are seen projecting at the bow, supported by the 'trumpeters and musketers' above them. On the 'corsia,' or narrow gangway connecting the bow and the stern, are two men with long poles ready to beat any unfortunate rower who shows signs of flagging, while on a platform at the stern sits the captain directing the course of the galley, with the helmsman behind him. The length of this galley from the extremity of the 'beak' to the stern is given as about 169 feet, with an extreme beam of about 20 feet.

Chart of the World by Judocus Hondius, Circa 1595, 336

This chart, reproduced from the original in the Grenville Library in the British Museum, was engraved by Judocus Hondius about 1595. The courses of the circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish are very clearly marked on the chart. The engraving of the 'Golden Hind' in the centre medallion is interesting as being probably the only representation of the famous ship now in existence. In all likelihood it is an accurate drawing, as Hondius was working as an engraver in London in 1580, and the 'Golden Hind' was preserved at Deptford for many years after the circumnavigation. The engravings in the corners represent four of the incidents of Drake's voyage. In the upper left-hand corner is shown the harbour of New Albion, with the 'Golden Hind' at anchor. This harbour has been identified by Professor Davidson of the United States Geodetic Survey as the harbour now called 'Drake Harbour,' a little to the north

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of San Francisco Bay and near Point de los Reyes, two important means of identification being 'the white bankes and cliffes which lie towards the sea,' and the gophers or pouched rats, 'a strange kind of conies, having under her chinne on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad' (Page 123). In the upper right-hand corner the 'Golden Hind' is seen in the harbour of Java Major. In the lower left-hand medallion the 'Golden Hind' is being towed to a good anchorage off Ternate by the king's canoes. Whilst the ship was being towed 'our ordinance thundred, which wee mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of musick, both of still and loud noise; wherewith he [the king] was so much delighted, that, requesting our musick to come into the boate, he joyned his Canow to the same, and was towed at least a whole houre together, with the boate at the sterne of our ship.'

The dangerous incident of the 9th of January, 1579, is shown in the lower right-hand medallion, when the ship 'ranne suddenly upon a rocke, where wee stuck fast from 8 of the clocke at night till 4 of the clocke in the afternoone of the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger.' However, by lightening the ship 'of 3 tunne of cloves, 8. pieces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes, and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rocke into the sea againe.' (Page 129.)

The Black Pinnace, ... 400

This engraving of 'The Black Pynnes' is reproduced from a copy of *The Procession at the obsequies of Sir Philip Sidney, Knight, drawn and invented by Thomas Lant, Gentleman, London*, 1587, in the British

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Museum. In 'The Black Pynnes' Sidney's body was carried from Flushing to Tower Hill, where it was landed on November 5th, 1585. The vessel is represented with 'her fights made close,' that is, with waistcloths rigged up to prevent boarding, and nettings drawn over the waist to intercept dropping missiles. The term 'pinnace' is indefinite: sometimes it is used to describe the largest of the ships' boats (in this sense it is used in the British navy at the present day), and we read of the pinnaces being carried in pieces in the great ships' holds and put together as occasion required; more frequently, however, it refers to 'vessels varying from eighty to fifteen tons, and setting aside certain special functions in general actions, and landing operations, they were to the capital ships exactly what the frigate was to the ship of the line' (Corbett, *op. cit.*, I. 35).

Map of the Moluccas, ... 458

This map, 'Imprinted at London by John Wolfe, graven by Robert Beckit,' is reproduced from the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies, London*, 1598.

Along the lower edge of the map are shown some of the products from which the 'Islands of Spicerie' took their name: red, white, and yellow sandalwood, 'arbor cariophilorum' or cloves, and 'nux myristica' or nutmeg, 'with its flower, commonly called mace.'

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Plan of Westminster, A.D. 1593, . . . 32

Reproduced from a copy in the British Museum of the *Speculum Britaniae, The first parte by The travaile and vew of John Norden, Anno* 1593.

Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1st April, 1584. . . . 80

In the first part of this letter Hakluyt urges on Sir Francis Walsingham the foundation of a lecture on Mathematics in Oxford, and another, on 'the Arte of Navigation' in London, at a yearly stipend of Fifty pounds each. 'In my simple judgment,' writes Hakluyt, the money so spent 'wold be the best hundred pounds bestowed, that was bestowed these five hundred yeares in England.' The remainder of the letter gives various items of news which may be of political interest to Walsingham. The letter was written when Hakluyt was chaplain to the Embassy in Paris. It is docquetted 'primo Aprilis 1584. Ffrom M$^{r.}$ Hakluite the preacher at Paris' and endorsed in a modern hand 'This is a private not a diplomatic letter from Hackluyt to Walsingham.' The reproduction is made, by permission, from the original preserved in the Public Record Office. The letter itself runs as follows:

Right honorable: the famouse disputations in al the partes of the mathematicks wch at this present are held in Paris for the gayning of the lecture wch was erected by the worthy scholer Petrus Ramus to the greate increase of those excellent sciences, put mee in mynd to sollicite yor honour agayne and agayne for the erection of that lecture of the Arte of Navigation, whereof I have had some speach with yor Honor, Sir Ffrancis Drake, and Alderman Barnes and other. And that you might meet with al inconveniences wch might frustrate the expected profit wch is hoped for by the erection of the same, I send yor honor heare the testament of Petrus Ramus newely put out agayne in printe and sent unto mee by Monsieur Bergeron Ramus his executor, whereby you may see, first the exceeding zeale that man had to benefit his countrey, in bestowing 500 livres (wch as yor honor knoweth) is fiftie pound sterling, uppon establishing of that lecture, bequething not halfe soe much to al the kinred and friends he had. Secondly you may note that he being one of the most famouse clerks of Europe thought those sciences next after divinitie to be most necessarie for the comonwelth, in that he erected a newe lecture of the same, wheras there was one before erected and endued with fiftie pound stipend by the Kinge of Ffrance. Thirdly that most provident order wch the good man by his wil hath taken, is most requisite to be put in execution in England: wch is, that every three yeares, there shalbe publicke disputations signified to al men by publicke writing, wherein yt shalbe free for any man for three moneths space to dispute agaynst the reader for the tyme being, who yf he be found negligent, or yf any one of the competitours be found more worthy by the opinion of certayne indifferent men of lerninge chosen out of purpose to be judges, that then the unworthier shal give place to the more sufficient : who so being placed is bound in three yeares space to read through the course of the mathematicks. Yf by yor honors instigation Her Majestie might be enduced to erect such a lecture in Oxford, and the like for the Arte of navigation might by some other meanes be established at London, allowing to ech of them fiftie pounds yearly with the same conditions, in my simple judgment yt wold be the best hundred pounds bestowed, that was bestowed these five hundred yeares in England. Ffor yt is not unknowne unto yor wisedome, howe necessarie for service of warres arithmeticke and geometrie are, and for our newe discoveries and longe voyages by sea the arte of navigation is, wch is compounded of many partes of the aforesayd sciences. Understanding hearetofore of your honours greate aboundance of business, and yor dangerouse sicknes, I thought yt not meet to trouble yor honor with such things as I had carefully sought out here in Ffrance concerning the furtherance of the westerne discoveries, but chose rather to imparte the same wth M$^{r.}$ Carlile, wch thing I also did. But being lately advertised of yor recovery (for wch I humbly thanke almightie God) I was bold to signifie unto yor honor my dealing with Horatio Palavicini to become an adventurer in those westerne voyages, and among other talke alleadged yor good disposition to the same, wch he hearing of replyed very cheerfully, that yf he were moved thereto by the lest word from yor honor, he wold put in his hundred pound adventure, or more. Yf Mr. Carlile bee gon, yet yt might come in good tyme to serve M$^{r.}$ Ffrobisher's turne, yf yor wisedome shold like wel of yt, seing he setteth not foorth as I understand until the beginning of May.

I understand that the papists give out secretly in the towne that there shall shortly come forth a confutation of the defence of the execution of justice in England, wch was set foorth in English and French in London. When yt cometh foorth I trust to have yt with the first.

There is good hope that the minister and those that were taken lately with him in Paris by the abbot of St. Geneveva shal very shortly be set at libertie. For the King secretly seemeth to favour them, and they have very discreetly annswered for themselves that they were not at any communion or sermon, but that they mett together to consult whether to goe out of Paris to some place lawful by the edicte. A friend of myne told mee he heard a frier enveigh very exceeding bitterly agaynst them in a sermon before a greate congregation of people.

Wee have heard by diverse letters from Geneva that beside the earthquake wch was there about the end of Ffebruarie wch untyled many houses and overthrow'd many chymneis in the towne, there is beside a whole village in the countrey of Wallerye swallowed up, being foure dayes iourney of Geneva.

Those who favour the Spanish here in the towne have spred al abroad these two or three dayes that Monsieur is dead: wch is nothing soe.

Thus leaving other matters and advertisements of importance to those unto whom they appertayne, with remembrance of the continuance of my humble dutie to yor honor and yor worthy and vertuous sonne in lawe I leve you to the merciful protection of the Almightie. Paris the first of April, 1584.
Don Antonio his captaynes of his fleet are not yet departed from Paris, but looke every day to depart.

Yo^r honors most humble
Richard Hakluyt.

To the right honorable Sir Ffrancis Walsingham
principall secretarie to Her Matie give these
at the Courte.

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Plan of London, circa 1573. 120

This plan is reproduced from a copy in the British Museum of G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573. The 'stiliards' or steelyards of the Hanse merchants are shown on the north side of the river, a little to the west of London Bridge. On the east of the Bridge and opposite the Tower is the anchorage for ships. Westminster is shown on the extreme west of the plan with Lambeth Palace on the opposite bank. Conspicuous objects on the south side of the river are the rings for the 'boull' and 'beare' baiting. It was on land adjacent to these that the Globe Theatre in which Shakespeare acted was afterwards built.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The first edition of 'The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres. . . . By Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Student sometime of Christ-Church in Oxford' was 'imprinted at London by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie' in the year 1589, in one volume foolscap folio. Some copies of this first edition contain a cancel of pp. 491-501, substituting for 'The Ambassage of Sir Hierome Bowes to the Emperour of Moscouie 1583' a different account entitled 'A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Ierome Bowes knight, her Maiesties ambassador to the Emperour of Muscouia, in the yeere 1582: and printed this second time, according to the true copie I receiued of a gentleman that went in the same voyage, for the correction of the errours in the former impression.' It was, of course, this amended account which appeared in the second edition, but for the purposes of comparison the original account will be printed as an appendix in the third volume.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

A second edition of 'The Principall Navigations' revised and enlarged, and with the voyages now stated as having been made 'within the compasse of these 1600. yeeres' was 'imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker' in the years 1598, 1599, and 1600, in three volumes foolscap folio.

The title page of the first volume of the second edition originally contained a reference to 'the famous victorie atchieued at the citie of Cadiz, 1596,' but after the disgrace of the Earl of Essex this title page was cancelled in many copies, and a new one, bearing the date 1599, without any reference to the Cadiz expedition was substituted. This reprinted title-page states the contents of the Second Volume as well as of the First. The text of 'the briefe and true report' of the expedition occupying pp. 607-619 was at the same time cut out, but in many copies has been replaced by a modern reprint occupying one page more.

Facsimiles of the title page of the first edition and of the three title pages of the second edition are reproduced here; and the dedication and preface to the first edition are also included.

The text of this edition is an exact reprint of that of 1598-1600 with the following exceptions:—the letters i, j, u, and v are used according to modern custom; contracted forms such as m̄ for 'mm,' n̄ for 'nn,' ū for 'um,' q; for 'que' have been extended, and obvious printers' errors have been corrected. The punctuation of the second edition has been followed throughout. At the suggestion of Professor Skeat references to the volumes and pages of the original text have been inserted in the margin.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Professor Walter Raleigh's Essay on the Life and Work of Hakluyt and a full Index to the whole text, will be included in the twelfth volume.

The Publishers desire to express their indebtedness to Mr. Basil H. Soulsby, Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum, and Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, for his assistance in the selection of maps and illustrations.

All the maps, plans, and charts in this edition are from contemporary sources, and have been reproduced in exact facsimile with the view of illustrating the state of cartography in Hakluyt's time.

Glasgow,
September, 1903.

Professor Walter Raleigh's Essay, which forms the first portion of this volume, was printed in September, 1904, and the delay in issuing it is due to the great labour involved in the preparation of the Index.

The Index of each of the separate volumes was compiled and checked by Madame Marie Michon, while the whole has been put together into one alphabet by Miss Elizabeth Carmont, who has also identified the names of places. While the greater part of the labour has fallen on Madame Michon and Miss Carmont, the Publishers have also to express their obligations for much assistance received from various sources. The dates, with the exception of those giving the births and deaths of the principal personages, are founded on Hakluyt's text.

Under any circumstances the preparation of an Index of such magnitude must have involved difficulties, but these have been greatly increased by the variety of spellings which were common in the sixteenth century, by the frequent references to places under names which are now obsolete, and to minor characters whom it is now difficult to identify.

The Publishers cannot hope, notwithstanding the care bestowed upon it, that the Index is even now free from error, but they trust that it may be of some service to students of history, and especially to those interested in Elizabethan Voyages.

The proofs of the whole work, including the Index, have been read by Mr. S. Douglas Jackson, who has also written the biographical and descriptive notes which appear in the list of illustrations at the beginning of each volume.

Glasgow,
20th April, 1905.

Dedications & Prefaces

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE FIRST EDITION, 1589.

To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privie Councell.

RIGHT Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe,

&c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Majesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my five yeeres aboad with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes service, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise have used. And that the trueth and evidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called L'Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73. pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doivent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de navires: comme j'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behavior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals: so that I have just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of divers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata iis abscondere atque supprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis historiæ.

To harpe no longer upon this string, & to speake a word of that just commendation which our nation doe indeed deserve : it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse governement of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & loving privileges? who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? passe and repasse the unpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Nova Hispania, further then any Christian ever passed, travers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land upon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this now florishing monarchy have done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent Ambassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moved with the fame of the majesty of the Romane

Empire. And have not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Java major, have desired the favour of her majestie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Japan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their Easterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to have read in the excellent history intituled Origines of Joannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viii. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not prevented him, to have done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Knevetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua convenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, ut non solùm tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed ut commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi aviditas, ut nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter necessariis se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Majestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Knevettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reversus ab hac peregrinatione fuissem, &c. But as the purpose of David the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowmed prince may seeme

Joannis Goropii Becani originum lib. 5. *pag.* 494.

no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gratious Majesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Now wheras I have alwayes noted your wisdome to have had a speciall care of the honor of her Majesty, the good reputation of our country, & the advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have bene animated in this and other my travels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifestation both of my unfained service to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor James, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

Plutarch in the life of Themistocles.

And thus beseeching God, the giver of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leave. London the 17 of November.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be
commanded RICHARD HAKLUYT.

THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Richard Hakluyt to the favourable Reader.

I Have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand by whose friendly aide in this my travell I have bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indevours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answere for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitablie ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.

Moreover, I meddle in this worke with the Navigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the travels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I have received more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could affoord me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not upon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not upon that victorious exploit not long since atchieved in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army under the valiant and provident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not upon the good services of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not upon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales upon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Islands upon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peradventure not the last) of that imployment, that ever discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE Engliſh nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,

to the moſt remote and fartheſt diſtant Quarters of
the earth at any time within the compaſſe
of theſe 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three
ſeuerall parts, according to the po-
ſitions of the Regions wherun-
to they were directed.

⁂

The firſt, conteining the perſonall trauels of the Engliſh vnto *Iudea, Syria, Arabia*, the riuer *Euphrates, Babylon, Balſara*, the *Perſian* Gulfe, *Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India*, and many Iſlands adioyning to the South parts of *Aſia*: together with the like vnto *Egypt*, the chiefeſt ports and places of *Africa* within and without the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and about the famous Promontorie of *Buona Eſperanza*.

The ſecond, comprehending the worthy diſcoueries of the Engliſh towards the North and Northeaſt by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicholas*, the Iſles of *Colgoieue, Vaigats*, and *Noua Zembla* toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mightie Empire of *Ruſſia*, the *Caſpian* Sea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Perſia, Boghar* in *Bactria*, & diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*.

The third and laſt, including the Engliſh valiant attempts in ſearching almoſt all the corners of the vaſte and new world of *America*, from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland*, the maine of *Virginia*, the point of *Florida*, the Baie of *Mexico*, all the Inland of *Noua Hiſpania*, the coaſt of *Terra firma, Braſill*, the riuer of *Plate*, to the Streight of *Magellan*: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Chili, Peru, Xaliſco*, the Gulfe of *California, Noua Albion* vpon the backſide of *Canada*, further then euer any Chriſtian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the laſt moſt renowmed Engliſh Nauigation,
round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Maſter of Artes, and Student ſometime
of Chriſt-church in Oxford.

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CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to the
Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.

1589.

neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discoverie of strange coasts, the chiefe subject of this my labour.

Thus much in brevitie shall serve thee for the generall order. Particularlie I have disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I have martialled all our voyages of any moment that have bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards us: For I find that the oldest travels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Judea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for devotions sake according to the time, although I read in Joseph Bengorion a very authenticall Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Jerusalem under the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men have pierced further into the East, have passed downe the mightie river Euphrates, have sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselves are herein to be read. To these I have added the Navigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within, to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the River of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as far as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I have produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our travailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that have bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Under this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Navigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna under the north pole: next to them in consequence, the discoveries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieve, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Nova Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the river of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange journey of Master Jenkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleven hundred verstes up against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslave standing upon the mighty river of Volga: there hence above two thousand and five hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship over the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels unto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscovie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, have performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I have concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Navigations, and travailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned

Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince given to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discover & conquer in his name, and under his Banners unknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed ‖ with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompained with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discoverie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Majesties selfe, do approove and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Nova Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. John Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: upon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal advantage. The next leaves thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake upon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is joyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed over the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the

Robert Fabian.

west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe over Master Frobisher and his actions, which I have also newly though briefely printed, and as it were revived, whatsoever Master John Davis hath performed in continuing that discovery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I have faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry have risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Navigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully undertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in divers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Fruuncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Japan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Fruancis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to have taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to have inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have yeelded unto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must crave thy further patience frendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their private affection to my selfe, but chiefely for their devotion to the furtherance of this my travaile, have yelded me their severall good assistances: for I accompt him unworthy of future favours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in mee to forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes have bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars have much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Majesties navie, and Master Anthonie Jenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and observations in the north Regions, have much pleasured me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme travaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight have bene as it were ravished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserved with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Ussier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peradventure it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I have contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for divers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

The excellent newe Globe of M. Mullineux.

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour have bene in bringing these rawe fruits unto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order.

Farewell.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1598.

To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the Lord Charles Howard, Erle of Notingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Navigations and Discoveries of Strangers in divers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my five yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her Majesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceive, that with diligent observation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activitie in the Search and Discoverie of the most unknowen quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to folow his private affaires: the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three severall Volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I have not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, have brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have bene buried in perpetuall oblivion. The first Volume of this worke I have thus for the present brought to light, reserving the other two untill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subject and matter, might justly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted unto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscovie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull

THE

PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES,
TRAFFIQVES AND DISCOVERIES
of the Engliſh Nation, made by Sea
or ouer-land, to the remote and fartheſt diſtant
quarters of the Earth, at any time within
the compaſſe of theſe 1500. yeeres: Deuided
into three ſeuerall Volumes, according to the
poſitions of the Regions, whereunto
they were directed.

This firſt Volume containing the woorthy Diſcoueries,
&c. of the Engliſh toward the North and Northeaſt by ſea,
as of *Lapland*, *Scrikfinia*, *Corelia*, the Baie of S. *Nicolas*, the Iſles of *Colgoieue*,
Vaigatz, and *Noua Zembla*, toward the great riuer *Ob*,
with the mighty Empire of *Ruſsia*, the *Caſpian* ſea, *Georgia*,
Armenia, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Boghar* in *Bactria*,
and diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and teſtimonies
of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and
other ſhipping of this realme of *England* in former ages.

VVhereunto is annexed alſo a briefe Commentarie of the true
ſtate of *Iſland*, and of the Northren Seas and
lands ſituate that way.

And laſtly, the memorable defeate of the Spaniſh huge
Armada, Anno 1588. and the famous victorie
atchieued at the citie of *Cadiz, 1596.*
are deſcribed.

By RICHARD HAKLVYT *Maſter of*
Artes, and ſometime Student of Chriſt-
Church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by GEORGE
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and ROBERT BARKER.
1598.

Discoverie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheriters of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Chronicles have notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time have shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Majesties Navie Roiall, environed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to understand that olde speach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi sævúmque tridentem,
sed tibi sorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Majesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie service, began to cast an extraordinarie eie upon your lordship, and deeply to conceive that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull service, your L hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieved against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander under her sacred and roiall Majestie, your noble government and worthy behavior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heavenly blessing of the Almightie, are shewed most evidently to have bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall never cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage unto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many brave and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon upon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so judicially set downe, by a very grave and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Upon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very convenient to commend with all humilitie and reverence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoveries unto your Honors favourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly craving pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall favourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding up of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred up to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education, then hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships have bene lost, how many worthy persons have bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoverished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor devise of mine, it may please your Lordship to understand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Major, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Sivil. The readers of which Lecture have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chavez, of Hieronymo de Chavez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and severe examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowmed and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motives which induced his princely wisedome hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Ut magistri, marinarii, gubernatores, & alii officiarii navium, juventutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis navium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solùm illi reficiantur, verùmetiam alii juvenes moveantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cujus, doctiores & aptiores fiant navibus & aliis vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcúnque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quàm belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c. To descend a litle lower, king Edward the sixt that prince of peerelesse hope, with the advise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the Northeasterne discovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vi.s. viii.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Major (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other private uses) so his princely Majestie would have shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Navigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a

Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the advancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Navigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased under the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with severe and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discoverie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknowen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beseech you speake unto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quò sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time under her most gracious and excellent Majestie, have shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conserver, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enjoy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such divine and heroical vertues. And even here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely upon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare jewels, your generous off-springs, but also upon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renowmed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes
to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, 1598.

A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and discourses in this first part.

HAving for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traveile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entred; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment, and ease I have neglected; albeit thy selfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.

For (to conteine my selfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme unto our English nation, to have bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (never certainly knowen before) and of a convenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the river of Duina; as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to have discovered unknowen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowmed Portugale Vasques de Gama traversed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried unknowen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman accoast Nova Zembla, Colgoieve, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie, who writ above 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified unto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides environed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide upon their sterbourd (that is to say, having crossed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Navigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres environed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriving in Ægypt? And doth not ‖ Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole journall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be over-tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arrived at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not divine ‖ Plato (who lived so many ages ago, and plainely described their West Indies under the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer unto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. ‖ de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them up, and pricke them forward

‖ *Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.*

‖ *In Timæo.*

‖ περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

unto their Westerne discoveries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load-starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to undertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to give them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid uncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves unto the rigour of the sterne and uncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waves and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the seven-fold mouth of Duina. Moreover, in their Northeasterly Navigations, upon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieve, Petzora, Joughoria, Samoedia, Nova Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigatz, unto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce even in June, July, and August, unto what hideous overfals, uncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and divers other fearefull inconveniences they were subject and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this proviso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for us to weigh our ancre, to hoise up our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugales have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations have indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable unto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it never barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Navigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreover they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, silver, gold, and other precious wares, which served as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giving over their attempts? But nowe let us leave them and returne home unto our selves.

In this first Volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoveries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narve, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke five strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the advauncing of traffique by river and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arrivall at Newnox, his passing up the river of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslave, Rostove, Peraslave, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts travell in all. Moreover, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding unto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the majestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not having so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Jenkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turbervile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe, pag. 475. of this volume, and the pages following. Unto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Johnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 283. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult journey of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, up the great river of Onega, and so by other rivers and lakes to the citie of Novogrod velica upon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of observation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 304. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rivers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times over the unknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Jenkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriving at the port of Mangusla, travelled thence by Urgence and Shelisur, and by the rivers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes journey over desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then have you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arrivall at Shabran, his proceeding unto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his journey after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yavate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with divers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you have set downe in five severall voiages the successe of M. Jenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, under the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, under Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreover, as in M. Jenkinsons travel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of living, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most lively represented unto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Journals you may here and there observe the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subjects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of government, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negotiations from her Majestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him unto her Majestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the emploiment of M. Jenkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Jerome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arrivall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Savin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I have not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Privileges, Instructions, Observations, or any other Particulars which might serve both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally, that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection unto this discourse of Russia; I have prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I have signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich unto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise have bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise have not bene of any long continuance; let us now withdraw our selves from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let us take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the Reader may have recourse unto the 124 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the judicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted unto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou observe (friendly Reader) what privileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope John, of

Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Adventurers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend unto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted unto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchants to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king John his favourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to have the same privileges here in England, which our English merchants enjoied abroad in their severall countreys. Or what should I signifie unto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subjects: or tell you what favours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceive of the letters & negotiations which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained upon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely setled Mart-towne for the uttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subjects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Jungingen, and Ulricus de Jungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subjects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most usuall kinds of wares uttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well upon the coast of Norway, as every where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inveterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise have bene utterly darke and unknowen to the greater part of Readers, I have set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, pagina 144 a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of revenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieved upon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall overthrow, partly by the revolt of divers Townes and Castles under their jurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with divers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conservativa maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chanceller pag. 238. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his majesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an invaluable and huge masse of gold and silver plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and unaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to have bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to have proceeded from the mother of Evander: but take you off his utmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many lively descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discovery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be unpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of use; yet, so neere as the written copies would give me leave, I have most religiously without alteration observed the same: thinking it farre more convenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise under K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet provisoes, just ordinations, & gratious privileges conteined in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I have not bene unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieved of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his Αρχαιονομία) I have published unto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octher making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, unto his soveraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter unto the Russian duke Jeruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traveile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were never yet throughly traveiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen unto us; I have here annexed unto the said Englishmans traveile, the rare & memorable journals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that travailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadours unto the savage Tartars (who had as then wasted and overrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel unto them. The former, namely Johannes de Plano Carpini (whose journey, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, unto the river of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered over more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could have done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) unto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith unto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted over many large territories unto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them have so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and unmanerly welcomming they had at their first arrivall, what cold intertainment they felt in traveiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adjacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and overspreading Empire, in registring their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and mooveable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their unmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall lives, their vicious maners, their slavish subjection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie unto strangers, they deserve most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall object that they have certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not avouch them under their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther, imagine that they did avouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; every one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between them both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeve ech word and syllable. Moreover sithens these two journals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters unto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitive, and could not for all that attaine unto them; and sithens they have bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they have described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those unknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that ever I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerve in ought from the originals (both for the preservation of the originals themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare jewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deepely bounden unto the right reverend, grave, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner unto her Majestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse unto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two journals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long journey of Henry Earle of Derbie, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew divers of his captains, advanced his English colours upon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his travel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, under the person of his knight, doeth full judicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither have we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also have scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would give us leave) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and grouth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great navie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Hoveden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 202. and 203. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to have consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze upon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage unto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoever it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soveraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought under his yoke of subjection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adjacent. And for that most of our Navigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either utterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I have for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed navigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that even then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now have) first Godredus Crovan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arrived upon the Isle of Lewis: then, that

Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and having subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) even through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing over from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olavus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second journey into Norway; of Sumerled his second arrival with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin upon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely upon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks unto the judiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the Reader shall give me leave to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leave thereof: and that is in few words, that K. John passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces even in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king John, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the rest, there were divers men of warre which did valiant service at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 17. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious privileges and high prerogatives were by divers kings vouchsafed upon them, and what services they were tied unto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings use; and lastly, what great exploits they performed under the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, upon 200. French ships, and under the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then have you, pag. 117. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, upon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seven hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him unto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me give you a double observation. First, that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to have bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an haven towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twise as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and evident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreover, the Reader may behold, pag. 186. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recover Harflew had hired certaine Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had united their owne strength unto them) sent his brother John duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also overcome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naves (saieth mine Author) that is, for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leave our ancient shipping, and descend unto later times; I thinke that never was any nation blessed of Jehovah, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory upon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped us, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme overwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his judgements unto all Christendome? An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition under two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. unto the strong citie of Cadiz, I have set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to have bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to deprive the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I have made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded unto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by evident arguments convinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discoverie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors have fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affoord any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the commonwealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed upon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I have willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne partes of the World.

Postscriptum.

Not knowing any other place so convenient, I am here to advertise the friendly Reader of certaine faultes escaped in the printing of this booke, and to request him that in the Page 54. and in the last line save two, hee would in stead of Kine, read Swine, and he shall thereby avoid a great contradiction: likewise pag. 187. that hee would unto the ende of the second verse of the Prologne to the English Policy, make supply of the word Rest, which is there wanting: also pag. 221. lin. 29. for woorthinesse read woorthies, &c. Other faults (if there bee any) are (I doubt not) easily corrigible.

PANEGYRICK VERSES ON THE AUTHOR & HIS BOOKE.

Εἰς Α᾽ποδημίας Βρετταυῶν
Πόνημα Ριχάρδου τοῦ Α῾κλυίτου,

Υ῞γων ὁ Βροχθωνδι.

Ο῞Σσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἑνὸς ἐκπέφυασι
  ὡς ἄλληλα ὁρᾶν ἔθνεσι χάρμα φύσει.
Ο῟ς δὲ θ' ἀλίπλαγκτος μετεκίαθεν ἔθνεα πλεῖστα,
  ὅικοι μιμνάζουσ' ἀξιάγαστος ἔφυ.
Ε῎ξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ', ἄλλων σχισθέντες ἔρανται,
  ἴδμεναι ἀλλοθρόων φῦλα πολυσπερέα.
Ι'νδους ἑσπερίους καὶ ἑώους, Αἰθίοπάς τε,
  καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ' ἐσχατόωντα γένη.
Τούτων δ' ὅια μάλιστα κλυτὰ, κλυτός Α῾κλυῖτος
  γράψεν ἀριφραδέως, μνῆμ' ἀεὶ ἐσσόμενον.

In navales RICHARDI HAKLUYTI Commentarios.

ANglia magnarum fœcunda puerpera rerum,
  sive solum spectes nobile, sive salum;
Quæ quantum sumptis se nobilitaverit armis,
  sive domi gessit prælia, sive foris;
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tantæ
  Insula materiem parvula laudis alit.
At se in quot, qualésque, & quando effuderit oras.
  -qua fidit ignotum pervia classis iter,
Solius Hakluyti decus est, prædivite penna
  ostendisse suis civibus ausa mari.

Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica navi,
  Oceani tristes spernere doctaminas,
A prima generísque & gentis origine gessit,
  qua via per fluctus ulla patere potest,
Sive decus, laudémque secuta, ut & hostibus alas
  demeret, atque suis læta pararet opes:
Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,
  cui multum, patriæ quisquis amicus erit.
Qua re námque magis se nostra Britannia jactat,
  quàm quod sit præter cætera classe potens?
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, ut nunc
  quisque sciat, quàm sit nobile classis opus.
Quam si Dædalicè utemur, surgemus in altum,
  sin autem Icaricè, quod voret, æquor habet.

Rich. Mulcaster.

Ejusdem in eundem.

QUi gravi primus cecinit camœna
Aureum vellus, procerésque Græcos,
quos sibi adjunxit comites Jăson
  Vectus in Argo
Nave, quam primùm secuisse fluctus
prædicant salsos, sibi comparavit
Inde non unquam moritura magnæ
  præmia famæ.
Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Unicæ navis referentis acta,
Quanta Richardum manet Hakluytum
  gloria? cujus
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insulæ nostræ celeres carinas,
Quæ per immensi loca pervolarunt
  omnia mundi.
Senties gratam patriam, tuæque
Laudis æternùm memorem, & laboris:
Quæ tua cura, calamóque totum
  ibit in orbem:

Quam doces omni studio fovere
Nauticum robur, validámque classem.
Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglos
ussserit hostis.

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad disjunctissimas regiones navigationibus Gulielmi Camdeni Hexastichon.

Anglia quæ penitùs toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parvus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

Di Marc' Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

IGnota mi starei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte
Non havesse hor scoperto il mio splendore.
Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son lá dove il Maragnon diparte,
E dove il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre,
Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà insieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto haver da typhi Inglesi.
Onde vedrassie dove bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1599.

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

Right honorable, having newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Levant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence overland to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein having begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme under the government of the Romans; next under the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest under the Normans, I have continued the histories unto these our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren invasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after received the Christian faith, they did not onely travell to Rome, but passed further unto Jerusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcetshire caried the almes of king Alfred even to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich jewels into England: which jewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene even in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a grave and woorthy Author which lived before him, and by many others since, and even by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit divers other of the Saxon nation, the travels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of above 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but even Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible devotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselves into this glorious expedition. A sufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great benevolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to have gone in person to the succour of Jerusalem, the personall going into Palæstina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chivalrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king John, and the travels of Oliver Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanvile Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his

THE
SECOND VOLVME
OF THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES
and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, made by
Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-eaſt parts of the World, at any time within the compaſſe of theſe 1600. yeres:

Diuided into two ſeuerall parts:

Whereof the firſt containeth the perſonall trauels, &c.
of the *Engliſh*, through and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to *Alger*,
Tunis, and *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, to *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *AEgypt*, to the Iſles
of *Sicilia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Chio*, to the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, to diuers parts
of *Aſia minor*, to *Syria* and *Armenia*, to *Ieruſalem*, and other places in *Iudæa*; As alſo to *Arabia*,
downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, to *Babylon* and *Balſara*, and ſo through the *Perſian*
gulph to *Ormuz*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and to many Iſlands adioyning vpon the
South parts of *Aſia*; And likewiſe from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, and to all the
dominions of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty
Riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Bacola*, and *Chonderi*,
to *Pegu*, to *Iamahai* in the kingdome of *Siam*,
and almoſt to the very frontiers
of *China*.

The ſecond comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c.
of the *Engliſh* Nation, made without the Streight of *Gibraltar*,
to the Iſlands of the *Açores*, of *Porto Santo*, *Madera*, and the *Canaries*,
to the kingdomes of *Barbary*, to the Iſles of *Capo Verde*, to the Riuers of *Senega*, *Gambra*,
Madrabumba, and *Sierra Leona*, to the coaſt of *Guinea* and *Benin*, to the Iſles
of *S. Thomé* and *Santa Helena*, to the parts about the Cape of *Buona Eſperanza*,
to *Quitangone* neere *Mozambique*, to the Iſles of *Comoro* and
Zanzibar, to the citie of *Goa*, beyond *Cape Comori*, to the Iſles
of *Nicubar*, *Gomes Polo*, and *Pulo Pinaou*, to the
maine land of *Malacca*, and to the kingdome
of *Iunſalaon*.

¶ By RICHARD HACKLVYT Preacher, and ſometime Student
of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by *George Biſhop*,
Ralph Newbery, and *Robert Barker*.
ANNO 1599.

preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the travel of John of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with invincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, lives, and livings, leaving their ease, their countries, wives and children, induced with a Zelous devotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part unlooked after, I have brought together in the best Method and brevitie that I could devise. Whereunto I have annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that served in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solyman the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chivalry, I have in the first place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Jugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audivi ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquaverit. I have often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed unto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could never be quenched, untill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an universall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceived. For there are other most convenient emploiments for all the superfluitie of every profession in this realme. For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is under our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come unto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueva Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with divers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Majestie under the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the countrey. Which action, if upon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre up her Majesties heart to continue with her favourable countenance (as upon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred up the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to advaunce the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Adventurers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and unlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our adversaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay unto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two convenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but every step we tread would yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to have lesse emploiment then nowe they have, unlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose give me leave (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and provident consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene above twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reverend and prudent Counseller Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Justice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Judges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to have concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long civill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence unto our selves I here omit, hastening unto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to understand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to have bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to have continued untill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather given over (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discreet letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or governours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing over mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell invasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I have here againe revived, that the posteritie may never forget what trust may bee given to the oath of a

Mahumetan, when hee hath advauntage and is in his choler.

Lastly, I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Majestie and the Grand Signior, with the great privileges, immunities, and favours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadours in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Majestie by her extraordinary favour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Havens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, even to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages over land and by river through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe over-land to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and even to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diverse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. John Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Majesties letters written effectually in their favour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull travailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleevers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. *For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league upon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and have beene these many yeeres, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath travailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, have ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and use them in their service and warres? Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which have found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke proverbe was most truely verified, That evill counsaile proveth worst to the author and deviser of the same.

*1. *King. cap.* 5. 2. *Chron. cap.* 2.

Having thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to understand, that herein I have likewise preserved, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Navigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, have painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, upon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere unto particulars, I have here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie rivers of Senega and Gambra, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelve sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and under the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approching unto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swarving backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of privie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and undoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here delivered by one Thomas Stevens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I have added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things above mentioned, but also doth acquaint us with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinaon, with the maine land of Junçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I have likewise added a late intercepted letter of a

Portugall revealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cæsar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now living here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adjoyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Assi fria como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the rivers be strongly overfrozen) and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 68, the other, pag. 88: which last discourse I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell.

But leaving abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliver some of the reasons, that moved me to present this part of my travailes unto your Honour. The reverend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyse of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisedome and understanding were able to censure and approove them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life. Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Majesties inward counsailes and publike services, added to your well discharging your forren imployment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) have not onely drawen mens eyes upon you, but also forcibly have moved many, and my selfe among the rest to have our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small joy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be overtaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you have an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to have these my travailes censured by your Honours so well approved judgement. Touching the third and last motive I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your favourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe unto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to oversee and peruse the same, but also upon his good report with your most favourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approve and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your favour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them unto your right Honorable and favourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble
to be commanded,
Richard Hakluyt preacher.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE IN THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1600.

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretary to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Councel.

Right honourable, your favourable acceptance of my second volume of The English voyages offred unto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your convenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my travailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects: these considerations have throughly animated and encouraged me to present unto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subject and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest authors The new world. New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, aliàs Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not throughly discovered, neither within the Inland nor on the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the hither side it be knowen unto us for the space of five thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and

THE

THIRD AND LAST VOLVME OF THE VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAFFIQUES, and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, and in ſome few places, where they haue not been, of ſtrangers, performed within and before the time of theſe hundred yeeres, to all parts of the *Newfound* world of *America*, or the *West Indies*, from 73. degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude:

As namely to *Engronland*, *Meta Incognita*, *Eſtotiland*,
Tierra de Labrador, *Newfoundland*, vp *The grand bay*, the gulfe of *S. Laurence*, and the Riuer of *Canada* to *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay*, along the coaſt of *Arambec*, to the ſhores and maines of *Virginia* and *Florida*, and on the Weſt or backſide of them
both, to the rich and pleaſant countries of *Nueua Biſcaya*, *Cibola*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*,
Quiuira, to the 15. prouinces of the kingdome of *New Mexico*, to the
bottome of the gulfe of *California*, and vp the
Riuer of *Buena Guia*:

And likewiſe to all the yles both ſmall and great lying before the
cape of *Florida*, *The bay* of *Mexico*, and *Tierra firma*, to the coaſts and Inlands
of *Newe Spaine*, *Tierra firma*, and *Guiana*, vp the mighty Riuers of *Orenoque*,
Deſſekebe, and *Marannon*, to euery part of the coaſt of *Braſil*, to the Riuer of *Plate*,
through the Streights of *Magellan* forward and backward, and to the
South of the ſaid Streights as farre as 57. degrees:

And from thence on the backſide of *America*, along the coaſtes, harbours,
and capes of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nicaragua*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, *Nueua Galicia*, *Culiacan*,
California, *Noua Albion*, and more Northerly as farre as 43. degrees:

Together with the two renowmed, and proſperous voyages of Sir *Francis Drake*
and M. *Thomas Candiſh* round about the circumference of the whole earth, and
diuers other voyages intended and ſet forth for that courſe.

Collected by RICHARD HAKLVYT *Preacher, and ſometimes*
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ANNO DOM. 1600.

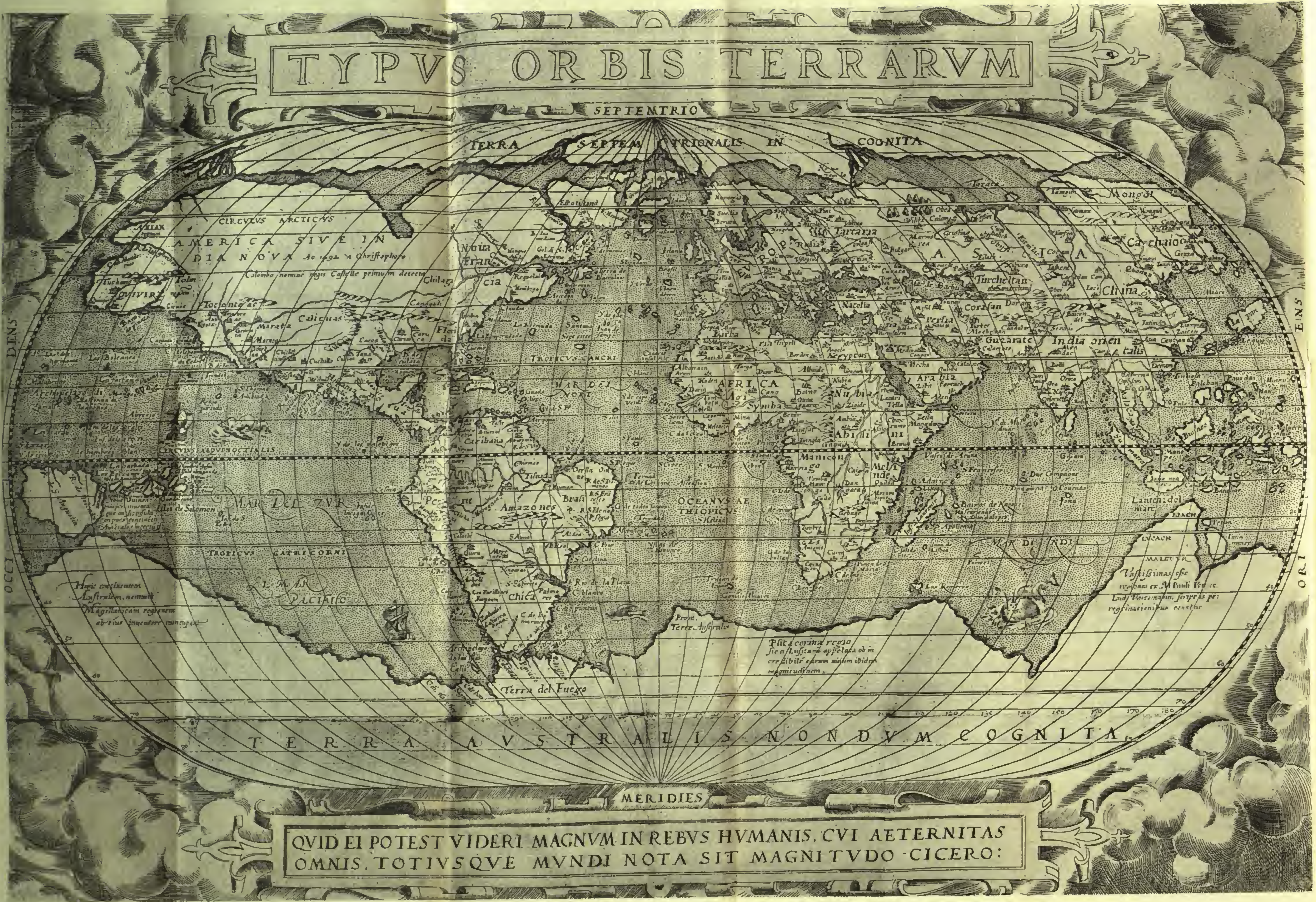
for 3000. more on the backeside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendoçino and Nova Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and unperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias under the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa & Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long navigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would have inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe governours. Moreover, above 300. yeeres after these wee have the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discovered in the Westerne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians. And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the uttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi serviat ultima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris ultima Thule. Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned divines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth unto Plato his Westerne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying, Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia. Of this New world and every speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoveries and serches of the same, giving unto every man his right, and leaving every one to mainteine his owne credit. The order observed in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine unto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in divers places to use the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced unto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing unto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successively in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as have bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one upon another, doe much more lighten the readers understanding, and confirme his judgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I observe from the highest North to the lowest South. Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occurreth, if I finde one voyage well written by two severall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those journals, as finding divers things of good moment observed in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier observeth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discovery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty river of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, of The gulfe of California, & the Northwesterne sea-coast to Cabo Mendoçino and Sierra Nevada: as also of the late & rich discovery of 15. provinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest wherof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, civil government, and populousnesse of the same. Moreover, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part unknowen unto us,) I have used the uttermost of my best endevour, to get, and having gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way availe us or annoy them, if they drive and urge us by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace upon indifferent and equal conditions. What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may understand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues conteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the seast-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Nova Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Japan lying over against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which until these foure yeeres was never reveiled unto us, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I have here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an haven on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Japan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees ½. In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three severall times, that there is a passage that way unto the North parts of Asia. Moreover, because I perceive by a letter directed by her Majestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea under the charge of Benjamin Wood, chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddeley, a gentleman of excellent parts) that she useth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I have brought to light certaine new advertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Japan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of Japan; as also of the Tartars called Jezi, adjoyning on the East & Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best utterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reveile unto us the passage thither by the Northwest. The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in an history of Tamerlan, which I have in French, set out within these sixe yeres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which history I would not have failed to have translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done unto my hand.

And for an appendix unto the ende of my worke, I have thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the grave and discreet judgements of those which have the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Sivil in Spaine, touching their government in sea-matters; together with The streight and severe examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Navigation, with the time that they be enjoyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere unto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne, will seeke to bring such as are of that calling unto better government and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation. To leave this point, I was once minded to have added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I have lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to traveilers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated unto her sacred Majestie. But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chiefest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare jewel lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth evidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defective and unperfect, and that if hee might have leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more advisedly himselfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preservation of her Majesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their judgements for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serve our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discovery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde divers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined. Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endevours, I have for these 3. yeeres last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. John Pory, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore service that I may; and in the meane season will not faile unfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre upon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his joyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours most humble to
be commanded,

Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.


TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM
SEPTENTRIO
TERRA SEPTEMTRIONALIS INCOGNITA
CIRCVLVS ARCTICVS
AMERICA SIVE INDIA NOVA Ao 1492 a Christophoro Colombo nomine regis Castellæ primum detecta
Noua Francia
Chilaga
Quivira
Totonteac
Calicuas
Florida
MAR DEL NORT
TROPICVS CANCRI
CIRCVLVS AEQVINOCTIALIS
MAR DEL ZVR
Islas de Salomon
Peru
Amazones
Brasil
Chica
Rio de la Plata
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
EL MAR PACIFICO
Terra del Fuego
Hanc continentem Australem, nonnulli Magellanicam regionem ab eius inventore nuncupant
Islandia
EVROPA
Tartaria
Moscovia
Natolia
Persia
Turchestan
Corasan
ASIA
Mongol
Cathaio
China
India orientalis
Guzarate
AFRICA
Aegyptus
Arabia
Nubia
Abissini
Manicongo
Melinde
OCEANVS AETHIOPICVS
Prom. Terre Australis
Psitacorum regio sic a Lusitanis appellata ob incredibilem earum avium ibidem magnitudinem.
MAR DI INDIA
Lucach
Maletur
Vastissimas hic esse regiones ex M. Pauli Veneti et Ludo. Varthomanni scriptis peregrinationibus constat
Iava maior
OCCIDENS
ORIENS
TERRA AVSTRALIS NONDVM COGNITA
MERIDIES
QVID EI POTEST VIDERI MAGNVM IN REBVS HVMANIS, CVI AETERNITAS OMNIS, TOTIVSQVE MVNDI NOTA SIT MAGNITVDO. CICERO:

Certeine testimonies concerning K. Arthur and his conquests of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of Britaine, written by Galfridus Monumetensis, and newly printed at Heidelberge, Anno 1587. [I. 1.]

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANno Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno, subjugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eámque debellato populo subjugavit. Exin divulgato per cæteras insulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Provincia resistere poterat, Doldavius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum ultrò venerunt, promissóque vectigali subjectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme, reversus est in Britanniam, statúmque regni in firmam pacem renovans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

IN the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, having subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof under his subjection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldavius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily unto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising to pay him tribute. The

A.D. 517.

Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelve yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

MIssis deinde in diversa regna Legatis, invitantur tam ex Galliis, quàm ex collateralibus Insulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò post: Ex collateralibus autem Insulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Malvasius rex Islandiæ, Doldavius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnasius rex Orchadum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aschilius rex Danorum.

The same in English.

AFter that king Arthur sending his messengers into divers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, aswell out of France, as out of the adjacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adjacent Islands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Malvasius king of Island, Doldavius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

AT reges cæterarum Insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita ut ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Islandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

[I. 2.]

The same in English.

BUt the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed up horses, promised the king as many footmen, as every man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

A.D. 517.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard his *Α'ρκαιονομία*, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus ejus contentus regno Britanniæ. Subjugavit igitur sibi strenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas ultra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendiciis Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas, Orientalis Oceani usque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas insulas ultra Scantiam, usque dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occultè. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & unum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & unam fidem Christi semper inviolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt universi proceres Norweiæ uxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, unde Norwegienses dicunt se exiisse de gente & sanguine regni hujus. Impetravit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni hujus, vocavítque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni hujus, scilicet de corona Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cætera universa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella

atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupaverunt verò Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni hujus, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt unquam postea penitus evelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per uxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & conjugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut conjurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

Arthur which was sometimes the most renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining unto Norway, Sweveland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, even unto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, even under the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and savage, and had not in them the love of God nor of their neighbors, because all evill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians living in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receive and keepe inviolably for ever, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wives of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obteined also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for ever annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with us in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, [I. 3.] and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels have bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people have bene slaine, & the Norses have possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which unto this day they doe possesse, neither could they ever afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with us by the receiving of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wives of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted unto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with us as our loving sworne brethren.

A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis, concerning the conquests of Malgo, king of England. Lib. 11. cap. 7.

VOrtiporio successit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & ultra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprovinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adjecit dirissimis præliis potestati suæ.

A.D.
580.

The same in English.

MAlgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then lived, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obteined the government of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recovered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, ejus quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, majore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnòn & Menavias Britonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subjecit potestati.

The same in English.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the river Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well over the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subjection under the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

ANno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cujus supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicèt regi in auspicium suscipiendæ fidei, & regni cœlestis potestas, & terreni creverat imperii: ita ut (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Provinciæ habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menavias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subjugavit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad austrum est, & situ amplior, & frugum proventu atque ubertate fœlicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, juxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & ultrà spatium tenet.

The same in English.

[I. 4.]

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the river of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus above mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Under which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heavenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought under his subjection all the provinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselves, or by the Britons. Moreover, he subdued unto the crowne of England (as we have above signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the

English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and above.

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum excercitu duce Berto, vastavit miserè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut nec ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & invocantes divinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus se vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamvis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quòd hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas sui reatus luerent.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly unto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and craving Gods aid from heaven with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for revenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of Octher made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

Octher said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marveilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, unlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell upon the coast, who live by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that upon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to proove and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, having upon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and upon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters use to travell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceived that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise

Fynnes live by hunting & fishing.

The place whither the whale hunters traveile.

[I. 5.]

The river of Duina of likelihood.

the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could travaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discovered a mightie river which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which river he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned backe againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiving that on the other side of the river the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout all his voyage, he had evermore on his steere-boord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way upon his leere-boord was the maine ocean.

A Desert countrey.

Fynnes.

Biarmia.

The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go upon shore.

Terfynnes.

But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we have sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adjoyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forsomuch as he was not upon land, nor saw any himselfe.

The Fynnes and Biarmes speake one language.

‖ Or, morsses, their teeth commended.

Use of ye Morsses skinne for cables.

This onely he judged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traveile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discoverie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of ‖ horse-whales, which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne unto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so used. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, having not in length above seven elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and marveilously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Every man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

Sixe hundreth tame Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales skins.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth upon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth evermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peradventure threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30. miles or above, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proveth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traveile over in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be traveiled in sixe dayes. Right over against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the

A description of Norway.

The bredth of the mountaines of Norway.

Swethland. *Queeneland.* *Boats caried on mens backs.*

South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes sometimes passing the mountaines, invade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes use to carie their boats upon their backs over land, and thereby invade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

The voyage of Octher out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke unto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

[I. 6.]

‖ Or, streight. It seemeth to be about Elsenborg. *The description of the sound of Denmarke.* *Gotland.* *‖ Vandals.*

Octher sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine ‖ port called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had every day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, having on his steereboord, first Jutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Jutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall, having it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see over it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles up into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of ‖ Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subject. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had upon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arrived in

Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with divers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had upon his leereboord the Islands that are subject to Denmarke.

Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland. It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke.

Wolstans navigation in the || East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig.

|| Within the sound of Denmarke.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arrived at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually under saile. All this voyage Wenedland was still upon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subject to Denmarke. Upon his leerboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a private king, unto whom it is subject. Having left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, having them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subject to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way upon his steerboord, until he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great river which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Easterlings: and the river of Wixel runneth out of || Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another river called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake upon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of || Eastland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriveth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

Bargenland, or Bornholme.

Wixel is the river that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.

|| Or, Prussia.

Fruso.

|| Or, Lituania.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in every one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife

The description of Eastland.

and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaves meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The navigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigorniensis, Hoveden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I Have often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world over (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie universall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall government thereof, under the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this Brittish Monarchie would heretofore have followed the advantages which they have had onward, they might very well, yer this, have surpassed by justice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that ever was on earth since mans creation: and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be utterly past, and for ever) discreetly and valiantly recover and enjoy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this

Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and justly apperteining to peace & amitie with forrein princes [I. 7.] being offred & used) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of al els (this day) in christendome. Peaceable, I say, even with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and ure triumphantly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and justly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from above onely, & by no mans devise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subject carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire under our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens utilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas congregavit naves è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago constituit, ut ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorum discrimina sustinerent. *Flores Historiarum.*

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enjoying therof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning : if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to have bene for the charges levied : if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily : O marveilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and prevent, (and that most puissantly, and invincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent uses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subjects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Navies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be unreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for ever) recorded.

Charta Regia, Henrici secundi.

> Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Julii obiit, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab aliis, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe! howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation! though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Joseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and provident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reverence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand navie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Navies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

> Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naves congregavit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naves ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnavigavit: hyeme verò, judicia in Provincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

COuld, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yerely? and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to us as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as never king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as never king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not judge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may bee justly counted, by which he also made evident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, justly, and triumphantly [I. 8.] enjoy the same, spite of the devil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest Prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best advise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first invincibly to fortifie the chiefe and uttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne oversight and judgement, in yeerely viewing the same in every quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at convenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth Gods due honour, and secondly to understand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left us a remembrance.

> Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni provincias transire, ut intelligeret quomodo legum jura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus observarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præjudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter investigare solebat: in uno fortitudini, in altero Justitiæ studens, & Reipub. regníque utilitati consulens in utroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreverat subditorum.

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subjects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and travels for the marveilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here above our necessary uses (and due store reserved) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or forrein countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly providence, Reipub. Regníque utilitati consulens, &c. besides with great utilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enjoyed, he himselfe used most gladly the advantage of that securitie, in ministring of justice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome over, not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeve of any suppliant, holding up to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contrived, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to favour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse unlawfull of any his subjects, how mightie or necessary soever, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præjudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie from forrein foe abroad, and true love of his owne subjects, garding him at home, and the heavenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause justice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis have made their lives Comicotragical) but with all his foresaide invincible Seaforce, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Justice over all his Monarchie prevailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heavenly and everlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him undoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Ex charta fundationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

> Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarúmque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliavit, & exaltavit super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes,

quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorum ultra ejus fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Divinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, usque Noruegiam, maximámque partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima Civitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subjugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperiis colla subdere (Dei favente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & ejus servitium amplificare devotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.

[I. 9.]

And againe this in another Monument.

Fundatio Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrísque diebus (plus æquo) servitus ejus tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperii anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc privilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmavi.

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most evident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priviledge granted by God and nature unto this British monarchie, might have bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and favour of the divine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enjoye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past have either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, have meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet never any other reasonable meanes was used, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contrived, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces prevailing, and so by our invincible enjoying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall service of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for service both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I have in other places declared, and further (upon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand navie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so invincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their service, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to us left, even now to bee as provident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selves as able to recover and enjoy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this Brittish Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adjacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soveraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, environing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adjacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious jewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes Majesties royaltie over the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.

> Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarúmque nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

An. Dom. 1017.

DEdit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, ut clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, ut in Anglia perimerentur, parvo elapso tempore, ad regem Suavorum occidendos misit. Qui, licèt fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitæque reservandos. Quorum unus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit.

[I. 10.]

The same in English.

EDric counselled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable unto him to have them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, unto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend unto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them unto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserved alive. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward received to wife Agatha daughter unto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066. Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Norwegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus sirnamed Crovan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired unto Godred sonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal. *Fingal.*

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crovan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed unto Man, and giving battell unto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also having gathered his armie and ships together, hee came unto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night unto the port which is called Ramsa, hid 300. of his men in a wood standing upon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner up, but the Mannians arranged themselves and with great furie set upon Godred.

And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming upon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw yt they were overcome and had no place of refuge to retire unto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the river of Ramsa) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their lives. Then hee being mooved with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would divide Man among themselves and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne unto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselves with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and unto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, upon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that unto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the revenues thereof pertaine unto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin unto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with above three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olavus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seven yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. After-

Boats having not past three yron nailes in them.

ward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking upon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which journey also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands having intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers unto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, untill Olavus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly [I. 11.] condescended unto their request, and sent unto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should governe that kingdome, which of right belonged not unto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained unto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, usurped the government with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselves against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more unto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come unto the Island of Leodus, *Lewis.* hee sent messengers unto all the princes of the Islands to come unto him, commaunding them to assemble themselves, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, ravished women and virgines, and addicted themselves to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported unto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselves to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming upon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistertium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreover, the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olavus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corps of S. Olavus king and Martyr, gave commaundement that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came upon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olavus king and Martyr appeared unto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) unto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and never to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision unto them. And they also being astonished thereat gave him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Navie of 160. ships to be provided, and so sailed unto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them, at length he came unto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arrived, but hee went unto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet unburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it unto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further unto the Isle of Anglesey neere unto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts unto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned unto Man. Unto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, upon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare unto them, that he was subject unto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they tooke it grievously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better advised, I had rather (said he) not only beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one province in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many gifts also he sent unto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning unto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolved to conquer all Irland unto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had undiscreetly departed from his Navie, he was suddenly invironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere unto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the

[I. 12.] Islands sent for Olavus the sonne of Godredus Crovan, who lived in the Court of Henry King of England son unto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olavus sonne of Godredus Crovan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married unto Sumerledus king of ‖ Herergaidel, which afterward occasioned the overthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olavus.

‖ *Argile.*

In the yeere 1134. Olavus gave unto Yvo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. Also hee inriched with revenues and indued with priviledges al places of religion within his Islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus ye son of Olavus sailed unto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage unto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother unto Olavus, who were brought up at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitives and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted unto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants conspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselves unto the haven towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come unto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would have saluted him, and lifting up his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe 1143. having committed this outragious vilanie, within a short space they divided the Island betweene themselves, and gathering an armie together sailed unto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselves, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled unto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olavus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in revenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen unto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned unto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went unto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, providing a Navie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere 1156. upon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was 1156. a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and divided the kingdome of the Islands among themselves, and it continued two kingdomes from that day unto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled injoyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came unto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed unto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arrived at Rhinfrin, intending to subdue all Scotland unto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods just judgement being overcome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to usurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased [I. 13.] Malcolme the king of Scots, and his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. John Curcy conquered Ulster unto himselfe. And at the same time also Vivianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded unto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irland, mother of Olavus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Silvanus the abbat married them, unto whom the very same day, king Godred gave a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted unto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselves put him, & almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed upon the feast of S. Philip and Jacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, upon the 4. of the Ides of November, and the next sommer his body was translated unto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olavus, and Yvarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olavus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olavus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent unto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne over the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooved unto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned unto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy invaded Ulster with an armie and encountered with John de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Ulster unto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said John to goe at libertie, who comming unto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for John de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de jugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. John de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands invading Ulster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy comming upon them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy never recovered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

King John passed into Irland with 500. *sailes.*

At the same time John king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it unto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, unto the isle of Man, his souldiers almost utterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and having taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Ulster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olavus.

Reginald gave unto his brother Olavus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do live for the most part upon hunting and fishing. Olavus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers, hee went boldly unto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise unto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained unto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not envie that honour unto you, neither doeth it any whit grieve mee that you are exalted unto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to provide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly live. For the Island of Lewis [I. 14.] which you gave me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow, when Olavus was sent for to parle, Reginald commanded him to be attached, and to be caried unto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olavus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olavus therefore being at libertie came unto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his journey unto S. James: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olavus to take unto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german unto his owne wife, & by name being called Lavon, and he granted unto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands having gathered a Synod, separated Olavus and Godred his sonne, and Lavon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german unto his former wife. Afterward Olavus maried Scristina daughter unto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters unto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olavus. Which commandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for ye same purpose, Olavus fled in a litle skiffe unto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Islands, because he would not consent unto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olavus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olavus, they went both in a ship unto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called ye isle of S. Columba. And uniting unto themselves their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, having lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they environed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselves beset with their enemies on all sides, they were utterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselves they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olavus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and having slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Unto which action Olavus gave not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olavus having received pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed unto Man, and arrived at Rognolfwaht. At the same time Reginald and Olavus divided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselves, Man being granted unto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olavus having received certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, unto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking unto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subjects of Man, sailed unto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olavus, which he had granted unto him, and subdue it unto himselfe. How-

The Isle of Man advaunced to a kingdome.

beit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olavus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home unto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, under pretense of going unto the Court of his lord the king of England, received an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his journey unto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olavus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yeere 1226. Olavus recovered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had governed for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olavus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed unto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came unto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the South part of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leaving behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather up and render unto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olavus came suddenly upon them, chaced them away and recovered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to unite themselves, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, upon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with five ships, and burnt all [I. 15.] the ships of his brother Olavus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured unto himselfe all the Islanders upon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would adventure their lives, untill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywise Olavus joyned unto himselfe them of the North part, & upon the 14. of February in the place called Tingvalla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olavus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the south part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conveyed the body of K. Reginald, unto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olavus traveiled unto the king of Norway, but before he was arrived there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund, to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olavus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Norwegians, unto the islands: and while they were giving an assault unto a castle in the island of Both, Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olavus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Norwegians unto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselves, Olavus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going unto the islands, was slaine in the isle of Lewis, & Olavus injoyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. upon the 12. of the Kalends of June, Olavus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was alive, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his journey unto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend

Joseph unto Man, that they might enter into consultation together. Wherfore the 25. day they assembled themselves at Tingvalla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Joseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olavus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway unto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Norwegian king, because the said Harald refused to come unto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went unto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed unto him, his heires and successors, under seale, all the islands which his predecessors enjoyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway unto Man, and being honourably received by the inhabitants, he lived in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere unto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olavus, and brother unto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and upon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yvarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere unto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots provided a great navie of ships, that he might conquere the islands unto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerwary, he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don usurped the name of a king over the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olavus, and ordeined his fugitives to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went unto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had unjustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olavus, and John the sonne of Dugalt arrived at Roghalwaht, which John named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grievously, that Magnus was not nominated, drave them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olavus unto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his journey unto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

[I. 16.] In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olavus king of the Islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name unto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his journey into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In ye yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieving ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olavus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated unto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a divers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. upon the seventh day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arrived at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Five hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selves, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots besieged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. upon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandevile and his brethren, with divers great personages of Irland arrived at Ramaldwath, demaunding to have victuals and money ministred unto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre upon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would give nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come under the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where John Mandevile remained, and there having fought a battell, the Irish overcame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russin also: and when they had reveled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the Conquerour, unto Jeruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. Booke of the Danish historie written by Saxo Grammaticus. An. D. 1067.

1067. HAraldo cæso, filii ejus duo confestìm in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus consanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Jarislaus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodùm nostri temporis dux, ut sanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obvenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The same in English.

HArald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselves immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts received in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage upon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subjects Jarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the joyfull birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament unto both nations.

[I. 17.] The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so downe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman

M. Willaim Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

The antiquitie of the Ports. 1070.

I Finde in the booke of the generall survey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but judged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Dover, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such service to bee done by them upon the Sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable conjecture, that the immunitie of the haven Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Five Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leave my conjecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Five Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what service they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priviledges they have therefore, and by what persons they have bene governed.

Which be the Five Ports.

If I should judge by the common, and rude verse,
Dover, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Dover, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Five Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also have their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Five, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leaving the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will 1250. flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which lived under K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (above three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Justice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they used to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of justice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed severally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Justices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be given in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreover, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes contention betweene them of the Five Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be severall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Justices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Five Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Five Ports.

1250.

Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.

townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receive according to law and Justice.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Five Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controversie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to prove, that Hastings, and Hithe, Dover, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Five principall havens or Ports, which were endowed with priviledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

1268. [I. 18.] Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gave therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & divers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and governance of the Five ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priviledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment unto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence. *Winchelsey first builded.* 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Dover, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priviledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first gave, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but divers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the services that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed have done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, upon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Dover with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like service. But now whether this (like) ought to be understoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and service, or of the (like) in respect of service, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take upon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the five Ports were subject to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd upon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leaving this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will have recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre in which I read, that

At ech time that the King passeth over the sea, the Ports ought to rigge up fiftie and seven ships, (whereof every one to have twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I have seene two divers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to have bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner. 1278.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Pevensey, one.
Bulverhithe and Petit Jahn, one.
Bekesborne in Kent, seven.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rie, five.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seven.
The Port of Hythe, five.
The Port of Dover, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seven.
The towne of Feversham, seven.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. five.

These ships they ought to finde upon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine five dayes together at their owne costs, giving to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to [I. 19.]

ech other Mariner three pence. And after those five dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Five Ports of our soveraigne Lord the King having liberties, which other Ports have not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Dover, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The services due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in every ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Pevenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in every ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Dover 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feversham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This service, the Barons of the Five Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, upon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serve so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, have place at this day, I must referre it to them that be privie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leaving this also undecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being devised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie over the narrow Seas) the Ports have not onely most diligently ever since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaved themselves against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene profered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

The good service of the five Ports.

And amongst other feats not unwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King John, and had sent into France for new supply of souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then 1217. captaine of Dover) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of French men upon the high seas, gave them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the service of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull service (and especially their good endevour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the 1278. principall cause, and motive of that his liberall grant.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Navie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which 1293. (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that

France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

1406. Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the navie of the Five Ports, under the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no woorse merchandize.

The privi-ledges of the five Ports. The priviledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, [I. 20.] Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants have by reason of the same.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yvo of Narbona unto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had lived long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Mathew Paris in the yere of our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being provoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among us Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemie, and a dreadfull avenger. This I may justly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of Gods anger, overrunneth, and utterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege unto the very same ‖ towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were there in the sayd

‖ *Neustat.*

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towne on our part above 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. crosbowes, the captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Antichrist his complices, signified foorthwith unto their governour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subjects, who suddenly being surprised in all the province adjoyning, without any difference or respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkeises, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and savage followers, glutting themselves, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and ravenous vultures disdeined to praye upon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gave, as it were, for dayly sustenance, unto their Canibals: the beautifull devoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritching, with forced and unnaturall ravishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins unto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties unto their magistrates, they engorged themselves with their bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian vagabonds retired themselves into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitives, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall king of

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the Tartars, had bene twise, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, unlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome unto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the trueth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the devill himselfe would have beene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, having lost all that he had in the citie of Acon at dice, even in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shaven like a foole, and uttering an uncoth noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his journey, and so traveiling many countreyes, and finding in divers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a season, albeit every day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the devill. At length, by reason of extreame travaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in Caldea, he fell into a grievous sickenesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce, and to utter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a native member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the Tartars having intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion over [I. 21.] the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull service, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c, he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were

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above all men, covetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted upon them by their superiours, they are restreined from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts unto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldred, having flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their upper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their foreheads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame joynts strong with bones and sinewes, having thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall unto us in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the upper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land utterly desert and waste, situated far beyond Chaldea, from whence they have expelled Lions, Beares, & such like untamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they use to shape for themselves light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound unto their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little provender. They use to fight constantly and valiantly with javelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselves from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall give backe. Vanquished, they aske no favour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world under their owne subjection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They have 60000. Courriers, who being sent before upon light horses to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes journey. And suddenly diffusing themselves over an whole province, and surprising all the people thereof unarmed, unprovided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land invaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. James of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine undiscreet governors concluding a league with them, have granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction unto the foresayd governours &c.

Libellus historicus Joannis de Plano Carpini, qui missus est Legatus ad Tartaros anno Domini 1246. ab Innocentio quarto Pontifice maximo. Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, frater Joannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præsenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis suis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & sciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus priùs ad Tartaros proficisci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamvis a Tartaris & aliis nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captivari, vel fame, siti, algore, æstu, contumelia, & laboribus nimiis, [I. 22.] & quasi ultra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo plusquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captivitate perpetua nobis multipliciter evenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis, ut voluntatem Dei secundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere possemus, & ut proficeremus in aliquo Christianis, ut saltem scita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis, ne forte subito irruentes invenirent eos imparatos, sicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam stragem in populo Christiano. Unde quæcunque pro vestra utilitate vobis scribimus ad cautelam, tanto securius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipsi vidimus oculis nostris, qui per annum & quatuor menses *Annus & 4. menses & amplius.* & amplius ambulavimus per ipsos & cum ipsis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audivimus a Christianis qui sunt inter eos captivi, & ut credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a supremo pontifice habebamus, ut cuncta perscrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Joannis de Plano Carpini.

Quod tam nos quàm frater Benedictus ejusdem ordinis qui nostræ tribulationis fuit socius & interpres fecimus studiose.

De terra Tartarorum, situ, qualitate & dispositione aeris in eadem. Cap. 1.

VOlentes igitur facta scribere Tartarorum, ut lectores facilius valeant invenire, hoc modo per capitula describemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipsorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio subjugaverunt. Octavo quomodo Bello occurratur eisdem. De terra possumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de situ ipsius: secundo de qualitate: tertio de dispositione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta est in ea posita parte Orientis in qua oriens sicut credimus conjungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem est terra posita Kytaiorum & etiam ‖ Solangorum: a meridie sunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente provincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua est nimium montuosa, & in aliqua est campestris, sed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argillosa, plurimum est arenosa. In aliqua parte terræ sunt aliquæ modicæ sylvæ: alia vero est sine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem sua decoquunt & sedent tam imperator quàm principes & alii ad ignem factum de boum stercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non est in parte centesima fructuosa: nec etiam potest fructum portare nisi aquis fluvialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & rivi ibidem sunt pauci: flumina vero rarissima unde ibidem villæ sunt paucæ; nec aliquæ civitates excepta una, quæ esse dicitur satis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, sed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam essemus, quæ curia est major imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuosa sit, quamvis non multum, tamen competenter est alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipsa est

‖ Al. Sclangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia major imperatoris.

mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam æstate quando in aliis partibus solet calor maximus abundare; ibi sunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ nives. Ibi sunt etiam frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore vix possunt homines aliquando equitare. Unde cum essemus apud ordam (sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) jacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, & propter pulveris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nusquam pluit, sed in æstate: & tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando pulverem & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit. Unde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in sede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plusquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi est etiam in æstate subito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ nives, in alia autem parvæ. Et ut breviter de terra concludam, magna est, sed aliter, sicut vidimus oculis nostris, (quia per ipsam circuendam quinque mensibus & dimidium ambulavimus) multo vilior est, quàm dicere valeamus.

Maximæ nives in æstate in Tartaria.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex subita grandinis resolutione.

Iter quinque mensium & dimidii.

De formis Tartarorum, de conjugio, vestibus & habitaculis eorum. Cap. 2.

Dicto de terra, de hominibus est dicendum. Primò quidem formas describemus personarum. Secundò de ipsorum conjugio supponemus. Tertio de vestibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma personarum ab hominibus aliis est remota. Inter oculos enim & genas plusquam alii [I. 23.] homines sunt lati. Genæ etiam satis prominent a maxillis. Graciles sunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibusdam paucis. Pene omnes sunt mediocris staturæ.

Barba fere omnibus minime crescit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure una usque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rasuræ coronæ prædictæ junguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam & prætaxatam rasuram crescere usque ad supercilia sinunt. Et ex utraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere ut mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant unamquamque post aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Uxores vero habet unusquisque quot potest tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter junguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel sorore ex eadem matre, sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & uxores patris post mortem ducere possunt. Uxorem etiam fratris alter frater junior post mortem vel alius de parentela junior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes sine ulla differentia ducunt in uxores, & emunt eas valde pretiosè a parentibus suis. Post mortem maritorum de facili ad secunda conjugia non migrant, nisi quis velit suam novercam ducere in uxorem. *Vestes.* Vestes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum sunt uno modo formatæ. Palliis, cappis vel capputiis vel pellibus non utuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A supremo usque deorsum sunt scissæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero sinistro una, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in sinistro usque ad brachiale sunt scissæ. Pellicia cujuscunque sunt generis in eundem modum formantur: superius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, sed a posterioribus est apertum. Habet autem caudulam unam usque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ sunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & usque ad terram ante scissam. Super caput vero habent unum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longum protenditur ad unam ulnam, & in summitate desinit in quadrum: & ab imo usque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, & in summitate habet virgulam unam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & est assutum super unum pileolum, quod protenditur usque ad humeros. Instrumentum prædictum est tectum de buccaramo, sive purpura vel baldaquino: sine quo instrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab aliis mulieribus cognoscuntur. Virgines autem & juvenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris suis possunt discerni: quum per omnia vestiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter describere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorii præparatas, de virgis & baculis subtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestram unde lumen ingreditur, & ut possit fumus exire: quia semper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt cooperta. Ostia etiam de filtro sunt facta. Quædam stationes sunt magnæ, quædam parvæ, secundum dignitatem & hominum parvitatem. Quædam solvuntur subito & reparantur, & super somarios deferuntur. Quædam dissolvi non possunt, sed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum unos bos; majoribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod est magis, sufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt sive ad bellum, sive aliàs, semper illas deferunt secum. In animalibus sunt divites valde: in camelis, bobus, ovibus, capris, & equis. Jumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias bestias minime habent.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

De cultu & de hiis quæ credunt esse peccata, & de divinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus suorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

Dicto de hominibus, dicendum est de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: secundo de hiis quæ credunt esse peccata: tertio de divinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Unum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilium & invisibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum esse factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipsum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex utraque parte ostii stationis, & subtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum uberis factum, & illa credunt esse pecorum custodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præstare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis sericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante ostium stationis: & quicunque aliquid de [I. 24.] illò curru furatur, sine ulla miseratione occiditur. Duces, millenarii, & centenarii unum semper habent in medio stationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & jumenti. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibariis & potu. Et cum bestiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod est in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt usque mane, & tunc auferunt de præsenti ejus, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam stationem honorifice, sicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris istius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet ascendere usque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, sed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui se reddunt eisdem. Unde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit unus de magnis ducibus Russiæ, cum ivisset ad se reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes transire: Post hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod Bati & servis suis inclinaret libenter, sed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Christianis. Et cum sæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & nollet, mandavit ei prædictus per filium

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Russiæ.

Jeroslai, quod occideretur si non inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille satellitem unum misit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percussit, quousque deficeret. Tunc quidam de suis militibus qui astabat confortans eum dixit: Esto robustus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & statim sequetur gaudium sempiternum: post hoc fuit caput ejus cultello præcisum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potissime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem observant. Neminem cogunt suam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper essemus in terra quod Andreas dux de ‖ Sarvogle quæ est in Russia fuit apud Bati accusatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet aliàs, & cum tamen non esset probatum fuit occisus: quod audiens junior frater ejus, venit cum uxore occisi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens supplicare, ne terra tolleretur eisdem. Qui dixit par esse, quod uxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in uxorem: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum secundum consuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui respondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamvis renuerat quantum posset: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & posuerunt puerum super illam plorantem & clamantem, & cogerunt eos commisceri coactione non conditionali, sed absoluta. Quamvis de justitia facienda, vel peccato cavendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt esse peccata: quas confinxerunt ipsi & patres eorum. Unum est, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: juxta ignem etiam incidere cum securi. Credunt etiam quod sic auferri caput debeat igni. Item appodiare se ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipsi enim calcaribus non utuntur. Item tangere flagellis sagittas. Item juvenes aves occidere, vel accipere:

‖ *Vel, Scirvogle.*

Andreas dux Russiæ.

De superstitiosis traditionibus eorum. Εθελοθρησκεια.

ἀθεότης.

Cultus lunæ.

[I. 25.]

cum frœno equum percutere. Item os cum osse alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum super terram effundere. In statione mingere, sed si voluntarie facit occiditur: si autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia solvatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam stationem & ea quæ in ipsa sunt inter duos ignes transire. Sed antequam sic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipsa portare. Item si alicui morsus imponitur, & deglutire non potest, & de ore suo ejicit eum, fit foramen sub statione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & sine ulla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis calcat limen stationis alicujus ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent similia, de quibus longum est narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras invadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque injusto modo fornicari, aliis hominibus injuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum est peccatum apud eos. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen quod post mortem in alio seculo vivant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc seculo a viventibus hominibus fiunt. Divinationibus, auguriis, aruspiciis, veneficiis, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipsis respondetur, credunt quod Deus ipsis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: sed Comani Cham, id est, imperatorem ipsum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reverentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, & primitias cibi & potus. Secundum autem responsa ipsius faciunt universa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid novi agere volunt. Unde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt & deprecantur. Solem dicunt esse matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a sole recipiat. Et ut breviter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Unde cum nuncii veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualescunque personæ, oportet ipsos & munera quæ portant per duos ignes transire, ut purificentur. Item si cadit ignis de cœlo super pecora, vel super homines, quod ibidem sæpe contingit, sive aliquid talium evenerit eis, per quod immundos seu infortunatos

Ritus funebris.

se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quasi omnem spem suam in talibus posuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione ejus una hasta, & contra illam filtrum circumvolvitur nigrum: & ex tunc nullus audet alienus postes stationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de iis qui morti ejus assistunt, potest ordam alicujus ducis vel imperatoris usque ad novam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus est, si est de majoribus, sepelitur occulte in campo ubi placuerit: sepelitur autem cum statione sedendo in medio ejus, & ponunt mensam ante eum, & alveum carnibus plenum, & cyphum lactis jumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo unum jumentum cum pullo, & equus cum fræno & sella: & alium equum comedunt & stramine corium implent, & super duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, ut habeat in alio mundo stationem ubi moretur, & jumentum de quo lac habeat, & possit sibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare. Aurum & argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, & statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium ejus usque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam majores. Vaditur in campo occultè, & ibi gramina removent cum radicibus, & faciunt foveam magnam, & in latere illius foveæ faciunt unam sub terra, & illum servum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui jacet tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum ut valeat respirare, & sic faciunt ter. Et si evadet, postea est liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & est magnus in statione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foveam, quæ est in latere facta cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foveam quæ est ante foveam suam, & desuper gramina ponunt, ut fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus ulterius valeat inveniri. Alia faciunt ut dictum est. In terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Unum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces & nobiles omnes: & ubicunque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum

Idem mos sepeliendi fere in Florida.

Lustrationis ritus.

& argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur, spoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Unde nos ipsi nescientes intravimus terminos cœmeterii eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, & venerunt super nos sagittæ volantes: sed quia eramus nuncii consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes autem & omnes alii qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas hastas ponunt juxta ignes, & unam cordam in summitate hastarum: & ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de buccharamo: sub qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiæ & stationes: Et sunt duæ mulieres, una hinc, & alia inde aquam projicientes, & quædam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si aliquis occiditur à tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

De consuetudinibus bonis & malis & cibis eorum.

Cap. 4.

Obedientia.

Abstinentia.

DIcto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de bonis, secundo de malis: tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prædicti homines, scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui homines in hoc mundo, sive religiosi, sive seculares: & magis reverentur eosdem: neque de facili mentiuntur eis. Verbis ad invicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt. Prædones & fures magnarum rerum non inveniuntur inter eos. Unde stationes & currus eorum, ubi habent thesaurum suum setis aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ bestiæ perduntur, quicunque invenerit eas vel dimittit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiæ apud eosdem illas requirunt, & absque ulla difficultate recipiunt illas. Unus alium satis honorat: & ad invicem sunt satis familiares: Et cibaria quamvis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter communicant illa; & satis sunt sufferentes. Unde quum jejunant uno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt quasi comederunt bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt homines delicati. Invidi ad invicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt: nullus alium spernit, sed juvat & promovet quantum congruè potest. Mulieres eorum sunt castæ: nec de impudicitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in joco satis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas raró vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamvis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est supponendum. Superbissimi aliis hominibus sunt, & despiciunt omnes: ideò quasi pro nihilo reputant, sive nobiles sint, sive ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Jeroslaum, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcunque erant viles, antecedebant eos, & semper primum locum & summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post eorum posteriora sedere. Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ sunt: & etiam aliis hominibus plus sunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas invenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in fine pungunt ut scorpio. Subdoli sunt & fraudulenti, & si possunt astutia circumveniunt omnes. Homines sunt immundi, sumendo cibum & potum, & aliis factis suis. Qui cum volunt

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Castitas mulierum.

[I. 26.]

Insolentia adversus exteros.

Iracundia.

Mendacitas.

Fraudulentia.

Sordes.

aliquid mali facere aliis hominibus, miro modo occultant, ut prævidere non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium invenire. *Temulentia.* Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem rejicit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. *Extortio.* Valdè sunt cupidi & avari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi retentores, & parcissimi donatores. *Crudelitas.* Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, ut breviter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatem in scripto redigi non possunt. *Cibi.* Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandi possunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in necessitate carnes humanas. Unde quando pugnaverunt contra quandam civitatem Kytaorum, ubi morabatur imperator ipsorum; eam obsederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipsis Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus unus ad manducandum. Abluviones etiam quæ egrediuntur de jumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Mensalibus & manutergiis non utuntur: panem non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde vivere possent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiam honestiores habere aliquos panniculos parvos, cum quibus ultimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum unus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, & unicuique præbet, quibusdam plus, quibusdam minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lavant, & si aliquando cum brodio lavant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiam vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si abluunt, simili modo lavant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Unde ossa, nisi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lavant, nec lavari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant. Lac jumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate si habent: bibunt etiam ovinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, cervisiam, & medonem non habent, nisi ab aliis nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi divites sint, lac jumentinum non habent. Millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et unus quisque ex eis bibit cyphum unum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die manducant. In sero unicuique parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte jumentino carnes rarò manducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam bestiam ceperint, sive avem. *Pœna adulterii.* Legem etiam sive consuetudinem habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio invenerint manifestè. Similiter & virginem si fornicata fuerit, mulierem occidunt & virum. *Furti.* Si aliquis invenitur in præda vel in furto manifesto in terra potestatis eorum sine ulla miseratione occiditur. *Arcani evulgati.* Item si aliquis eorum deundat consilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centum plagæ dantur super posteriora, quanto majores dare cum baculo magno unus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à suis majoribus non parcitur eis, sed verberibus graviter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & uxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater unicuique eorum quod vult, et si est de genere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. *Πολυγαμία.* Et cum unus Tartarus habet multas uxores, unaquæque per se suam stationem, & familiam habet: & cum una comedit, & bibit, & dormit una die, & altera die cum alia. Una tamen ex ipsis major est inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum aliis commoratur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, & exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à parvo usque ad magnum sagittarii sunt & boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt

& currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus secundùm suam ætatem, & instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt & [I. 27.] audaces valdè. Virgines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt ut viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando possunt durare. Brevissimas habent strepas: equos valdè custodiunt: imo rerum omnium sunt magni conservatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, vestes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velocissimæ sunt & strenuæ in omnibus operibus suis: fœmoralibus omnes utuntur: aliquæ, sicut viri, sagittant.

Fœminæ Metæ incognitæ eodem modo vestiuntur.

De ipsorum Imperio. Cap. 5.

DIcto de eorum consuetudinibus, dicendum est de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipsius principio. Secundò de principibus ejus. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam est in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et unus Yek a Mongol, id est, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id est Aquatici Mongali. Ipsi autem se ipsos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluvio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hii populi omnes unam formam personarum, & unam linguam habebant: quamvis inter se per principes & provincias essent divisi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iste incepit esse robustus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoscunque potuit capere, & sibi associare non demittebat: homines verò suæ gentis ad se inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipsum sequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, sive Tartaris, postquam homines aggregaverat sibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros sibi subjugavit & in suam servitutem redegit. Post hæc cum omnibus his pugnavit, cum Merkat, qui erant positi juxta

Tartariæ populi. Tartar fluvius.

Cyngis ortus & res gestæ.

terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello sibi subjecit: Inde procedens pugnavit contra Metritas, & etiam illos devicit. Audentes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter elevatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipsi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat strenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum universæ carnis exsolvens, filii ejus successerunt loco ejus; sed juvenes erant & stulti, & populum nesciebant tenere: sed invicem divisi erant & scissi: unde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus insultum faciebant in terras superius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes sibi subjectos homines aggregavit. Naymani & Kara Kitai, id est, nigri Kitai, ex adverso in quandam vallem strictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum transivimus, similiter conveniunt: & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis sunt devicti, & major pars eorum occisa: & alii qui evadere non potuerunt in servitutem redacti sunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam civitatem ædificavit, quam ‖Omyl appellavit. Propè quam ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo sylvestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent juncturas: & si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine adjutorio aliorum minimè possunt, aliquantam tamen habent discretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum revertentes se contra Kytaos in prælium præparaverunt, qui castra moventes terram eorum intraverunt. Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu suo; & commissum est prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt devicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occisi usque ad septem. Cyngis verò & alii qui remanserunt in terram suam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quievisset Cyngis, præparavit se rursus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum processit ad bellum. Isti homines Christiani

Naymani.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Kara Kitai.

Occoday can.

‖ *Vel Chanyl.*

Homines sylvestres.

De mutua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum. Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

de secta Nestorianorum erant, quos etiam bello devicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde processit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karavitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes devicit. Inde est in terram suam reversus. Et cum aliquantulum quievisset, convocatis omnibus gentibus supradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum processit, & cum diu contra eos pugnasset magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluserunt in sua civitate majori: quam cum tam diu obsiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expensæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus unum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de civitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos sagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus projecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Civitas enim hæc multis divitiis erat plena. Et cum diu pugnassent, & eam bello vincere minimè possent, fecerunt unam magnam viam sub terra ab exercitu usque ad mediam civitatem, & aperientes subitò terram, eis nescientibus prosilierunt in medio civitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus civitatis, & illi qui erant extra simili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intraverunt civitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, civitatem possidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes divitias abstulerunt. Et cum terræ prædictæ Kytaorum suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam sunt reversi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum devicto factus est Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ posita est in mari, usque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deviceruut. Kytai autem, de quibus superiùs diximus, homines sunt Pagani, qui habent literam specialem: & habent novum & vetus Testamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quasi Ecclesias factas, in quibus orant temporibus suis: Et dicunt se quosdam sanctos habere. Unum Deum colunt: Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, sed minimè bap-

Novæ victoriæ literæ.

Vel Saruiur.

Vel Karanitarum.

Vel Hudirat.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem projectum.

[I. 28.]

Kytai victi.

Cyngis salutatur Imperator.

Kythaiæ pars in mari posita.

Kytaorum litera, & religio.

tizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant & reverentur: Christianos diligunt, & Ecclesias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani satis videntur: barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei satis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen sunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inveniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus solent homines exercitari. Terra eorum est opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & serico, & omnibus rebus in quibus solet sustentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quievissent, suos exercitus diviserunt. Unum de filiis Tossuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id est Imperatorem, misit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello devicit: & postquam vicerat eos in terram suam revertebatur. Alium etiam filium misit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam devicerunt. Hii autem nigri sunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Christianos, qui sint in India majori in pugnam processit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Johannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in sella posuit super equos, ponens ignem interius, & posuit hominem cum folle post imaginem cupream super equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælii pervenissent, istos equos unum juxta unum præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid super ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum follibus fortiter sufflaverunt. Unde factum est, quod de fumo illo aer est denigratus. Et tunc super Tartaros jecerunt sagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et sic cum confusione eos de finibus suis ejecerunt: Et nunquam audivimus, quod ultra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monstra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogassent eas per multos interpretes ubi essent viri terræ illius, responderunt quod in illa terra quæcunque fœminæ

Opificiorum laus.

Thossuch can Cyngis filius Comanos devicit.

India minor debellata.

Presbyter Joannes: ejusdem stratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

nascebantur, habebant formam humanam: Masculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte convenerunt in unum: Et dum esset hyems asperrima, se omnes projecerunt in aquam: & post hæc incontinenti in pulverem movebantur, & ita pulvis admixtus aquæ super eos congelavit: & dum sæpè hoc fecissent, glacies densa facta est super eos:

Glacies.

Unde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris convenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum sagittas super eos jactabant, ac si super lapides sagitassent, retro sagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò insultum facientes in eos morsibus vulneraverunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita ejecerunt eos de finibus suis.

Burutabeth regio.

Et dum reverteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui sunt Pagani. Qui consuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miserabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum suorum humanæ naturæ debitum exsolvit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum.

Incolarum mores.

Isti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam semper depilant, si fortè aliquis crinis crescit in ipsa: & multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde exercitus ille revertebatur in terram suam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo divisit exercitus illos, misit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit:

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

& usque ad Caspios montes pervenit, montes autem illi sunt de lapide adamantino. Unde eorum sagittas & arma ferrea ad se traxerunt. Homines inter Caspios montes conclusos viderunt, qui jam montem fregerunt: sed nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ad quam accedere non poterant ullo modo, quia statim moriebantur, cum perveniebant ad illam. Sed antequam pervenirent ad prædictum montem plusquam per mensem vastam solitudinem transierunt.

Nota iter duorum mensium versus Orientem.

Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum iverunt. Et pervenerunt ad quandam terram, ubi viderunt vias tritas, sed nullum hominem poterant invenire. Sed tantum quæsiverunt per terram, quod invenerunt hominem cum uxore sua; quos ante

Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogasset, ubi essent homines terræ illius, responderunt quod in terra sub montibus habitarent.

Troglodytæ.

[I. 29.]

At Cyngis can retenta uxore misit virum illum cum nunciis suis mandans hominibus illis ut venirent ad mandatum ipsius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narraverunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandaverat. Qui responderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum suum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregaverunt se per vias occultas sub terra, & venerunt contra istos ad pugnandum: & irruentes subitò super eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & sui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum scilicet & mulierem secum duxerunt, qui usque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt.

Videtur hic sonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & nivium de montibus.

Interrogati verò quare sub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod uno tempore anni quum sol oritur, tantus sonitus est, quod homines nulla ratione possunt sustinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & aliis instrumentis, ut illum sonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reverteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora unius bestiæ eos contigit invenire: quæ accipientes, depositis tamen stercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum suis illa comedit.

Cyngis lex.

Et ex hoc statutum fuit ab eo, ut nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia quod manducari potest, exceptis stercoribus, projiciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam est reversus: & ibidem leges & statuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter observant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Unum est, quod quicunque in superbia erectus, propria authoritate sine electione principum esse voluerit imperator, sine ulla miseratione debet occidi. Unde ante electionem ipsius Cuynch propter hoc unus de principibus, nepos ipsius Cyngis can fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare. Aliud statutum est, quod sibi debent subjugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, nisi prius eis subdatur, quo usque veniat tempus occisionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, ut prophetatum est eis: Et illi qui evadere poterunt, ut dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alii, qui eos bello devincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. *Interitus.* Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui est occisus, peractis suis ordinationibus & statutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: *Liberi.* Unus vocabatur Occoday, secundus Tossuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. *Nepotes.* Isti quatuor filii cum aliis majoribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filii autem istius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc est imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenen. Et si plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filii autem Tossuch can Bati: iste est ditior & potentior post imperatorem: Ordu, iste est senior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Tossuch can nomina ignoramus. Filii Thaaday sunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum nescimus. Alterius autem filii Cyngis can, cujus nomen nescimus, filiorum nomina sunt hæc. Unus vocatur Mengu, cujus mater est Seroctan. Ista domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, est magis nominata: & potentior est omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus. *Duces.* Hæc sunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iste fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes isti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iste est adhuc ultra mare contra Soldanum Damasci. Isti remanserunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, senex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: sed iste inter alios est minimus. Alii verò duces sunt plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Imperatoris Tartarorum servile in omnes imperium.

Imperator autem Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium super omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, nisi ipse assignet ei. Ipse autem assignat ubi maneant duces: millenarii centenariis, Centenarii decanis. Insuper quicquid præcipitur in quocunque tempore, quocunque loco, sive ad bellum, sive ad mortem, sive ad vitam, sine ulla contradictione obediunt. Etiam si petit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Aut singulis annis, aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoscunque, quotcunque & ubicunque transmittit, oportet quod dent ei sine mora equos subdititios & expensas. Undecunque venerint ei tributa vel nuncii, oportet quod equi, currus, & expensæ similiter dentur eis. Nuncii qui veniunt aliunde in magna miseria sunt in victu pariter & vestitu: quia expensæ viles sunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix possint vivere duo. Nec etiam in curiis principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, nisi semel in die, & satis parum. Insuper si aliquæ injuriæ sibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè possunt. Unde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Insuper multa tam à principibus, quam ab aliis nationibus et minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & si non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quasi pro nihilo habent eos. Et si à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: sed dicunt: A magno homine venistis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et si nuncii benè volunt facere facta sua, oportet eos dare majora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de necessitate muneribus dare. Et sciendum, quod ita omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc est meum vel illius; sed omnia sunt Imperatoris, res, jumenta, & homines. Et super hoc etiam nuper emanavit Imperatoris statutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces super homines suos. Divisi enim sunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alii inter duces. Nuncii etiam ducum, quocunque eos transmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alii omnes equos subdititios & expensas, & qui equos custodiant, & etiam nunciis serviant sine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem jumenta ut habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alii pro redditu dare

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

[I. 30.]

Occoday secundus Imperator Tartarorum.

‖ Barthra civitas vel Barchin.

‖ Vel Sarguit.

Orna super Don fluvium.

Kiovia civitas.

tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis suis. Inter eos enim nullus est liber. Et ut breviter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantum volunt de rebus suis accipiunt. De personis etiam eorum disponunt per omnia, sicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, sicut superius dictum est, convenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio principum divisit exercitus. Bati, qui in secundo gradu attinebat ei, misit contra Altisoldanum, & contra terram Biserminorum. Hii erant Saraceni, & Comanicum loquebantur. Et cum intrasset terram illorum pugnavit contra eos, & bello eos sibi subjecit. Quædam autem civitas quæ ‖ Barthra dicitur, diu restitit ei, fecerant enim foveas multas in circuitu civitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foveas. Unde non potuerunt capere civitatem, donec illas foveas replessent. Homines autem de quadam civitate quæ vocatur ‖ Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obviam eis, se sponte in manus eorum tradentes: unde civitas eorum non erat destructa, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt. Et accepto spolio civitatis, ipsam aliis hominibus repleverunt. Et venerunt contra civitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Ista civitas erat nimium populosa: Christiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alii: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium civitatis. Hæc autem civitas erat divitiis multum plena. Est enim posita super fluvium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Unde est quasi portus: & forum maximum habebant de illa civitate alii Saraceni. Et cum non possent aliter devincere, præciderunt fluvium, qui currebat per civitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus submerserunt. Quo facto: postea intraverunt terram Tortorum, qui similiter sunt Pagani: quam devincentes, iverunt contra Russiam, & fecerunt magnam stragem in terra Russiæ, civitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kioviam quæ erat Metropolis Russiæ obsederunt: & cum diu obsedissent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines civitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando destruxerunt totam Russiam. De Russia autem & Comania processerunt duces prædicti, & pugnaverunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et si non fugissent, sed viriliter restitissent Hungari exivissent Tartari de finibus suis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis restitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia si fugitis nullus evadet: Et si debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum est, ut Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et si nunc est tempus, sustineamus. Et sic animati sunt & remanserunt, & Hungariam destruxerunt. Inde revertentes iverunt in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, & bello devicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id est, Bulgariam magnam, & ipsam destruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bascart, id est, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam devicerunt. Inde egredientes iverunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Parossitas qui habent parvos stomachos & os parvulum, nec manducant, sed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt se inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc solo reficiuntur: Sed etiamsi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hii autem homines tantùm de venationibus vivunt: tabernacula & vestes habent tantummodo de bestiarum pellibus. Inde ultra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram super Oceanum, ubi invenerunt quædam monstra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes desinebant in pedes bovinos, & faciem per omnia habebant ut canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant ut canis: & sic per intervalla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam suam redibant: & sic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & usque nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello devicit. Hii autem homines sunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo est talis. Cum

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Frobisheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hii videntur sagittasse balistis.

[I. 31.]

Georgia.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

pater moritur alicujus, præ dolore quasi unam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure usque ad aurem de facie sua levant. Quibus devictis, ad meridiem ivit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deserta transiret, etiam quædam monstra effigiem humanam habentia invenerunt: sed non nisi unum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & unum pedem habebant: & duo sagittarunt cum uno arcu, & isti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos investigare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum unum pedem, & cum essent fessi taliter eundo, ibant super manum & pedem, removendo se quasi rota; & sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnaverunt & devicerunt. Inde procedentes ultra debellando & vincendo usque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec postea usque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reversi. Alius exercitus ivit contra terram Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etiam subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bisantia exceptis Baldachinis & aliis muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, ut ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans ut eum supportent. Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus ut veniat mittit pro eo.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in præliis. Cap. 6.

Dicto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutiis in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captivos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum & civitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hiis qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinavit, ut decem hominibus præponeretur unus: & ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis præponeretur unus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenariis præponeretur unus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenariis præponeretur unus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero expercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad unum. Cum autem omnes sunt in bello si de decem hominibus fugit unus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et ut breviter dicam, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si unus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alii non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si unus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alii socii sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel unum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis & unam securim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet unusquisque. Divites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex una tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curvos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de bove ad latitudinem unius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & sic faciunt usque ad finem. Unde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ superiores ascendunt & sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex una parte faciunt unam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda usque ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, & post sellam in dorso & etiam in collo, super renes etiam partem aliam ponunt, ubi duæ partium ligaturæ junguntur: in qua pecia faciunt unum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam unam: quæ omnes protenduntur usque ad crurium juncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex utraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, una pars protenditur à fœmore usque ad collum ; sed est facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis : quia ante pectus est stricta : in rotundum obvolvitur circa corpus à brachiis inferius : Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo usque ad aliam peciam, quæ revolvitur circa corpus : Super humeros autem istæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in utroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in utroque brachio unam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur usque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt aptæ. Et in utroque crure unam habent peciam : quæ peciæ omnes fibulis conjunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes istæ peciæ de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Unam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem unius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ unius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas : & in unaquaque lamina octo foramina parvula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas unam super aliam ponunt, quasi ascendendo per gradus : & ligant laminas prædictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mittunt per foramina superius annotata : Et in [I. 32.] superiori parte consuunt corrigiolam unam, ut laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant sibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quasi corrigiam unam, & postea ligant per pecias per omnia, sicut superius dictum est. Et ista faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod potest homo in eis faciem suam videre. Aliqui eorum lanceas habent : & in fine ferri lanceæ unum habent uncum, cum quo trahunt hominem de sella si possunt. Longitudo sagittarum est duorum pedum & unius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diversi sunt pedes, mensuram pedum geometricam ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis transversio est. Sexdecem pollices transversi faciunt unum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta sagittarum sunt acutissima, & ex utraque parte incidentia quasi gladius biceps, & semper portant limas juxta pharetram ad acuendum sagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem unius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad sagittandum aves bestias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diversimodas ad aves & bestias sagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcursores præmittunt, qui nihil secum portant præter filtra sua, equos & arma. Isti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, bestias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & si non possunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, post istos sequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quæ invenit accipit, & homines etiam, si inveniri possunt, accipiunt & occidunt. Quum autem ad flumina perveniunt, hoc modo transeunt illa etiamsi sunt magna. Majores unum rotundum & leve corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebras faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt, & stringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent vestibus, & aliis rebus, & fortissime comprimunt ad invicem: post hoc in medio ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio sedent: & ligant ad caudam equi navem hanc taliter præparatam, & unum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant ultra aquam, & sic transeunt fluvium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & unus homo juxta unum equum, quem regit, natat: & alii equi illum sequuntur. Et sic transeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alii vero pauperiores unam bursam de corio bene consutam unusquisque tenetur habere: in qua bursa vel in quo sacco vestes & omnes res suas imponunt; & in summitate saccum fortissime ligant, & suspendunt ad caudam equi, & transeunt, ut supradictum est. Sciendum est, quod cum vident hostes tunc vadunt ad eos, & unusquisque jacit tres sagittas vel quatuor contra adversarios: Et si vident quod eos superare non possunt, retro gradiuntur ad suos: Et hoc faciunt in

Mos tranandi flumina.

fraudem, ut adversarii eos sequantur ad loca ubi insidias paraverunt: Et si inimici eorum sequuntur ad prædictas insidias, circundant eos & sic vulnerant & occidunt. Item si vident quod magnus exercitus est contra eos, aliquando divertunt ab eo per unam dietam vel duas, & aliam partem terræ invadunt & spoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terram destruunt & devastant. Et si vident quod hoc etiam facere non possunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecem dietas: aliquando etiam morantur in loco tuto, quousque adversariorum exercitus separetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totam terram. In bellis etiam astutissimi sunt: quia jam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum aliis gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant sicut deberent pugnare. Duces sive principes exercitus bellum non intrant, sed stant à longe contra inimicorum exercitum, & juxta se habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, ut multitudo magna bellantium esse credantur. Contra faciem equorum unam aciem captivorum & aliarum gentium quæ sunt inter eos transmittunt: & forsitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à sinistris, ut non videantur ab adversariis suis: & sic circundant adversarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum sunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab adversariis qui circundati sunt, esse multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui sunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, ut dictum est supra: quos credunt esse pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et si forte adversarii bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam ut fugiant: & statim cum fugere incipiunt, ab invicem separati insequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare possent in bello. Sciendum tamen est, quod si aliud possunt, non libenter congrediuntur, sed homines & equos sagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si est talis munitio ipsam circundant, immo aliquando ita

Qualiter munitiones obsident.

sepiunt, ut nullus ingredi vel exire possit. Expugnant fortissime machinis & sagittis: & nec die nec nocte cessant a prælio, ut illi qui sunt in munitionibus non quiescant. Ipsi Tartari quiescunt: quia acies dividunt & una succedit alteri in pugnam ut non nimium fatigentur. Et si eam taliter habere non possunt græcum projiciunt ignem. Imo solent aliquando accipere arvinam hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum projiciunt super domos: Et ubicunque venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quasi [I. 33.] inextinguibiliter ardet. Et si ita non prævalent, & si civitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alveum & submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, & sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum jam intraverunt, una pars ignem imponit ut comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, ut ab inimicorum jaculis non graventur, & contra illam multo tempore jacent: nisi forte exterius adjutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi removeant ipsos. Sed cum jacent ante munitionem *Punica fides.* blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc ut se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, ut secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui sunt artifices inter eos, & illos reservant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro servis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus aliis parcunt, ut dictum est, nobilibus & honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si fortè aliquo casu contingente reservant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio ultra de captivitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quoscunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos reservare ut habeant eos pro servis. Occidendos autem dividunt per centenarios, ut cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc dividunt captivos, & unicuique servo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod majoribus placet.

De terris quas eorum dominio subjugarunt. Cap. 7.

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subjugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter restiterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis: quia, ut dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, ut cunctas si possunt sibi subjiciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, ut vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & ut dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, & unum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro servis: reliquos numerant & ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil observant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inveniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthcan ut dicebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros unum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant uxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quæ viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando suum victum quærebant similiter deportabunt. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numeravit, præcipiens ut unusquisque tam parvus quam magnus, & infans unius diei, sive pauper sive dives esset, tale tributum præberet: ut scilicet daret unum pellem albi ursi, & unum nigrum castorem, & unum Zabulum, & unam nigram pellem cujusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cujus nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Teutonice dicitur ‖ illit: Poloni autem & Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & unam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in

Ursi albi.

‖ *Vel illic.*

Dochon.

eorum redigi servitutem. Mitunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, ut ad eos veniant sine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, sed habentur ut aliæ viles personæ: & oportet ut eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quàm uxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenariis & centenariis. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipsi etiam servi ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nunciis eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inveniunt occasiones ut eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & aliis actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, ut ipsi soli dominentur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occasiones contra nobiles, ut eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos ulterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum est de filio Jeroslai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & aliis plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater sive hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum. Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet ut ad nutum tam duces quàm alii debeant obedire. Et si homines alicujus civitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod sunt Tartaris infideles: & sic civitatem illam vel terram destruunt, & homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, & subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra Tartarorum essemus de quadam [I. 34.] civitate. Quod ipsummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non solum princeps Tartarorum qui terram usurpavit, sed præfectus ipsius, & quicunque Tartarus per civitatem illam sive terram transit quasi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui major est apud eos. In super aurum & argentum, & alia quæ volunt & quando libet ad imperatorem vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filiis regis Georgiæ. Unus

Solangi.

Bascha, vox Tartarica, qua utuntur Turci.

enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur David: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui junior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod David prædictus ad ipsum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius scilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio suo David, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero respondit: Licet sim filius concubinæ, peto tamen ut fiat mihi justitia secundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: unde fuit data sententia contra filium legitimum, ut ille Davidi qui major erat subesset, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & sic donaria quæ dederat, & causam quam contra fratrem suum David habuerat, amisit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe sunt ab eis, & conjunctæ sunt aliis nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non sunt eis subjectæ, tributum accipiunt & quasi misericorditer agunt cum eis, ut non adducant exercitum super eos, vel etiam ut alii non terreantur, se tradere eis. Sicut factum est de Obesis sive Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, ut dictum est, yperperorum sive Bysantiorum accipiunt pro tributo: aliâs ad hoc in pace esse permittunt. Tamen, secundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt sunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, sive nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Gosmit, Saraceni, Bisermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baschare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Parossiti, Sassi, Jacobiti, Alani, sive Assi, Obesi sive Georgiani, Nestoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui sunt Judæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perses, Thoas, India minor sive Æthiopia, Yrchasi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ

Samogedi aquilonares.

sunt plures, sed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris supra nominatis. Hæc autem sunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter restiterunt, nec sunt adhuc subditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; *Mangia.* Quædam pars Alanorum, Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim civitatem Sayorum prædictorum obsederunt & debellare tentaverunt. At ipsi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec civitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & balistas. Tandem unam viam sub terra fecerunt, & prosiluerunt in civitatem, & alii tentabant incendere civitatem, alii pugnabant. Homines autem civitatis unam partem populi ad extinguendum ignem posuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hiis qui intraverunt civitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulneraverunt, compellentes eos ad suos redire. At ipsi videntes quod nihil possent facere, & multi homines morerentur, recesserunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorum & aliorum ubi sunt quasi inter eos domini, accipiunt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus suis ponunt. Alii autem artifices dant eis de opere suo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: & unicuique unum pondus satis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud nisi ter in septimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in civitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet juvenes omnes accipiunt, & post se cum omnibus famulis suis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo sunt numero Tartarorum; immo potius de numero captivorum; quia etsi inter ipsos sunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reverentia sicut Tartari; sed habentur pro servis, & ad omnia pericula ut alii captivi mittuntur. Ipsi enim in bello sunt primi: Etiam si debet palus vel aqua periculosa transiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipsos est etiam necesse operari omnia quæ sunt facienda. Ipsi etiam si in aliquo offendunt, vel si non obediunt ad nutum, ut asini verberantur. Et ut breviter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & pessime induuntur; nisi forte aliquid possunt lucrari, nisi sunt aurifabri & alii artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, ut sibi aliquid operentur, nisi furentur sibi tempus, quando forsitan debent quiescere vel dormire. Et hoc si uxores vel propriam stationem permittuntur habere. Alii autem qui tenentur in domo pro servis omni miseria sunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis sæpissime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo solis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidisse. Audivimus etiam alios esse mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quasi in omnibus membris inutiles esse factos.

[I. 35.]

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

Dicto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicendum. Primo scribendum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierum. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutiis eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum & civitatum. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captivis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum est subjicere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, ut dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Unde noverint universi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ jam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, ubi elegerent Cuynch imperatorem in presentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos occidentis, nisi forsan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Christianorum populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam servitutem & intolerabilem, quæ est hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subjectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non observant, quando vident sibi tempora favere: & subdoli sunt in omnibus factis & promissis eorum. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, ut superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole & artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora ultra quam credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea ut scorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, & corpore debiliores quam populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores & principes & exercitus assignati. De decem hominibus mittuntur tres cum familiis eorum, de omni terra potestatis eorum. Unus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tempus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247. si de terra sua movebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor ‖ annis usque ad Comaniam. De Comania autem insultum facient in terras superius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt & vera, nisi Dominus aliquod impedimentum pro sua gratia faciat eis. Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariam & Poloniam. Debebant enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorum veneno: & propter hoc quieverunt à præliis usque nunc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de novo, iterum se de novo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Livoniam & Prussiam. Et

‖ *Forte mensibus.*

Tartari proponunt invadere Livoniam & Prussiam.

quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in servitutem redigere, quæ servitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, ut superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si una provincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipsos cum promissis adulationibus tenent: & etiam ut ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: & post hoc quando securi esse possunt de ipsis, ut non redeant, faciunt eos infœlicissimos servos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro servitiis faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus devictæ provinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua provincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de omni terra potestatis eorum, ut dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Unde si Christiani seipsos & suam terram, & Christianitatem volunt servare, oportet quod in unum conveniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de communi consilio homines contra eos ad pugnam, antequam ipsi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, undique homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi catervatim undique quærunt homines & occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel civitatem, qui obsideant eam; & ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunque autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & balistas, quas multum timent, & sagittas sufficientes: & bonum dolabrum de bono ferro, & scutum cum longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarum de arcu vel de balista debent, ut Tartari, quando sunt calida, temperari in aqua cum sale mixta, ut fortia sint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum unco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt; ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: & galeam & arma alia ad protegendum corpus &

Temperamentum ferri.
[I. 36.]

equum ab armis & sagittis eorum. Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, ut dixi; debent ire post alios ut faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, ut possint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conservare. Acies debent ordinari, ut ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemquè debent ponere ut simul incedant ad bellum, sive aliâs, sicut sunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit alium sive ad bellum procedentem, sive pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, nisi omnes communiter cedant, gravissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes, & sagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hiis qui remanent pugnant, & sic confunduntur & occiduntur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunque conversus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino sit exercitus contrariorum devictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros sine ulla miseratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest ut campus sit planus, & possint undique videre: & si possunt habeant sylvam magnam a tergo vel a latere: ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos & sylvam: nec debent simul omnes convenire in unum, sed facere acies multas, & diversas ab invicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent unam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non multum vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad juvandum aciem illam, si fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, ut videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à sinistris: & semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere adversarios eorum in medio, unde magnam cautelam debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cavere, ne diu currant post eos,

Speculatores.

propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adjutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium cursum post eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant una die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Unde non curant si fatigentur equi eorum propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari cedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab invicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, ut exercitus dividatur, & post hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam destruant. Debent etiam cavere ut non faciant nimias expensas, ut solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, ut ipsos & alios occidant, & destruant omnem terram; & propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: ut si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alii loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die noctéque facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente & subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari ut dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent jacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inveniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, ut possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas foveas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: ut videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; & si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea invenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & stramina comburere, ut equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inveniant. Civitates autem & castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis & sagittis expugnari non possit; & aquam habeant sufficientem & lignum, & si fieri potest, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non possit: & quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari. Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident unum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, ut credo, jam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra & civitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foveis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & sagittas sufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cavere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; & suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt Tartari machinas suas, debent eas destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, fundis & machinis debent resistere ne civitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent esse parati, ut superius dictum est. De castris & civitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendum est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in civitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cum eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Unde ponunt eis custodes, ut supradictum est. Si autem aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello projiciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et si servantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniam se adinvicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est ubi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent servari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiam aliæ multæ gentes cum eis, quæ per formam superius annotatam possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si

Obsidio 12. *annorum.*

[I. 37.]

viderent tempus, & haberent fiduciam, quod nostri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cum eis, & plura mala facerent ipsis, quàm alii, qui sunt eorum adversarii manifesti.

THe long and wonderful voyage of Frier John de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246 to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherin he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow upon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of sixe moneths through Comania, over the mighty and famous rivers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, & through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Bisermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & so to the native countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme Northeasterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere & above foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum historiale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

Ascelinus. ¶ *Vide Mechovium lib. 1. cap. 5.*

HOc etiam tempore misit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Ascelinum de ordine Prædicatorum cum tribus aliis Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diversis ordinis sui conventibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitum Tartarorum, in quibus hortabatur eos, ut ab hominum strage desisterent, & fidei veritatem reciperent. Et ego quidem ab uno Fratrum Prædicatorum, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, jam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorum accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ

Simon Sanquintinianus.

superius per diversa loca juxta congruentiam temporum huic operi inserui. Siquidem & eo tempore quidam Frater ordinis Minorum, videlicet Fr. Johannes de Plano carpini, cum quibusdam aliis missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, ut ipse testatur, per annum & quatuor menses & amplius cum eis mansit, & inter eos ambulavit. A summo namque Pontifice mandatum, ut omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus ejusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps & socius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Joannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis propriis vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captivi erant, audivit, libellum historialem, conscripsit, qui & ipse ad manus nostras pervenit. De quo etiam hîc quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Joannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus historialis Joannis de Plano Carpini.

De situ & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3. Johannes de Plano Carpini.

Est in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal sive Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni conjungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terram Sarracenorum. Inter ‖ Orientem & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente provinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, & in aliqua campestris, sed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluvialibus irrigetur, quæ ibi sunt rarissimæ. Unde nec villæ nec aliquæ civitates ibidem reperiuntur, excepta una, quæ Cracurim appellatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. [I. 38.] Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia major Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliâs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua ejus parte sunt aliquæ sylvæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omninò. Itaque

Tartariæ descriptio.

‖ *Vel Occidentem.*

Syra orda.

tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alii sedent, & cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum stercoribus factum. *Aëris intemperies.* Ipse quoque aër inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem æstate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoque tempore cadunt ibidem maximæ nives. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidissimorum tam maximæ tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possunt equitare homines. *Orda quid.* Unde cùm ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra prostrati jacebamus, & videre propter pulveris magnitudinem minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in æstate, & tam modicum, ut vix posset aliquando pulverem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoque maxima grando cadit sæpè. Unde cùm Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in æstate subitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum species. MOngalorum autem sive Tartarorum forma ab omnibus aliis hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati sunt plus cæteris, genæ quoque satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam parvos, & palpebras usque ad supercilia elevatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. *Tonsura.* Ex utraque parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & unamquamque post aurem ligant. Pedes quoque modicos habent. *Habitus.* Vestes tam virorum quàm mulierum uno modo formatæ sunt. Palliis vel cappis vel caputiis non utuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. *Vestes retro caudatæ.* Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam unam usque ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lavant, nec lavari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, usquequo desinat illud tempus. *Tabernacula.* Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorii de virgulis & baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundam habent fenestram, unde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoque de filtro sunt facta. Harum quædam subitò solvuntur, & reparantur, & super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissolvi non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunque sive ad bellum sive aliàs vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. *Opes in pecore.* In animalibus valde divites sunt, ut in Camelis & bobus, capris & ovibus. Jumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autem & alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atque alii magnates in auro & argento ac serico & gemmis abundant. *Victus.* Cibi eorum sunt omnia, quæ mandi possunt. Vidimus eos etiam manducare pediculos. Lac bibunt animalium, & in maxima quantitate, si habent, jumentinum. Porro in hyeme, quia nisi divites sint, lac jumentinum non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, ut illud bibere valeant. Unde quilibet eorum scyphum bibit unum vel duos in mane, & quandoque nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem unicuique datur de carnibus modicum, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æstate quando satis habent de lacte jumentino, carnes comedunt raró, nisi fortè donentur eisdem, aut venatione bestiam aliquam ceperint vel avem.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

Πειθαρχία.

HAbent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, & quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, sive religiosi sive seculares. Nam eos maximè reverentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factisve: raró vel nunquam ad invicem contendunt, belláque vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. *Abstinentia.* Prædones etiam ac fures rerum magnarum ibi nequaquam inveniuntur, ideoque stationes & currus eorum, ubi thesauros habent, seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunque invenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cujus est bestia, illam requirit, & absque ulla difficultate recipit. *Comitas.* Unus alium satis honorat, & familiaritatem ac cibaria, quamvis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. *Temperantia.* Satis etiam sunt sufferentes, nec cùm jejunaverint uno die, vel duobus, omninò sine cibo, [I. 39.] videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt, ac si bene comedissent. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, calorem quoque nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt, & quamvis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate sua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium spernit, sed juvat & promovet, quantum congruè potest. *Castitas.* Castæ sunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipsarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex iis verba turpia satis habent & impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines iidem Tartari superbissimi sunt, omnesque nobiles & *Insolentia adversus exteros.* ignobiles quasi pro nihilo reputantes despiciunt. Unde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Russiæ ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eisdem assignati, quantumcunque viles essent illos antecedebant, semperque primum locum & summum tenebant, imò etiam sæpè oportebat illos post eorum posteriora sedere. *Iracundia.* Præterea iracundi sunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & ultra modum erga eosdem mendaces. In principio quidem blandi sunt, sed *Fraudulentia.* postmodum ut Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti sunt, & omnes homines si possunt astutia circumveniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, ut sibi non possint providere, vel contra *Sordes.* eorum astutias remedium invenire. Immundi quoque sunt in cibo & potu sumendis, & in cæteris factis suis. *Temulentia.* Ebrietas apud illos est honorabilis: cumque multum aliquis biberit, ibidemque rejicit, non ideo cessat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi sunt exactores, tenacissimi retentores, parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio apud illos est pro nihilo.

Δωροδοκία.

De legibus & consuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege sive consuetudine, ut occidant viros & mulieres, si quando inveniantur in adulterio manifestè. Similiter etiam virginem, si fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea si aliquis in præda vel furto manifesto invenitur, sine ulla miseratione occiditur. Item si quis denudavit consilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei super posteriora centum plagæ, quanto majores unus rusticus cum magno baculo potest dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à majoribus suis parcitur, sed verberibus graviter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter conjunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & sorore ex eadem matre. Nam sororem tantùm ex patre, & uxorem quoque patris, post ejus mortem solent ducere. Uxorem etiam fratris alius frater junior, post ejus mortem, vel alius de parentela, tenetur ducere. Unde dum adhuc essemus in terra, Dux quidam Russiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Baty, quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, & aliis venderet, accusatus est: quod licet non esset probatum, occisus est. Hoc audiens junior frater, & uxor occisi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, supplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eisdem. At ille parvo præcepit, ut fratris defuncti duceret uxorem, mulieri quoque ut illum in virum duceret, secundum Tartarorum consuetudinem. Quæ respondit, se potius occidi velle, quàm sic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamvis ambo renuerent, quantum possent. Itaque ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantem super illam posuerunt, ipsosque commisceri pariter coëgerunt. Denique post mortem maritorum, uxores Tartarorum non de facili solent ad secunda conjugia transire, nisi

Poena adulterii.

Furti.

Arcani evulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux Russiæ.

¶ *Vide Herbersteinium de rebus Moschovi pag. 8. b.*

fortè quis velit sororiam aut novercam suam ducere. Nulla verò differentia est apud eos inter filium uxoris & concubinæ, sed dat pater quod vult unicuique. Itaque si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius uxoris legitimæ. Unde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, unum scilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò David ex adulterio natum haberet, moriensque terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquisset, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obvenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & David iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datisque maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, ut fieret ei justitia secundum morem Tartarorum. Dataque est sententia contra Melich, ut David, qui major erat natu, subesset, ac terram à patre sibi concessam quietè ac pacificè possideret. Cumque Tartarorum unus habet uxorum multitudinem, unaquæque per se suam habet familiam & stationem. Et una die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum una, altera die cum alia. Una tamen inter cæteras major habetur, cum qua frequentius quam cum aliis commoratur. Et licet, ut dictum est, sint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se.

Melich & David fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

De superstitiosis traditionibus ipsorum. Cap 7.

ἐθελοθρησκεία.

QUibusdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quædam esse peccata dicunt, quas vel ipsi vel antecessores eorum confinxerunt. Unum est, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunque modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum [I. 40.] securi juxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd sic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus : ipsi enim non utuntur calcaribus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, juvenes aves capere vel occidere, cum fræno equum percutere, os cum osse alio frangere. Itemque lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multam incantatori solvat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, ut statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui morsellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit, & illum de ore suo ejicit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine ulla miseratione occiditur. *ἀθεότης.* Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicujus, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras invadere, ac res illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo vivant, gregésque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viventibus fiunt. *Cultus lunæ.* In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quic quid novi agere volunt, ipsamque Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eamque deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. *Lustrationis ritus.* Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas hastas juxta eos, unamque cordam in summitate hastarum ponunt. Ligantque super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissiones, sub qua scilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes transeunt homines, ac bestiæ ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, una hinc, & alia inde aquam projicientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Statio siquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & vestes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respuuntur. Et ut breviter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. *Ignis superstitiosa efficacitas.* Unde quando veniunt ad eos nuncii, vel Principes, aut qualescunque personæ, oportet ipsos & munera sua per duos ignes, ut purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

De initio imperii sive Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartariæ populi.

Chingis ortus & res gestæ.

Naymani. ¶ *Infra cap.* 25.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Unus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipsos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluvio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes unam personarum formam & unam linguam habebant hi populi, quamvis inter se per Principes ac provincias essent divisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoscunque poterat, captivabat, sibique associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinavit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, sive cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoque bello sibi Tartaros omnes subjecit, & in servitutem redegit. Post hæc cum istis omnibus contra Merkatas, juxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnavit, quos etiam bello sibi subjecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnam exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter elevatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerant Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctæ nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm esset mortuus, filii ejus successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia juvenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad invicem divisi ac scissi erant. Unde Chingi prædicto modo jam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subjectos congregavit. Naymani & Karakytay ex adverso similiter in quandam vallem strictam convenerunt, & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis devicti sunt. Qui etiam pro majori parte occisi fuerunt, & alii, qui evadere non potuerunt, in servitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorum Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquam imperator fuit positus, quandam civitatem ædificavit, quam Chanyl appellavit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo pro certo sylvestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec juncturas in cruribus habent, & si quando cadunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipsos fugiunt.

Occoday Cham.

Homines sylvestres.

De mutua victoria ipsorum & Kythaorum. Cap. 9.

[I. 41.]

MOngali autem in terram suam revertentes, se contra* Kythaos ad prælium paraverunt, & castra moventes, eorum terram intraverunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu suo contra illos, & commissum est prælium durum, in quo Mongali sunt devicti, omnesque nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter septem occisi sunt. Unde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionem, minatur aliquis stragem, adhuc respondent: Olim etiam occisi non nisi septem remansimus, & tamen modò crevimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoque non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alii, qui remanserunt, in terram suam fugerunt. Cumque quievisset aliquantulum, præparavit se rursus ad prælium, & processit contra terram Huyrorum. Isti sunt homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali devicerunt, eorumque literam acceperunt; prius enim scripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat processit, quos omnes bello devicit. Inde in terram suam rediit, & aliquantulum quievit. Deinde convocatis omni-

** Haythono & Paulo Veneto sunt Cathay.*

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Novæ victoriæ.

Literæ.

bus hominibus suis, contra Kythaos pariter processerunt, diuque contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumque Imperatorem in civitatem suam majorem concluserunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obsederunt, quod exercitus expensæ omninò defecerunt. Cumque jam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingischam suis, ut de decem hominibus unum ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de civitate machinis & sagittis viriliter contra istos pugnabant, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentum & maximè liquefactum projiciebant. Civitas siquidem illa multis erat divitiis plena. Cumque diu Mongali pugnassent, & eam bello vincere non possent, unam magnam sub terra viam ab exercitu usque ad medium civitatis fecerunt, & prosilientes in medium ejus, contra cives pugnaverunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanserant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Denique concidentes portas civitatis intraverunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes urbem possederunt, aurumque & argentum, & omnes ejus divitias abstulerunt. Et cùm illi terræ suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam reversi sunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum devicto, factus est Chingischam imperator. Quandam tamen partem illius terræ, quia posita erat in mari, nullatenus devicerunt usque hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam specialem, & etiam, ut dicitur, veteris & novi Testamenti scripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrum & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus suis, ad modum Ecclesiarum factas. Quosdam etiam sanctos habere se dicunt, & unum Deum colunt. Christum Jesum Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitam æternam, sed non baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant ac reverentur. Christianos diligunt, & eleemosynas plures faciunt, homines benigni satis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inveniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum est opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & serico ac rebus cæteris.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem projectum.

Chingis salutatur Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ἐξοχη.

De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem & majorem. Cap. 10.

CUm autem Mongali cum Imperatore suo Chingischam post præfatam victoriam aliquantulum quievissent, exercitus suos diviserunt. Imperator siquidem unum de filiis suis nomine Thosut, quem etiam Can, id est, Imperatorem appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos misit, quos ille multo bello devicit, & postmodum in terram suam rediit. Alium verò filium cum exercitu contra Indos misit, qui & minorem Indiam subjecit. Hi sunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthipes sunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Christianos, qui sunt in India majori, processit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò* Presbyter Johannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, unamquanque posuit in sella super equum. Posuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle super equum post imaginem. Itaque cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos seu Tartaros processerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælii pervenissent, equos istos unum juxta alium præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, nescio quid super ignem, qui erat intra imagines, posuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter sufflaverunt. Unde factum est, ut ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Túmque super Tartaros sagittas jecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sícque ejecerunt illos cum magna confusione de suis finibus, nec unquam, quod ad ipsos ultra redierint audivimus.

Thossut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis majoris Indiæ stratagema.

** Vide scolion in lib. 1. cap. 51. M. Pauli Veneti.*

Victoria.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Burithabethinos vicerunt. Cap. 11. [I. 42.]

CUm autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur, monstra quædam, imaginem

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

¶ Forsan autem videri allegorica allusio possit ad Canibales de quibus Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Oceanicis.

Burithabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogassent, ubi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunque fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam, masculi vero speciem caninam. Dumque moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluvii parte convenerunt. Et cùm esset hyems asperrima omnes se in aquam projecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in pulverem volvebantur, sicque pulvis admixtus aquæ super eos congelabatur, & ut ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam convenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos jaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoque arma eorum in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, morsibus vulneraverunt multos, & occiderunt, sicque illos de suis finibus ejecerunt. Unde adhuc inter illos est proverbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad invicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorum, quas ceperant, ad terram suam duxerunt, & usque ad diem mortis eorum ibidem fuerunt. Cùm autem exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cujus habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cùm enim alicujus pater humanæ naturæ solvit debitum, congregant omnem parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reversus.

Qualiter à montibus Caspiis, & ab hominibus subterraneis repulsi sunt. Cap. 12.

Alia Chingis expeditio.

CHingischam etiam illo tempore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientem, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & ut nobis dicebatur, ibidem usque ad montes Caspios pervenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicaverunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideóque sagittas & arma ferrea illorum ad se traxerunt. Homines autem inter Caspios montes conclusi clamorem exercitus, ut creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum invenerunt. Cumque ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ultra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omninò quippe visum amittebant, statim ut ad illam perveniebant. Illi autem ex adverso credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim ut pervenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos pervenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquàm per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itaque pervenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, sed neminem invenire poterant. Tandem quærentes, unum hominem cum uxore sua repererunt, quos in præsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogasset illos, ubi homines illius terræ essent, responderunt, quòd in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta uxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, ut venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narravit, quæ Chingischam eis mandavit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, ut facerent ejus mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & subitò super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos unam aurem ad terram ponere, & superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cavere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam & sui, quòd nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos

¶ *Vide an Hamsem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap.* 10.

Troglodytæ.

Fabulosus Solis orientis sonitus.

perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum uxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam usque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra soleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cúm oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, ut homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæterisque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, ut sonitum illum non audiant.

[I. 43.]

De statutis Chingischam, et morte ipsius, et filiis ac Ducibus. Cap. 13.

CUm autem de terra illa reverteretur Chingischam, defecerunt eis victualia, famemque patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora unius bestiæ recentia casu invenerunt: quæ accipientes, depositis tantum stercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingischam deportata pariter comederunt. *Chingis lex.* Ideoque statuit Chingischam, ut nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia, quæ manducari potest, projiciatur, exceptis stercoribus. Inde ergò in terram propriam reversus est, ibique leges & statuta edidit, quæ Tartari inviolabiliter observant, de quibus scilicet jam aliàs superiùs dictum est. *Interitus.* Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui occisus est. *Liberi.* Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thossut Can secundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiii. descenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. *Nepotes.* Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator. Hujus fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filiis autem Thossut Can sunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy post Imperatorem omnibus ditior est ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum senior. Filii Thiaday, sunt Hurin & Cadan. Filii autem alterius filii Chingischam, cujus ignoramus nomen, sunt, Mengu & Bithat & alii plures. Hujus Mengu mater Seroctan est, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusque potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem sunt nomina *Duces.* Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoque & Huryn & Cadan & Syban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc est ultra mare contra quosdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alii verò remanserunt in terra, scilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. Alii quoque Duces eorum plures sunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota sunt.

De potestate Imperatoris & Ducum ejus.
Cap. 14.

Imperatoris Tartarorum servile in omnes imperium.

POrrò Imperator eorum, scilicet Tartarorum, super omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, nisi ubi assignaverit ipse. Et ipse quidem assignat Ducibus ubi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenariis assignant, Millenarii verò Centenariis, & Centenarii Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunque tempore, quocunque loco, sive ad bellum, sive ad mortem, vel ubicunque, sine ulla obediunt contradictione. Nam etsi petit alicujus filiam virginem, vel sororem, mox ei sine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & si vult aliquas retinere, sibi retinet, alias verò dat suis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoscunque & ubicunque transmittat, oportet quòd dent ei sine mora equos & expensas. Similiter undecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncii, oportet equos & currus & expensas tribui. Ac verò nuncii, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miseria, & victus & vestitus penuria sunt. Maximeque quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde possent duo vivere. Insuper & si aliquæ illis injuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile possunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ si non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quasi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expensis à fidelibus erant datæ, de necessitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique sic omnia sunt in

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum est vel illius, sed omnia, scilicet res & jumenta ac homines, sunt ipsius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanavit statutum ejusdem. Idem quoque per omnia dominium habent Duces super sibi subditos homines.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

Occoday surrogatur patri.

Bathy ejúsque expeditio.

Barchin civitas.

Sarguit civitas.

Orna civitas.

[I. 44.]

¶ Vide Mechovium, lib. 1. ca. 3.

MOrtuo, ut suprà dictum est, Cyngischam, convenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium ejus Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio Principum, divisit exercitus. Misitque Bathy, qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altissodan & contra terram Bisminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, sed loquebantur Comanicum. Qui terram illorum ingressus, cum eis pugnavit, eosque sibi bello subjecit. Quædam autem civitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Cives enim in circuitu civitatis foveas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas replevissent. Cives autem urbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obviam eis, spontè in manus eorum se tradentes. Unde civitas eorum destructa non fuit, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt, acceptisque spoliis, urbem aliis hominibus repleverunt, & contra civitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populosa & divitiis copiosa. Erant enim ibi plures Christiani, videlicet Gasari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alii nec non & Sarraceni. Eratque Sarracenorum civitatis dominium. Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluvium, & est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumque Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluvium, qui per urbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus submerserunt. Quo facto, contra Russiam perrexerunt, & magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, civitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kioviam, Russiæ metropolin, diu obsederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac cives interfecerunt. Unde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & ossa hominum mortuorum, jacentia super campum, inveniebamus. Fuerat enim urbs valdè magna & populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducentæ, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima servitute. Porrò de Russia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos processerunt, ibique plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, & ut jam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent. Inde revertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eosque bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omninò destruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam devicerunt. Hinc ampliùs ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui parvos habentes stomachos & os parvum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus vivunt, & tabernacula vestesque tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super Oceanum pervenerunt, ubi monstra quædam invenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bovinos, & caput quidem humanum, sed faciem ut canis. Duo verba loquebantur ut homines, tertiò latrabant ut canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & usque nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

Morduani.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogetæ.

Monstra aquilonaria.

† *De his regionibus Herbersteinius pag.* 8.*b.* & 91.*b.* *Paret enim hodie utraque Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag.* 106.*b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello superavit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, ut cùm alicujus pater moritur, præ dolore quasi unam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure usque aurem de facie sua levet. His autem devictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios ivit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cùm transirent per deserta

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia subacta.

Soldanus Halapiæ.

† Calipha Baldacensis.

quædam, monstra invenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi unum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & unum pedem habebant, & duo cum uno arcu sagittabant, adeoque fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos investigare non poterant. Currebant autem super unum pedem illum saltando, & cùm essent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant super manum & pedem, se tanquam in circulo revolvendo. Cumque sic etiam fesse essent, iterum secundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncii venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superiùs annotati, ut possent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello devicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum devicerunt. Denique processerunt ulterius debellando ac vincendo usque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras ultra illas proponentes impugnare: nec postea reversi sunt in terram suam usque hodiè. Idemque exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, & ut CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterisque muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, ut ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna trasmittens, ut eum supportent, rogat. Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus ut veniat, pro eo mittit.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in præliis. Cap. 17.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina.

ORdinavit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenariis præponunt unum, cunctoque nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen ut ad unum habeant respectum. Cumque in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et si [I. 45.] unus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alii verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si unus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, socii eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam occiduntur. *Armatura.* Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel unum bonum ad minus. Tresque pharetras sagittis plenas, & unam securim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Divites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex una parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curvos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad unius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinem faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina parvula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt. Sicque laminas, unam alii quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itaque laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immissis, ligant, & in superiori parte corrigiolam unam ex utraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola consuunt, ut laminæ simul benè firmiterque cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeoque faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ uncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex utraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, semperque juxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, nisi ad castra & ad custodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. *Usus bellorum.* In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos xlii. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. *Mos tranandi flumina.* Cùm autem ad flumina pervenerunt, majores habent rotundum ac leve corium, in cujus summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissimeque ad invicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Hujusmodi navim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alii equi sequuntur illum, & sic transeunt fluvium. Pauperior autem quilibet unam bursam vel saccum de corio benè consutum habet, in quo res suas omnes imponit, & in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sicque modo prædicto transit.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

Παραινεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

NUllam æstimo provinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere: quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina provincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & si malè pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaque si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in unum conveniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeantque pugnatores arcus fortes & balistas, quas multùm timent, sagittasque sufficientes, dolabrum quoque de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum more Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, ut fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum uncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendum illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, & si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, & contra ipsos arcubus vel balistis trajicere. Et sicut dictum est suprà de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunque conversus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absque miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, ut undique possint videre, nec omnes debent in unum convenire, sed acies multas & divisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab invicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent unam aciem mittere, & alia parata sit ad juvandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cæteræ. Nam ideò semper debent aciem contra aciem, ut ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur adversarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caveant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, diu post illos currant, ne fortè, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die una, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Præterea si cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent nostri recedere, vel ab invicem separari: quoniam hoc simulando faciunt, ut exercitus [I. 46.] dividatur, & sic ad terræ destructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces nostri die noctúque facere debent exercitum custodiri: nec jacere spoliati, sed semper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quasi Dæmones semper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò si aliqui Tartarorum in bello de suis equis projiciuntur, statim capiendi sunt, quia quando sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos hominesque vulnerant.

De itinere Fratris Johannis de Plano carpini usque ad primam custodiam Tartarorum. Cap. 19.

NOs igitur ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaque pergentes, ad regem Boëmorum pervenimus: qui cùm esset nobis familiaris, consuluit, ut per Poloniam & Russiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim consanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio

Itinerarium Joann. & sociorum legatorum.

Russiam intrare possemus. Datisque literis & bono conductu, fecit & expensas nobis dari per curias & civitates ejus, quo usque ad Ducem Slesiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem ejus, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipse nobis similiter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautisciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis favente, venerat Dominus Wasilico, Dux Russiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audivimus Tartarorum : quia nuncios illuc miserat, qui jam redierant ad ipsum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quasdam pelles castorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemosynam ad subsidium viæ. Quod agnoscentes Dux Conradus & * Ducissa Cracoviæ, & Episcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt hujusmodi pelles. Denique Dux Wasilico à Duce Cracoviæ, & Episcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, secum nos in terram suam duxit, & ut aliquantulum quiesceremus, aliquot diebus nos in expensis suis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, fecisset Episcopos suos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ unitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipsi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Episcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Wasiliconis prædicti, præsens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter respondere. Post hæc Dux Wasilico transmisit nos usque in Kioviam metropolin Russiæ, cum serviente uno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis semper propter Lituanos, qui sæpè faciebant insultum super terram Russiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus transire. At per prædictum servientem eramus securi à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occisa vel captivata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone usque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per nivem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kioviam pervenimus, habuimus de via nostra consilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui responderunt nobis, quòd si duceremus equos illos, quos tunc

Boleslaus Dux Silesiæ.

** Mazoviæ.*

** Grimislaua, ut Mechovius lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Literæ Papæ ad Russos.

Daniel, frater Basilii.

Lituani.

habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm essent magnæ nives, morerentur omnes: quia nescirent herbam fodere sub nive, sicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inveniri posset aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec stramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decrevimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum custodiæ. Ideoque nos oportuit millenario dare munera, ut ipsum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos subductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die post festum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canovæ, quæ sub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cujus præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum usque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus secundum velle suum, duxit nos usque ad primam custodiam Tartarorum.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas πάγκακος.

Qualiter primô cum sociis suis receptus est à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CUm ergo in prima sexta feria post diem cinerum, Sole ad occasum tendente, hospitaremur. Tartari super nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cujusmodi homines essemus: cumque respondissemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncii essemus, quibusdam cibariis à nobis acceptis, continuó discesserunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm surgentes aliquantulum processissemus, majores illorum, qui erant in custodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotii haberemus? Quibus respondimus, Domini Papæ nuncii sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omnesque Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Christiani Tartarorum sint amici, & pacem habeant cum ipsis. Desiderat insuper, ut apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, ut efficiantur Christiani, fidemque recipiant Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter salvari. Mandat prætereà, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominum, & maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui sunt ei subjecti, facta per

Papa Christianorum pater & Dominus.

Legationis mandata.

[I. 47.]

Tartaros, cùm in nullo læsissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus graviter est super hoc offensus, monet eos, ut à talibus de cætero caveant, & de commissis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, ut ei rescribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ sit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subductitios usque ad Corrensam & ducatum præbere. Statimque munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderant ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Corrensam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium unum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quæ dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè subitò & improvisò irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Corrensa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Correnſam.

Cap. 21.

Mos salutandi Tartaricos proceres.

CUm ergò pervenissemus ad ejus curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni stationem, & misit ad nos procuratores suos, ut quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos pervenire possemus, & insuper veneramus per loca valdè periculosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsum. Acceptisque muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam sive tentorium ipsius, & instructi fuimus, ut ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, & caveremus attentè, ne pedem super limen ostii poneremus. Et postquam intravimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibusque majoribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus superiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papæ obtulimus: sed interpres, quem de Kyovia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandum, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur præ cunctis principibus obedire. Itaque iter arripuimus secunda feria post primam dominicam || xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane usque ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam majoris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum pervenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, juxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montii, qui major est illo ex altera parte per campestria. Secundum appellatur * Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in conjugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon. Tertium dicitur * Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur * Iaec, super quod duo millenarii vadunt, unus ex parte fluminis una, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, & in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hoc est mare magnum, de quo brachium sancti Georgii exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantque mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus ivimus per glaciem. Super littora quoque maris Græciæ satis periculosè per glaciem ivimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora undæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perveniremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Correnſam dixeramus.

Bathy ejúsque potentia.

|| *Quadragesimæ.*

Comania.

* *Veteribus Borysthenes.*

* *Tanais.*

* *Rha.*

* *Rhymnus.*

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum Principem. Cap. 22.

PORRÒ cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perveniremus, benè positi fuimus per unam leucam à stationibus ejus. Cumque duci debuimus ad curiam

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

Eldegay.

[I. 48.]

Bathy audit legatos.

Gerit se regificè.

ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter quos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volumus hoc facere, nisi tantùm, ut si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam pervenissemus, interrogati à procuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Corrensam respondimus, datisque muneribus & acceptis, auditis etiam itineris causis, introduxerunt nos in stationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, sicut prius, admonitione. Ingressi autem flexis genibus, verba nostra proposuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & ut nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogavimus. Qui etiam in die Parasceve dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipsis transtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præsentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notavit. Tandem ad nostram stationem reducti fuimus, sed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, nisi semel aliquantulum millii in una scutella, scilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iste Bathy magnificè se gerit, habens ostiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & sedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum una de uxoribus suis. Alii verò tam fratres sui & filii, quàm alii majores inferiùs sedent in medio super bancum, & homines cæteri post eos in terra deorsum, sed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à sinistris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna satis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad ejus tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, nisi vocatus, quantumcunque sit potens & magnus, nisi fortè sciatur, quòd sit voluntas ipsius. Nos etiam dicta causa sedimus à sinistris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncii faciunt in eundo: sed in redeundo ab Imperatore, semper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur mensa ejus prope ostium stationis, super quam apponitur potus in aureis &

Ejusdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos.

Authoritas.

argenteis vasis. Nec unquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico sunt, nisi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, semper portatur solinum, vel tentoriolum super caput ejus in hasta. Sícque faciunt cuncti majores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam uxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy satis est hominibus suis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna est crudelissimus, sagax est multum & astutissimus in bello: quia jam pugnavit tempore longo.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum & Kangittarum transierunt. Cap. 23.

Legati jubentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere.

Comaniæ descriptio.

IN die porrò Sabbathi sancti ad stationem fuimus vocati, & exivit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipsius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipsorum iremus, retentis quibusdam ex nostris sub hac specie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis nostris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediissent usque ad Montii Ducem supradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt usque ad reditum nostrum. Nos autem in die Paschæ officio dicto, & facta comestione qualicunque cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Correnſam fuerant assignati, cum multis lacrymis recessimus, nescientes utrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota siquidem illa quadragesima fuerat cibus noster millium cum aqua & sale tantùm, & in aliis similiter diebus jejuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum præter nivem in caldario liquefactam. Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortissimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, nisi quando per deserta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui possent continuum sustinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadragesima usque ad octo dies post Pascha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè post Russiam habet Morduynos Byleros, id est, magnam Bulgariam, Bastarcos, id est, magnam Hungariam, post Bastarcos, Parositas & Samogetas. Post

Oceanus septentrionalis.

Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus desertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circassos, Gazaros, Græciam & Constantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur esse Judæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoque Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Russiam. Et est Comania terra maxima & longa. Cujus populos, scilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum servitutem redacti sunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipsos redierunt. Post hæc intravimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Unde homines Jeroslai, Ducis Russiæ, cùm ad ipsum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deserto præ siti mortui sunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa invenimus capita & ossa mortuorum hominum, super terram jacentia tanquam sterquilinium. Per hanc itaque terram ivimus ab octo diebus post Pascha ferè usque ad Ascensionem Dominicam. Hujusque habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipsi quàm Comani non laborabant, sed tantùm de animalibus vivebant, nec domos ædificabant, sed in tabernaculis habitabant. Istos etiam Tartari deleverunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illique qui remanserunt, redacti sunt in servitutem ipsorum.

Terra Kangittarum.

Jeroslaus, Dux Russiæ.

[I. 49.]

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam devenerunt. Cap. 24.

Terra Biserminorum.

Altisoldanus.

Montes maximi.

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intravimus terram Biserminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, sed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra invenimus urbes innumeras cum castris dirutas, villasque multas desertas. Hujus Dominus dicebatur Altisoldanus, qui cum tota sua progenie à Tartaris est destructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hierusalem & Baldach, totamque Sarracenorum terram. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, scilicet Burin & Cadan, filii Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingischam. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc ivimus à festo Ascensionis dominicæ ferè usque ad viii. dies ante festum sanct. Johan. Baptistæ. Deinde ingressi sumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificavit domum, ubi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit majores civitatis, & etiam duos filios ejus, plaudere coram nobis. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare parvum invenimus, in cujus littore quidam existit mons parvus. In quo scilicet monte quoddam foramen esse dicitur, unde in hyeme tam maximæ tempestates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo transire possunt. In æstate verò semper quidem ibi ventorum sonitus auditur, sed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per hujus maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum sit magnum, plures insulas habet, & illud in sinistris dimisimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & est orda, sive curia patris ipsius, quam inhabitat, & regis una de uxoribus ejus. Consuetudo enim est apud Tartaros, quòd principum & majorum curiæ non delentur, sed semper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eísque donariorum partes, sicut Dominis earum dari solebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat una de uxoribus ipsius.

Burin.
Cadan.
Oceanus ab Aquilone.
Syban, frater Bathy.
Nigri Catheyni.
Mare parvum.
Plurimis diebus.
Plures insulæ.
Ordu. cap. 13.
Prima curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipsum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum pervenerunt. Cap. 25.

At verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipsius, sed nobis in tentorio nostro secundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè serviri fecerunt, & ut quiesceremus, nos ibidem per unam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia sanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum

Terra Naymanorum.

intravimus, qui sunt Pagani. In ipsa verò die Apostolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuosa & frigida est supra modum, ibique de planicie reperitur modicum. Istæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, sed sicut & Tartari in tentoriis habitabant, quas & ipsi deleverant, per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intravimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per has itaque terras, ut credimus, tribus septimanis equitando fortiter ivimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum pervenimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam istam valdè festinavimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris nostris, ut citò nos deducerent ad curiam solennem, jam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipsius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane surgentes, ibamus usque ad noctem sine comestione, & sæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in sero, sed quod manducare debebamus in vespere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatisque frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, sed equitabamus velociter ac sine intermissione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Tartaria.

Julii 22.

Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores suscepit.
Cap. 26.

CUm autem pervenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expensas, quales Tartaris dare solent, nobis tamen melius quàm aliis nunciis faciebant. Ad ipsum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio se intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo stetissemus ibi per quinque vel sex dies, ad matrem suam nos transmisit, ubi adunabatur curia solennis. Et cùm venissemus illuc, tam extensum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratque tam grande nostro judicio, quòd plusquam duo millia hominum poterant esse sub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum variis imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò perreximus cum

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

Comitia. [I. 50.]

Tartaris, nobis ad custodiam assignatis, ibique convenerant omnes duces, & unusquisque cum hominibus suis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die vestiti sunt omnes purpuris albis, in secunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato juxta tentorium erant duæ majores portæ, per quarum unam solus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat custodia, quamvis esset aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam custodes cum gladiis & arcubus & sagittis erant. Itaque si quis tentorio propinquabat ultra terminos, qui positi erant, si capiebatur, verberabatur, si fugiebat, sagitta sive ferro sagittabatur. Multique ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, sellis & hujusmodi, judicio nostro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, ut à nobis creditur. Alius autem universus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè usque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac jumentinum bibere, & usque ad vesperas tantum bibebant, quod erat visu mirabile. Nos autem vocaverunt interius, & dederunt nobis cerevisiam: quia jumentinum lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: sed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter consuetudinem sustinere. Unde ostendimus eis, hoc esse nobis grave, ideoque nos cessaverunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Jeroslaus de Susdal Russiæ, pluresque Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoque filii regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alii Soldani Sarracenorum, ut credimus. Et sicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum seipsos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipsi miserant, illosque, qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes

Symposium procerum.

Jeroslaus Dux Russiæ.

Legati diversarum nationum.

simul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eisque simul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Jerozlao ferè semper ab eis dabatur superior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Qualiter in imperium sublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperii Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Augusti 15.

Preces solennes.

ET quidem, si benè meminimus, ibidem per septimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimusque, quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia semper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis speciosis, in summitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quousque exterius morabatur. Hæc autem statio sive Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, unanimiter omnes equitavimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, ubi erat in quadam pulchra planicie juxta rivum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipsos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatum. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in sede in die Assumptionis Dominæ nostræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, ut suprà dictum est, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratque tentorium in columnis positum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clavis aureis cum aliis lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum superius, sed alii erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi usque ad festum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo convenit, & contra meridiem versis vultibus stetit. Et quidam ad jactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, semperque orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem utrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, nescientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cumque diu ita fecissent, ad tentorium reversi sunt, & Cuyne in sede imperiali posuerunt, Ducesque coram eo genua flexerunt. Post hoc idem fecit universus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis subditi non eramus.

De ætate ac moribus ac sigillo ipsius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas & mores.

HIc autem Imperator quando sublimatus est in regnum, videbatur esse circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat staturæ, prudens valde, nimis astutus multumque seriosus, & gravis in moribus. Nec unquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam levitatem facere, sicut dicebant Christiani, qui cum ipso morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis asserendo firmiter Christiani, qui erant de familia ejus, quòd deberet fieri Christianus. *Studium Christianismi.* Cujus signum erat, quod ipse Clericos Christianos tenebat, & expensas eis dabat. Habebat etiam semper capellam Christianorum ante majus tentorium suum, ubi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulsant ad horas, ut cæteri Christiani secundùm mores Græcorum, quantacunque sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alii Duces ipsorum. *Majestas.* Est autem mos Imperatoris ipsius, ut nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunque magnus sit, sed audit & [I. 51.] respondet per interpositam personam, & quandocunque negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcunque sint magni, flexis genibus usque ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atque scriptores, omnesque officiales in negotiis tam publicis quàm privatis, exceptis Advocatis. *Potestas exlex †.* Nam sine litium vel judiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alii quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem noverint universi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, jam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de novo electus, *Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.* cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos Occidentis, nisi fortasse, quod absit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet ut ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Hujus siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieverant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, ut dictum est suprà, est, sibi totum subjicere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Unde & ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli ejus est hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

† *Contrà Xenophon: δίκαιον ἐστι νόμιμον. Et præclarè Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deum ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adjungit, cùm præsertim tale quid sit cupiditas & iracundia: & magistratus & optimus quisque à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. i. tit. 3. l. 2.*

De admissione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

Cuyne audit legatos.

IN loco illo, ubi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cumque Chingay protonotarius ejus nomina nostra scripsisset, illorumque à quibus missi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamavit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum universitate. Quo facto, flexit unusquisque nostrum quater genu sinistrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorsum. Cumque pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, & nullatenus invenissent, intravimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium ejus. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in ejus præsentia suam intravimus stationem, videlicet postquam factus est Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncii tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium ejus intraverunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nunciis fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cæterisque muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, sive tentoriolum, quod super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus unius provinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis tectos. Similiter sellæ positæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines interius sedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quosdam quidem de corio, & quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: sed jam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi currus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctique inter imperatorem & Duces divisi fuerunt, singulique Duces inter homines suos partes suas, ut eis placuit, diviserunt.

Munera eidem oblata.

Currus Θησαυρόφοροι.

De loco divisionis Imperatoris & matris suæ, & morte Jeroslai, Ducis Russiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, ubi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quod Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & semper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cerevisia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque solariolum unum, de tabulis altè præparatum, ubi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides preciosi, si benè meminimus, & illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum superius. Banci verò erant positi in circuitu sedis, ubi dominæ sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alii verò sedebant post eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus suprà dixi-

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eburnum.

[I. 52.]

Nex Occoday vindicata Jeroslaus Dux Russiæ.

mus, erant valdè magna, aliaque habebant uxores ejus de filtro albo satis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator divisus est à matre sua, quæ ivit in unam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad judicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem ejus, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, recessit. De qua cum aliis pluribus factum fuit judicium, & occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Jerozlaus. Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, ut manducaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitium est reversus, infirmatusque mortuus est post septem dies, totúmque corpus ejus miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebaturque ab omnibus, quod ibidem, ut terram ejus liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, literas dederunt & acceperunt. Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

Cosmas Russus.

Chingay internuncius.

DEnique Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, jussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superiùs dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reversi stetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reversi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix vivere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix uni sufficiebant. Nec invenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosmam, aurifabrum præparavit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentavit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum ejusdem, quod etiam fabricaverat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobisque per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, ut verba nostra

& negotia scriberemus, eique porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & utrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogavit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iverunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperii procurator, & Chingay & Bala, pluresque scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobisque literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico scripserunt, ut aliquis in partibus nostris inveniri posset, qui eas, si opus esset, legeret.

Prudens de literis consilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

Ut autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, ut credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm unus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, ut venirent, nequaquam bonum videbatur. Ideoque respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adjuvante. Nobis autem ob plures causas ut venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda

Legati abhorrent à Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt & superbæ. Unde quando servientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, & coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, ut cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, nisi sumant de ipsis ultionem. Quarta etiam causa fuit, quia [I. 53.] timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi. Quinta verò causa erat, quia de adventu eorum nulla foret utilitas, cùm nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quód literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum adventu posse contingere credebamus. *Novemb.* 13. Itaque tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccii nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quæ unicuique nostrum dedit pelliceum unum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram unam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex unaquaque unum passum. De illa quoque, quæ dabatur servienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignoravimus, sed inde verba movere noluimus.

Honorantur commeatu & lautiis.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TUnc iter ad revertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, jacentes in desertis sæpiùs in nive, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inveniebamus totos nive, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes usque ad Ascensionem Domini pervenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datisque nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octavas Pentecostes usque ad Montii pervenimus, ubi erant socii nostri, ac servientes, qui fuerant retenti,

Difficilis legatorum reditus.

Bathy.

quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc usque Correnſam pervenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditque nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, usque ad Kioviam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus ultimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alii, qui nobis à Corrensa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab ultima custodia usque ad Kioviam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Johannis Baptistæ xv. diebus. Porrò Kiovienses adventum nostrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Wasilico frater ejus festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioque tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterisque probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoque Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Corrensa.

Junii 8.

Gratulationes reducibus factæ.

Basilius & Daniel Principes.

Russi agnoscunt primatum Papæ

[The voyage

The voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini unto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prædicants and Minorites unto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum Historiale: beginning at the second Chapter.

Ascellinus. ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consorted with him out of divers Covens of their order, with letters Apostolicall unto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to give over their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receive the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, received the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I have above inserted into this my woorke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sanct. *Simon Quintinianus.* Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier *John de plano Carpini.* Minorite, namely Frier John de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates unto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnesseth) abode and conversed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he & one *Benedictus Polonus.* Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, received straight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier John hath written a litle Historie (which is come to our hands) of such [I. 54.] things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among the Tartars, or which he heard from divers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captivitie. Out of which historie I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert somewhat for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By Johannes de Plano Carpini. Chap. 3.

A description of Tartaria.

THere is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most North Easterly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the province of Naimani: but on the North side it is invironed with the Ocean Sea. In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smoothe grounde, but everie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite unlesse it be moistened with river waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Whereupon they have neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selves sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes journey thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise unfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the bringing up of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small store of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselves, and dresse their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horses. The ayre also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere unto the Orda (for by this name they call the

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

What Orda signifieth.

habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye groveling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is never any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it scarcely sufficeth to allay the dust, or to moysten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great store of haile also. Insomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, upon the sudden melting thereof, more then 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other thinges also caried away. Likewise, in the Sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of living. Chap. 4.

The shape of the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like unto Frobishers men.

Their tabernacles.

THe Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are unlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They have flat and small noses, litle eyes, and eye liddes standing streight upright, they are shaven on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then upon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They have short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They use neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Jackets framed after a strange manner, of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines. Their shoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outside, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They use not to washe their garments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staves in manner of a tent. But in the middest of the toppes thereof, they have a window open to convey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middest. Their walles bee covered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickely be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried upon beastes backes. Other some cannot be taken insunder, but are stowed upon carts. And whithersoever they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. And I thinke they have more horses and mares then all the world besides. But they have no kine nor other beasts. Their Emperors, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with silk, gold, silver, and precious stones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice. They drinke milke in great quantitie, but especially mares milke, if they have it: They seeth Mill also in water, making it so thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Every one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and sometime they eate nought else all the day long. But in the evening each man hath a little flesh given him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in summer time, when they have mares milke enough, they seldome eate flesh, unles perhaps it be given them, or they take some beast or bird in hunting.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

[I. 55.]

Of their manners both good and bad. Chap. 5.

THeir manners are partly prayse-worthie, and partly detestable: For they are more obedient unto their lords and masters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reverence them, and will deceive them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They seldome or never fall out among themselves, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manslaughters, they never happen among them. There are neither theeves nor robbers of great riches to be

Their obedience.

Their abstinence.

found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that have any treasures are not strengthened with lockes or barres. If any beast goe astray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driveth it to them that are put in office for the same purpose, at whose handes the owner of the said beast demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiveth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie and scarce among them. They are also very hardie, and when they have fasted a day or two without any maner of sustenance, they sing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they use commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them despiseth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conveniently he can. Their women are chaste, neither is there so much as a word uttered concerning their dishonestie. Some of them will notwithstanding speake filthy and immodest words. But towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoever. For we saw in the Emperours court the great duke of Russia, the kings sonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiving no due honour and estimation among them. So that even the very Tartars assigned to give attendance unto them, were they never so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the upper hand of them, yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their backes. Moreover they are angrie and of a disdainefull nature unto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falshood, circumventing all men whom they are able, by their sleights. Whatsoever mischiefe they entend to practise against a man, they

Their curtesie.

Their chastity.

Their insolencie against strangers.

keepe it wonderfully secrete, so that he may by no meanes provide for himselfe, nor find a remedie against their conspiracies. They are unmanerly also and uncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his stomacke can well beare, hee casteth it up and falles to drinking againe. They are most intollerable exacters, most covetous possessours, and most nigardly givers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Of their lawes and customes. Chap. 6.

Punishments of adultery.

MOreover, they have this law or custome, that whatsoever man or woman be manifestly taken in adultery, they are punished with death. A virgine likewise that hath committed fornication, they slay together with her mate. Whosoever be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Also, if any man disclose their secrets, especially in time of warre, he receiveth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a bastinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like sort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no favour at their superiours handes, but are punished with grievous stripes. They are joyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, even to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they use to marrie their sister by the fathers side onely, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The yonger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Baty for conveying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be prooved, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came & made their supplication unto the forenamed duke, that

Of theft.

Of secretes disclosed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Russia.

[I. 56.] the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him unto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, then so haynously transgresse the law. Howbeit, hee delivered her unto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be short, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wives use very seldome to marrie the second time, unlesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father gives what he pleaseth unto each one: For of late the king of Georgia having two sonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other David, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande unto his base sonne. Hereupon Melich (unto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was governed before time by women) went unto the Emperour of the Tartars, David also having taken his journey unto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might have justice, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that David being his elder brother, should have superioritie over him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted unto him by his father. Whensoever a Tartar hath many wives, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conversant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselves.

Melich & David two brothers.

Of their superstitious traditions. Chap. 7.

Ridiculous traditions.

BUt by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors have devised, they accompt some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the cauldron, or to hewe with an hatchet neare unto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane upon the whip, wherewith they beate their horses : for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to strike an horse with ye raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone against another. Also, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke upon the ground or to make water within their tabernacle : which whosoever doth willingly, he is slaine, but otherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conveigh any thing thereout. Besides, if any man hath a morsell given him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made under his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoever treads upon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like unto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to invade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to transgresse the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and everlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall live in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they shal eate and drinke and doe other things which living men performe here upon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises

The Tartars worship the moone.

that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it upon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Javelines into the ground neere unto the said fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Javelines. And about the corde they tye certaine jagges of buckram, under which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beastes, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left casting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatsoever such things they have, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things uncleane. And to bee short, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or other personages whatsoever come unto them, they and their giftes must passe betweene two fires to be purified, lest peradventure they have practised some witchcraft, or have brought some poyson or other mischiefe with them.

Their custome of purifying.

[I. 57.]

Of the beginning of their empire or government. Chap. 8.

THe East countrie, whereof wee have entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to have had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselves Tartars of a certaine river running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All these people had one and the same person, attire of body and language, albeit they were divided by princes and provinces. In the province of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man

The people of Tartaria.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captives as he could, and joining them unto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey unto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischiefe. Then began he to make warre upon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, subdued them unto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he used their helpe to fight against the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also hee vanquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Metrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly disdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puissant Emperour, unto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to governe the people, but were divided, and fell at variance among themselves. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforesaid, they neverthelesse invaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis having intelligence of, gathered all his subjects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselves at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquished by the Mongals. And being thus vanquished, they were, the greater part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captivitie. In the land of the foresayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare unto which citie, on the South side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of joynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselves. Howbeit, they are of

The Naimani.

The discord of brethren.

Occoday Cham.

discretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselves, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. Chap. 9.

*Haython & Paulus Venetus call them * Cathayans.*

BUt the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselves to battell against the *Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were overcome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seven, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to invade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they doe, to this day, answere: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seven of us alive, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen unto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt us with such brags. But Chingis and the residue that remained alive, fled home into their countrey: And having breathed *New victories.* him a little, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians *Letters.* of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals overcame, and received letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut up their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary provision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede upon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate every tenth man of the companie. But they of the [I. 58.] citie fought manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threw silver, and especially melted silver: for the same citie abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not prevayle by warre, they made a great trench underneath the ground from the armie unto the middest of the citie, and there issuing foorth they fought against the citizens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sworde, they tooke possession thereof and conveighed away the golde, silver, and all the riches therein. And having appointed certaine deputies over the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But some parte of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conquere unto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, having a speciall kinde of writing by themselves, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They have also recorded in hystories the lives of their forefathers: and they have Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly resorted unto. They say that they have divers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adore and reverence CHRIST JESUS our Lorde, and beleeve the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe also honourably esteeme and reverence our Scriptures. They love Christians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They have no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde.

Silver cast at the enemie in stead of stones.

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the sea.

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

Their excellent workmanship.

Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities.

Of their warre against India major and minor. Chap. 10.

Thossut Can son of Chingis.

India minor subdued.

The strategem of the king of India.

AND when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselves after the foresayd victorie, they divided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thossut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania, whom he vanquished with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight against Christians dwelling in India major. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter John) gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them upon a saddle on horsebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horse backe behinde every image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare unto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what upon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast dartes upon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that ever they returned thither againe.

How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they overcame the people of Burithabeth. Chap. 11.

A strange report of certain monstrous women and dogs.

BUt returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported unto us in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoever women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankinde, but the males were like unto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the river. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselves into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust upon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and having often times so done, the ice being strongly frozen upon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or shot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe, as if they had [I. 59.] lighted upon stones. And the rest of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an assault upon the Tartars, and wounding some of them with their teeth, and slaying others, at length they drave them out of their countries. And thereupon they have a Proverbe of the same matter, as yet rife among them, which they speake in jesting sorte one to another; My father or my brother was slaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in travelling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came unto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. These people have a strange or rather a miserable kinde of

The region of Burithabeth.

The manners of the people.

custome. For when anie mans father deceaseth, he assembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. These men have no beards at all, for we saw them carie a certaine iron instrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haires growe upon their chinne, they presently plucke them out. They are also very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

How they had the repulse at the Caspian mountaynes, and were driven backe by men dwelling in caves. Chap. 12.

Another expedition of Chingis.

MOreover Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the East, hee himselfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported unto us, he went on forward even to the Caspian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themselves, were of adamant, and therefore they drew unto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within those Caspian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyse of the armie, made a breach through, so that when the Tartars returned unto the same place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe unto them, they could not: for there stood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to passe, being deprived of their sight so soone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary side thinking that the Tartars durst not come nigh them, gave the assault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cause aforesaid. Also the Tartars, before they came unto the said mountaines, passed for the space of a moneth and more, through a vast wildernes, & departing thence towards the East, they were above a moneth traveiling through another huge desert. At length, they came unto a land wherin they saw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the last, diligently seeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they presented before

Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they answered, that the people inhabited under the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping still the woman, sent her husband unto them, giving them charge to come at his command. And going unto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they answered, that they would upon such a day visite him, to satisfie his desire. And in the meane season, by blinde & hidden passages under the earth, assembling themselves, they came against the Tartars in warlike manner, and suddenly issuing forth, they slewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noise, which in that place the Sunne made at his uprising: for at the time of the Sunne rising, they were inforced to lay one eare upon the ground, and to stoppe the other close, least they should heare that dreadfull sound. Neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, seeing that they prevailed not, but continually lost some of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforesaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite under the ground, they sayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the sunne riseth, there is such an huge noyse, that the people cannot endure it. Moreover, they use to play upon cymbals, drums, and other musicall instruments, to the ende they may not heare that sounde.

A fabulous narration of the sun rising.

Of the statutes of Chingis Cham, of his death, of his sonnes, and of his dukes. Chap. 13.

BUt as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & suffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found ye fresh intrails of a beast: which they tooke, & casting away the dung therof, caused it to be sodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that

The lawe of Chingis.

[I. 60.]

neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other part of a beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, save onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inviolably observe, of the which we have before spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclap. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is unknowen. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The sonnes of Thossut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next unto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seignior of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is unknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier then any subject except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygat, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are unknowen unto us.

The death of Chingis. His sonnes.

His grandchildren.

The Tartarian dukes.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. Chap. 14.

The absolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour over his subjects.

Moreover, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion over all his subjects. For no man dare abide in any place, unles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes assigne places unto every Millenarie, or conducter of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries unto each captaine of an 100. the captaines unto every corporall of ten. Whatsoever is given them in charge, whensoever, or wheresoever, be it to fight or to lose their lives, or howsoever it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister being a virgine, they presently deliver her unto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth unto himselfe, others he bestoweth upon his men. Also, whatsoever messenger he sendeth, or whithersoever, his subjects must without delay finde them horses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soever tribute payers, or ambassadours come unto him, they must have horses, carriages, and expenses allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrayned to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could live thereof. Likewise, if any injuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were given us by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and jurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise upon their subjects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambassadours.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. Chap. 15.

Occoday succeedeth his father. After the death of Chingis Cham aforesayd, the dukes assembled themselves and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, divided his armies, and sent duke *The expedition of Bathy.* Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Altisoldan, and against the people called Bisermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars invading their countrey, fought with them and subdued *The citie of Barchin.* them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast up many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themselves unto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue manie of them and others they carried away captive, and taking spoyles, they filled the [I. 61.] citie with other inhabitants, and so marched foorth against *Orna.* the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Christians therein, as namely Gasarians, Russians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens also. The government of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It standeth upon a mighty river, and is a kinde of porte towne, having a great marte exercised therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwise overcome it, they turned the said river, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and so drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they set forward against Russia, and made foule havocke there, destroying cities and castles and murthering the people. They layd siege a long while unto Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia, and at length they tooke it and slue the citizens. Whereupon, traveiling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens skulles and bones lying upon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing : for there doe scarce remaine 200. houses, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreover, out of Russia and Comania, they proceeded forward against the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were slaine, as is aforesaid : and had the Hungarians manfully withstood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driven backe. Returning from thence, they invaded the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched against the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & utterly wasted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North against the people called Bastarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them also. And so going on further North, they came unto the Parossitæ, who having little stomacks and small mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but seething flesh they stand or sitte over the potte, and receiving the steame or smoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogetæ, who live onely upon hunting, and use to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beastes skinnes. From thence they proceeded unto a countrey lying upon the Ocean sea, where they found certaine monsters, who in all things resembled the shape of men, saving that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They spake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there some of them remaine unto this day.

The Morduans.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

Samogetæ.

The North ocean.

Northerne monsters.

Of the expedition of duke Cyrpodan. Chap. 16.

AT the same time Occoday Can sent duke Cyrpodan with an armie against Kergis, who also subdued them in battell. These men are Pagans, having no beardes at all. They have a custome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to

Kergis.

drawe as it were, a leather thong overthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward against the Armenians. And travailing through certain desert places, they found monsters in the shape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midst of their breast, and but one foote. Two of them used to shoote in one bowe, and they ran so swiftly, that horses could not overtake them. They ran also upon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of such walking, they went upon their hand and their foote, turning themselves round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of so doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Isidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told us in court, by the clergie men of Russia, who remaine with the foresayd Emperour, many ambassadours were sent from them unto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part also of Georgia. And the other part is under their jurisdiction, paying as yet every yeare unto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puissant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom also they vanquished in fight. And to be short, they went on farther sacking and conquering, even unto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they have subdued that land also, determining to invade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land unto this day. Likewise the same armie marched forward against the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they subdued also, & exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, besides Baldakines and other giftes. Also every yeare they send messengers unto the Caliph moving him to come unto them. Who sending back great gifts together with his tribute beseecheth them to be favourable unto him. Howbeit the Tartarian Emperour receiveth al his gifts,

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia conquered.

The Soldan of Aleppo his land.

The Caliph of Baldach.

& yet still nevertheles sends for him, to have him come.

How the Tartars behave themselves in warre. Chap. 17.

[I. 62.]

The military discipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham divided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And over ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithstanding over one whole armie he authorised two or three dukes, but yet so that all should have especiall regard unto one of the said dukes. And when they joine battel against any other nation, unles they do all with one consent give backe, every man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the residue of those ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner slaine. Also, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they rescue them not, are punished with death. Moreover they are enjoined to have these weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the least, three quivers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer sort have single edged swords, with sharpe points, and somewhat crooked. They have also armed horses with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they have helmets and brigandines. Some of them have jackes, and caparisons for their horses made of leather artificially doubled or trebled upon their bodies. The upper part of their helmet is of iron or steele, but that part which compasseth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit some of them have all their foresaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in every one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three strong and streight leather thongs. So they joine the plates one to another, as it were, ascending by degrees. Then they tie the plates

Their weapons.

unto the said thongs, with other small and slender thongs, drawen through the holes aforesayd, and in the upper part, on each side therof, they fasten one small doubled thong unto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. These they make, as well for their horses caparisons, as for the armour of their men : And they skowre them so bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them upon the necke of their launce have an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their saddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged sworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quivers to whet their arrowheads. They have targets made of wickers, or of small roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we suppose) accustome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night season. They are most politique in warres, having bene exercised therein with other nations for the space of these 42. yeres. When they come at any rivers, the chiefe men of the company have a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purse, and so bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other necessaries, trussing it up most strongly. But upon the midst of the upper parte thereof, they lay their saddles and other hard things, there also doe the men themselves sit. This their boate they tye unto an horse tayle, causing a man to swimme before, & to guide over the horse, or sometime they have two oares to row themselves over. The first horse therefore being driven into the water, all the other horses of the company followe him, and so they passe through the river. But the poorer sort of common souldiers have every man his leather bag or sachell well sowen together, wherin he packs up all his trinkets, and strongly trussing it up hangs it at his horses tayle, and so passeth over, in maner aforesaid.

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of passing over rivers.

Howe they may be resisted. Chap. 18.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or province able to resist them: because they use to take up souldiers out of every countrey of their dominions. And if so be the neighbour province which they invade, wil not aide them, utterly wasting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight against another countrey. And placing their captives in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiously, they put them to the sworde. Wherefore, if Christians would withstande them, it is expedient, that the provinces and governours of countreies should agree in one, and so by common counsell, should give them resistance. Their souldiers also must be furnished with strong hand-bowes & cros-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with sufficient arrowes, with maces also of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or staffe. When they make their arrow heads, they must (according to ye Tartars custome) dip them red-hot into water mingled with salte, that they may be strong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may have swords also & lances with hooks at the ends, to pull them from their saddles, out of which they are easilie removed. They must have helmets likewise & other armour to defend themselves & their horses from the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are unarmed, must (according to ye Tartars custome) march behinde their fellowes, and discharge at the enemie with long bowes and cros-bowes. And (as it is above said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoever runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be atchieved, must undergoe a most severe punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel must be chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must

Counsel how to wage warre against the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or steele.

[I. 63.]

all be in one company, but in manie and severall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which give the first encounter must sende one band before, and must have another in a readynesse to relieve and second the former in time convenient. They must have spies also on every side to give them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth band against band & troupe against troupe, because the Tartar ever practiseth to gette his enemie in the midst and so to environ him. Let our bands take this caveat also, if the enemie retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peradventure (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, lest our horses bee tired: for we are not so well stored with horses as they. Those horses which the Tartars use one day, they ride not upon three or foure dayes after. Moreover, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and casseir their bandes, or separate themselves asunder: because they doe this upon policie, namely to have our armie divided, that they may more securely invade and waste the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assayes, to bee provided for battell. For the Tartars like divels are alwaies watching and devising howe to practise mischiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their horse backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shoote strongly, wounding and killing both horses and men.

**Johannes de plano Carpini.*

Of the journey of frier *John unto the first guard of the Tartars. Chap. 19.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting foorth towards the nations of the East, chose first to travel unto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent upon the Church of God next unto them, by their invasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, advised us to take our journey through Polonia and Russia. For we had kinsfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Having given us his letters, hee caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came unto his nephew Boleslaus duke of Slesia, who also was familiar and well knowen unto us. The like favour he shewed us also, till wee came unto Conradus duke of * Lautiscia, unto whome then (by Gods especiall favour towards us) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large concerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe unto him. Wherefore, it being given us to understand, that we must bestow giftes upon them, we caused certaine skinnes of bevers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was given upon almes to succour us by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the * duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being advertised of, gave us likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted us with him, unto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined us at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selves a while. And when, being requested by us, he had caused his bishops to resort unto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne unto the unitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selves admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (having as then taken his journey unto Baty) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answere. After these things duke Wasilico

The journey of frier John & his fellow Legates.

Boleslaus duke of Silesia.

* *Mazovia.*

Grimslaua.

Daniel brother unto Wasilico.

sent us forward with one of his servants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our lives by reason of the Lituanians, who did often invade ye borders of Russia, even in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd servant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or caried into captivitie by the Tartars. Moreover, at Danilon wee were feeble even unto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selves to bee carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde.) And being come unto Kiow, wee consulted with the Millenary, & other noble men there concerning our journey. They told us, that if wee carried [I. 64.] those horses, which wee then had, unto the Tartars, great store of snowe lying upon the ground, they would all dye: be cause they knew not howe to digge up the grasse under the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars having neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leave them behind at Kiow with two servants appointed to keepe them. And wee were constrayned to bestow gifts upon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his favour to allowe us poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our journey the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arrived at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly under the dominion of the Tartars. The governour whereof allowed us horses and a guide unto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be governour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who notwithstanding, having received giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted us to the first guarde of the Tartars.

The Lithuanians.

The fodder of the Tartarian horses.

Michæas the malicious.

How he and his company were at the first received of the Tartars. Chap. 20.

WHerefore, the first saturday next after Ash wednesday, having about the Sunnes going downe, taken up our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing upon us in uncivil and horrible maner, being very inquisitive of us what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: & when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiving some victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreover in the morning rising and proceeding on our journey, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with us, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither? and what busines we had with them? Unto whom we answered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians.

The contents of the legacie.

He hath sent us as well unto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should have peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in favour with God in heaven, therfore he admonisheth them aswel by us, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Jesu Christ, because they could not otherwise be saved. Moreover, he gives them to understand, that he much marveileth at their monstrous slaughters & massacres of mankind, & especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungarians, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his subjects, having not injuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them injurie. And because the Lord God is grievously offended thereat, he adviseth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write an answere unto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and understood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint us poste horses and a guide unto Corrensa.

Corrensa.

And immediately demanding gifts at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiving the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our journey unto Corrensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before unto the sayd duke Corrensa, to signifie the message, which we had delivered unto them. This

The duke of the Westerne marches.

duke is governour of all them, which lie in guard against the nations of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at unawares breake in upon them. And hee is said to have 60000. men under him.

How they were received at the court of Corrensa. Chap. 21.

The maner of saluting the Tartarian princes.

BEing come therefore unto his court, hee caused our tent to bee placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demaund of us with what we would incline unto him, that is to say, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeisance unto him. Unto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any giftes at all, because he was not certaine that wee should ever bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with some part of those things, which have bene, by the goodnes of God, & the favour of the Pope, bestowed upon us for our sustenance. Having received our gifts, they conducted us unto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were instructed to bow thrise with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote upon the threshold of the sayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayde, kneeling upon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with us from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine poste [I. 65.] horses and three Tartars were appoynted for us to conduct us from hence with al speede unto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightiest prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our journey towards his court the first tuesday in Lent, and riding as fast as our horses could trot (for we had fresh horses almost thrise or foure times a day) we posted from morning till night, yea very often in

Duke Bathy & his power.

the night season also, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thursday. All this journey we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty rivers running through it: The first is called ‡ Neper, on the side whereof towards Russia, duke Corrensa & Montii marched up and downe, which Montii on the other side upon the plaines is greater then he. The second is called ‡ Don, upon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince having in mariage the sister of Baty, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡ Volga, which is an exceeding great river, upon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called ‡ Iaec, upon which two Millenaries doe march, on each side of the river one. All these, in the winter time, descend down to the sea, & in summer ascend backe by the bankes of the said rivers up to the mountains. The sea last named is the ‖ Great sea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Constantinople. These rivers do abound with plenty of fishes, but especially Volga, & they exonerate themselves into the Grecian sea, which is called Mare major. Over Neper we went many daies upon the ice. Along the shore also of the Grecian sea we went very dangerously upon the ice in sundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the shore the waters are frozen three leagues into the sea. But before we came unto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to give him intelligence of all the sayings which we had uttered in the presence of Corrensa.

‡ *Boristhenes.*

‡ *Tanais.*

‡ *Rha.*

‡ *Rhymnus.*

‖ *Pontus Euxinus.*

He is deceived, for albeit Neper & Don run into Mare major: yet Volga & Iaec flowe into the Caspian sea.

How we were received at the court of the great prince Bathy. Chap. 22.

MOreover, when we came unto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were seated a good league distant from his tabernacles. And when we should be conducted unto his court, it was tolde us that we must passe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto. Howbeit, they said unto us: you may passe through without al danger: for we would have you to doe it for

A ceremony of passing betweene two fiers.

none other cause, but only that if you intend any mischiefe against our lord, or bring any poyson with you, fire may take away all evill. Unto whom we answered, that to the end we might cleare ourselves from all suspition of any such matter, we were contented to passe through. When therefore we were come unto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what present or gift we would do our obeisance? Wee gave the same answere which we did at the court of Corrensa. The gifts being given and received, the causes of our journey also being heard, they brought us into the tabernacle of the prince, first bowing our selves at the doore, & being admonished, as before, not to tread upon the threshold. And being entred, we spake unto him kneeling upon our knees, & delivered him our letters, and requested him to have interpreters to translate them. Who accordingly on good friday were sent unto us, and we together with them, diligently translated our sayd letters into the Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was presented unto Bathy, which he read, & attentively noted. At length wee were conducted home againe unto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were given unto us, except it were once a litle Millet in a dich, the first night of our comming. This Bathy caries himselfe very stately & magnificently, having porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seate or throne together with one of his wives. The rest, namely, as well his brethren and sonnes, as other great personages sit underneath him in the midst upon a bench, and others sit downe upon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth also, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (besides them of his owne family) unles he be called, be he never so mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleasure. Wee also, for the same cause, sate on the left hand; for so doe all ambassadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaves himselfe like a king.

alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middest stands his table, neare unto the doore of the tent, upon the which there is drinke filled in golden and silver vessels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, especially being in a publique place, but they have singing and minstrilsie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or small tent caried over his head upon the point of a javeline. And so doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wives also. The sayd Bathy is courteous enough unto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is most cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, because he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

Their custome of drinking at the sound of musicke.

How departing from Bathy, they passed through the land of Comania, and of the Kangittæ. Chap. 23.

[I. 66.]

MOreover, upon Easter even we were called unto the tent, and there came forth to meete us the foresaid agent of Bathy, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, unto the Emperor Cuyne, deteining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would send them backe unto the Pope, to whom we gave letters of al our affaires to deliver unto him. But being come as farre as duke Montii aforesaid, there they were kept untill our returne. Upon Easter day, having said our praiers, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned unto us by Corensa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise upon other fasting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snowe melted in a skillet. And passing through Comania we rode most earnestly, having change of horses five times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for

They travelled post from Easter day to the 22. of July Eastward of Volga.

then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could undergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we travailed from the beginning of Lent untill eight dayes after Easter. The land of Comania on the North side immediately after Russia, hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Bastarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next unto the Bastarci, the Parositæ and the Samogetæ. Next unto the Samogetæ are those people which are sayd to have dogges faces, inhabiting upon the desert shores of the Ocean. On the South side it hath the Alani, the Circassi, the Gazari, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are said to be Jewes shaving their heads all over, the landes also of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie. On the West side it hath Hungaria, and Russia. Also Comania is a most large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled from them, and the rest were subdued under their bondage. But most of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great scarcetie of waters, wherin there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the foresayd defect of water. For this cause divers of the servants of Jeroslaus duke of Russia, as they were traveiling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirst, in that desert. As before in Comania, so likewise in this countrey, wee found many skulles and bones of dead men lying upon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traveiling from the eight day after Easter untill Ascension day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians used to till the ground, but lived onely upon cattell, neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also have the Tartars rooted out, and doe possesse and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, those that remained are reduced into their bondage.

A description of Comania.

The North Ocean.

The land of the Kangittæ.

Jeroslaus duke of Russia.

How they came unto the first court of the new Emperour. Chap. 24.

MOreover, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of ye Bisermini, who speake the language of Comania, but observe the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, & many towns left desolate. The lord of this country was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tartars. This country hath most huge mountains. On the South side it hath Jerusalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adjoyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan, the sonnes of Thyaday, who was the sonne of Chingis Can. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the same countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traveiling from the feast of Ascension, until eight daies before the feast of S. John Baptist. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Emperours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to daunce before us. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine small sea, upon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that traveilers can scarcely, and with great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise in deede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid sea we travailed for the space of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many islandes, and wee passed by leaving it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee sayde to bee auncient unto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his

The land of the Bisermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan.

The North ocean.

Syban brother unto Bathy.

The blacke Kythayans.

A small sea.

Many dayes.

Ordu cap. 13.

[I. 67.] wives beareth rule there. For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolved, but alwayes some women are appointed to keepe and governe them, upon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are given unto their Lords. And so at length we arrived at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wives dwelt.

The first court of the Emperour.

Howe they came unto Cuyne himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. Chap. 25.

BUt because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not invite us nor admit us into his Orda, but caused good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars fashion, to be given unto us in our owne tent, and they caused us to stay there, and to refresh our selves with them one day. Departing thence upon the even of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But upon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fel a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure, and there is little plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned used not to till their grounde, but, like unto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were travailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our travaile (as wee suppose) for the space of some three weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and upon the day of Marie Magdalene we arrived at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bring us unto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath beene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore rising earely, wee travailed untill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of July.

came so late unto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same night, but that which we should have eaten over night, was given us in the morning. And often changing our horses, wee spared no Horse-fleshe, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our horses could trot.

How Cuyne enterteined the Minorite Friers.
Chap. 26.

The curtesie of Cuyne towards Ambassadors.

BUt when wee were come unto the court of Cuyne, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenses necessarie to bee provided for us. And his people entreated us with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted unto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we delivered, were sent unto him by the foresaid Bathy. And having stayed there five or sixe dayes, hee sent us unto his mother, under whome there was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our judgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set up, painted with divers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende upon us, tooke our journey thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding up and downe with his traine over the hilles and dales. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes. Then came Cuyne unto the saide tent. Moreover, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforesaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate,

The tent roial.

A generall assemblie.

The banquet of the Nobles.

[I. 68.]

Jeroslaus Duke of Susdal.

Ambassadors of sundry nations.

at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, & arrowes. And whosoever approched unto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our judgement, had upon their bridles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they staied almost til noone. Then began they to drink mares milk, & so continued drinking til even tide, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called us in unto them, and gave us of their ale, because we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did unto us in token of great honor. But they compelled us to drink so much, that in regard of our customary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Whereupon, giving them to understand, that it was hurtful unto us, they ceassed to compel us any more. Without the doore stoode Duke Jeroslaus of Susdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) above ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde us by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambassadors, partly of such as paide tributes, and such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselves, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were governours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke given unto them. But almost continually they all of them gave us and Duke Jeroslaus the upper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

How he was exalted to his Empire. Chap. 27.

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

AND to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed unto, or honoured with faire wands, having purple wooll upon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which service was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues unto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a rivers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, upon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is above said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tent erected upon pillars, which were covered with plates of golde, and were joyned unto other timber with golden nailes. It was covered above with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth spread over that, next unto the ayre. Wee abode there unto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling upon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they used inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, woulde not kneele upon the grounde with them. And having done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selves, for wee were none of his subjects.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of August.

Wollen cloth.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale.

Chap. 28.

His inclination to Christianitie.

His majestie.

A lawlesse authoritie.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted unto his government, seemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty five yeeres, He was of a meane stature, very wise and politike, and passing serious and grave in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behave himselfe lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Christians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed unto us, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee reteined divers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, neere unto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like unto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Græcians) doe sing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there never so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour never to talke his owne selfe with a stranger, though he be never so great, but heareth and answeareth by a speaker. And when any of his subjects (howe great soever they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce unto him, or in hearing his answeare, they continue kneeling upon their knees unto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they have beene determined of by the Emperour. The sayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and private, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except advocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giving, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong unto them. But, be it known unto al men, that whilest we remained at the said Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept for these many yeeres, the saide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and against al Christian kingdomes and nations of the West, unlesse peradventure (which God forbid) they will condescend unto those things, which he hath injoined unto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Christians, namely, that they wil become obedient unto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land under heaven, which they stand in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselves to battel against us. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they have for a short space absteined from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I have above said) to subdue the whole world unto themselves, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Also, upon his seale, there is this posie ingraven: God in heaven, and Cuyne Can upon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men.

Warre intended against all Christians.

[I. 69.]

Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadours unto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

IN the same place where the Emperour was established into his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe secretary having written downe our names, and the names of them that sent us, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of us bowed his left knee foure times, & they gave us warning not to touch the threshold. And after they had searched us most diligently for knives, and could not find any about us, we entred in at the doore upon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, every Tartarian Duke entreth on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour sort doe not

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there received by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented unto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadours, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, silke girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee caried over the Emperours head) presented unto him, being set full of precious stones. And a governour of one Province brought unto him a companie of camels covered with Baldakins. They had saddles also upon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte upon. Also they brought many horses & mules unto him furnished wᵗ trappers and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts upon him or no? But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, having in a maner spent all our provision. There were also upon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful of silver and of gold, and silke garments. And they were all divided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and every Duke bestowed upon his owne followers what pleased him.

Gifts presented unto him.

500. *Carts ful of treasure.*

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaves one of another, and of Jeroslaus Duke of Russia. Chap. 30.

A tent of purple.

DEparting thence, we came unto another place, where a wonderfull brave tent, all of red purple, given by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was given unto us ale and wine to drinke, & sodden flesh (when we would) to eate. There was also a loftie stage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiously wrought out of ivorie, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or staires to ascend unto it. And it was round upon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, whereon the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour upon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes sate upon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behinde the Dukes, and every day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wives had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute justice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poysoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Moreover, upon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of judgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time Jeroslaus the great Duke of Soldal, which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) invited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning unto his lodging, he fel sicke, and within seven dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possesse his Dukedome.

A throne of Ivorie.

The death of Occoday revenged.

Or, Susdal.

[I. 70.]

How the Friers comming at length unto the Emperour, gave, and received letters.

Chap. 31.

TO be short, the Tartars brought us unto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come unto him, commanded that we should

Cuyne dissembleth with the Legates.

return, unto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is abovesaid) to set up a flag of defiance against al ye countreis of the West, which he would have us in no case to know. Wherefore returning, we staied some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again unto him. With whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the provision allowed us for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy us any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde provided for us a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours favour, procured us some sustenance. This man shewed unto us the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was set in the proper place, and his seale, which he also had framed. Afterward the Emperor sent for us, giving us to understand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliver them unto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for us againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which understood the Russian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof unto us, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliver both the letter and the translation thereof unto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from us, and went unto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with divers other Scribes, came unto us, and interpreted the letter word for word. And having written

Cosmas a Russian.

The message of Chingay.

it in Latine, they caused us to interprete unto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made us to reade them over twise more, least we should have mistaken ought. For they said unto us: Take heed that ye understand all things throughly, for if you should not understand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconvenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue, that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need should require.

How they were licensed to depart. Chap. 32.

The Legates are loath to have any Ambassadours sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

AND (as our Tartars told us) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with us. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selves should crave that favour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted us to make the said petition, we thought it not good for us, that the Emperor should send his ambassadours. Wherfore we gave him answere, that it was not for us to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for us, that they should not goe, and that for divers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissentions and warres which are among us, should be the more encouraged to make warre against us. Secondly, we feared, that they would be insteade of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those servants (which at the request of the Cardinall, attended upon us, namely the legates of Almaine) returned unto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, never to bee reconciled unto such as have slaine their Ambassadours, till they have revenged themselves. Fourthly, least they should bee taken from us by mayne force. Fiftly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to have none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliver their Emperours letter unto the Pope, and to the Princes of [I. 71.] Christendome, which very same letters wee our selves had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, *November* 13. upon the feast of Saint Brice, they gave us our passe-port and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending us unto the Emperours mother, who gave unto *They are rewarded with gifts.* eche of us a gowne made of Foxe-skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars stole a yarde out of every one of them. And out of that which was given unto our servant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no words thereof.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

The sore journeys of the Legates in returning. THen taking our journey to returne, we travailed all Winter long, lying in the deserts oftentimes upon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye upon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our selves all covered with snow driven over us by the winde. And so travailing till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arrived at the court of *Bathy.* Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send unto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to give us in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliver that which the Emperour had written. And, having received letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montii, with whome our foresaide associates and servants remained, which were withheld from us, and we caused them to be delivered unto us. From *Corrensa.* hence wee travailed unto Corrensa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gave none, because we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed us two

Comanians, which lived among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides unto the citie of Kiow in Russia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from us, till we were past the utmost gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were given us by Corrensa, brought us from the last garde unto the citie of Kiow, in the space of sixe dayes. And there we arrived fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint John Baptist. Moreover, the Citizens of Kiow having intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete us, with great joy. For they rejoyced over us, as over men that had bene risen from death to life. So like wise they did unto us throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made us a royall feast, and interteined us with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded unto them in our journey towards the Tartars, answered us with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming likewise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadours and letters by us also, unto our Lord the Pope.

June 8.

How they were welcomed at their returne.

Basilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratiæ 1253. ad partes Orientales.

EXcellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Lodovico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, In terram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed utinam ut sapiens & non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4.

sapienter, sed magis stultè: de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, ut omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis ut non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod injunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non suppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ scribere Majestati. Noverit ergò vestra sancta majestas, quòd anno Domini millessimo ducentessimo, quinquagessimo tertio, nonas Maii ingressi sumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Majus Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, ut didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim ejus sunt duæ provinciæ terræ, una ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Provincia [I. 72.] quædam, quæ nunc dicitur à Latinis Gasaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam super littus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Cæsaria. Et sunt promontoria quædam extendentia se in mare, & contra meridiem versus Synopolim. Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Cassariam. Ita quod sint septingenta miliaria ab istis punctis versus Constantinopolim in longum & latum: & septingenta versus Orientem: hoc est, Hiberiam, quæ est provincia Georgiæ. Ad provinciam Gasariæ sive Casariæ applicuimus, quæ est quasi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens civitatem, quæ dicitur Kersova, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et navigantes coram ea vidimus insulam in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet civitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quæ ex transverso respicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Rossia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes transire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & grisiam, & alias pelles pretiosas. Alii portant telas de cottone sive bombasio, & pannos sericos & species aromaticas. Ad Orientem verò illius provinciæ est civitas

Soldaia.

quæ dicitur Matriga, ubi cadit fluvius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluvius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare versus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine septinginta milliaria, nusquam habens profunditatem ultra sex passus, unde magna vasa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Constantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam civitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas suas usque ad flumen Tanaim, ut emant pisces siccatos, sturiones, thosas, borbatas, & alios pisces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò provincia Cassaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem scilicet, ubi est Kersova civitas Clementis, ad meridiem ubi est civitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ est cuspis provinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, ubi est civitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Ultra illud orificium est Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Suevi & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Posteà versus meridiem est Trapesunda quæ habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui est de genere imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: posteà Synopolis quæ est Soldani Turchiæ qui similiter obedit: posteà terra Vastacii cujus filius dicitur Astar ab avo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais versus Occidentem usque ad Danubium totum est subditum. Etiam ultrà Danubium versus Constantinopolim, Valakia, quæ est terra Assani, & minor Bulgaria usque in Solonomam omnes solvunt eis tributum. Et etiam ultra tributum condictum sumpserunt annis nuper transactis de qualibet domo securim unam, & totum frumentum quod invenerunt in massa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaiæ in 12. Kalendas Junii: & prævenerant nos quidam mercatores de Constantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra sancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prædicaveram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuncius, nec vester, nec alicujus, sed ibam apud illos incredulos secundùm regulam nostram. Tunc cùm applicuissem, monebant me dicti mercatores ut cautè loquerer,

Matriga civitas.

Zikia.

quia dixerunt me esse nuncium, & si non dicerem me esse nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi transitus. Tunc loquutus sum hoc modo ad capitaneos civitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iverant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reversi. Nos audivimus, dixi, de Domino vestro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod esset Christianus: & gavisi sunt inde vehementer Christiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Christianissimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, ut eripiat loca sancta de manibus eorum: unde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de utilitate totius Christianitatis. Et ipsi receperunt nos gratanter, & dederunt nobis hospitium in ecclesia Episcopali. Et Episcopus ipsius ecclesiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego postea non inveni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem utrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res nostras vel equos pro summariis. Et mercatores Constantinopolitani consuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles suas, & in illis includerem res nostras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia si acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere super alios, & prætereà equitarem lentiori gressu juxta boves. Et tunc acquievi consilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere usque Sarthach duobus mensibus, quod potuissem uno mense fecisse, si ivissem equis. Attuleram mecum de Constantinopoli fructus & vinum muscatum, & biscoctum delicatum de consilio mercatorum ad præsentandum capitaneis primis, ut faciliùs pateret mihi transitus; quia nullus apud eos respicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia posui in una biga, quando non inveni ibi capitaneos civitatis, quia dicebant mihi, quod gratissima forent Sarthach, si possem deferre ea usque ad eum. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Junii cum bigis nostris quatuor coopertis & cum aliis duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectisternia ad dormiendum de nocte, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinque personæ. Ego & socius meus [I. 73.] frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goset lator præsentium, & homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Constantinopoli de nostra eleemosyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & custodiebant boves & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria super Mare à Kersova usque ad orificium Tanais: & sunt quadraginta castella inter Kersovam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum. Post illa montana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylva in planicie, plena fontibus & rivulis: Et post illam sylvam est planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas usque ad extremitatem illius provinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod est unum fossatum magnum ab uno Mari usque ad aliud. In illa planicie solebant esse Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant civitates prædictas & castra ut darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorum intravit provinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt usque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant se mutuo vivi morientes: secundum quod narravit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod vivi devorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadavera. Versus extremitatem illius provinciæ sunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis sunt fontes salmastri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit salem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis salinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Russia veniunt illuc pro sale: & de qualibet biga onusta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naves pro sale, quæ omnes dant tributum secundum sui quantitatem. Postquam ergo recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die invenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraveram, visum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud sæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis describam prout possum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NUsquam habent manentem civitatem, sed futuram ignorant. Inter se diviserunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio usque ad ortum solis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, secundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines sub se, scit terminos pascuorum suorum, & ubi debet pascere hyeme & æstate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim descendunt ad calidiores regiones versus meridiem. In æstate ascendunt ad frigidiores versus aquilonem. Loca pascuosa sine aquis pascunt in hyeme quando est ibi nix, quia nivem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cujus tigna sunt de virgis, & conveniunt in unam parvulam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & pulvere ossium, ut albens splendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum superius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante ostium similiter suspendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Consumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aves & bestias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim mensuravi semel latitudinem inter vestigia rotarum unius bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat super bigam excedebat extra rotas in utroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeravi in una biga viginti duos boves trahentes unam domum: Undecem in uno ordine secundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios undecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris navis: Et unus homo stabat in ostio domus super bigam minans boves. Insuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fissis attenuatis ad quantitatem unius arcæ magnæ: & postea de una extremitate ad aliam elevant testudinem de similibus virgis, & ostiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & postea cooperiunt illam cistam sive domunculam filtro nigro imbuto sevo sive lacte ovino, ne possit penetrari pluvia: quod similiter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam suppellectilem suam & thesaurum: quas ligant fortiter super bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, ut possint transvadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus suas mansionarias, semper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & consequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium jactum lapidis: ita quod domus stat inter duos ordines bigarum quasi inter duos muros. Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. [I. 74.] ‖ Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si scivissem pingere. ‖*Nota.* Unus dives Moal sive Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet sexdecem uxores: quælibet habet unam magnam domum, exceptis aliis parvis, quas collocant post magnam, quæ sunt quasi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet istarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima uxor deponit suam curiam in capite occidentali, & postea aliæ secundum ordinem suum: ita quod ultima uxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit spacium inter curiam unius dominæ & alterius, jactus unius lapidis. Unde curia unius divitis Moal apparebit quasi una magna Villa: tunc paucissimi viri erunt in ea. Una muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana est. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis unam post aliam: & sedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bovem, & omnes aliæ pari gressu sequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum passum, solvunt eas & transducunt sigillatim: Vadunt enim lento gressu, sicut agnus vel bos potest ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POstquam deposuerint domus versa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum est semper ad latus Orientale hoc est ad sinistrum domini domus cum sedet in lecto suo versa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc est ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo suspenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum. Et super caput Domini est semper una imago quasi puppa & statuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia similis super caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & superius inter utramque illarum est una parvula, macilenta, quæ est quasi custos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus suum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & juxta illam statuunculam parvulam respicientem famulas & mulieres. Juxta ostium ad partem mulieris est iterum alia imago cum ubere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fæminarum est mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus ostii versus viros est alia statua cum ubere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum convenerint ad potandum primo spargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ est super caput domini: postea aliis imaginibus per ordinem: postea exit minister domum cum cipho & potu, & spargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reverentiam ignis: postea ad Orientem ad reverentiam aeris: postea ad Occidentem ad reverentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem projiciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem suam. Si bibit sedens super equum, infundit antequam bibat, super collum vel crinem equi. Postquam vero minister sic sparserit ad quatuor latera mundi, revertitur in domum & sunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis ut deferant potum domino & uxori sedenti juxta eum sursum in lecto. Et cum habet plures uxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte sedet juxta eum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenetur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in thesauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi est cum utre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter provocant alios ad bibendum.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de risio, de millio, de melle: claret sicut vinum. Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æstate non curant nisi de Cosmos. Stat semper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & juxta illud stat citharista cum citherula sua. Citheras & vielas nostras non vidi ibi, sed multa alia instrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc unus ministrorum exclamat alta voce, HA: & citharista percutit cicharum. Et quando faciunt festum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & saltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et postquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat minister sicut priùs, & tacet citharista: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & gulose. Et quando volunt aliquem provocare ad potum arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter ut dilatent ei gulam, & plaudunt & saltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum festum & gaudium, unus accipit ciphum plenum, & alii duo sunt ei à dextris & sinistris: & sic illi tres veniunt cantantes usque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & saltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipsi subito resiliunt, & iterum sicut prius revertuntur, [I. 75.] & sic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

Similiter in Florida.

De cibariis eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noveritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticinia sua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non potest esse quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æstate quamdiu durat eis cosmos, hoc est lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Unde tunc si contingat eis mori bovem vel equum, siccant carnes scindendo per tenues pecias & suspendendo ad solem & ventum, quæ statim sine sale siccantur absque aliquo fætore. De intestinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis : quas comedunt recentes : reliquas carnes reservant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt utres magnos, quos mirabiliter siccant ad fumum. De posteriori parte pellis equi faciunt pulcherrimos soculares. De carne unius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in scutella cum sale & aqua, aliam enim salsam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua solemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumstantium buccellam unam vel duas, secundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipse accipit quod placet ei : & etiam si dat alicui partem specialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam solus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non potest totum comedere, asportat secum, vel dat garcioni suo, si est presens, qui custodiat ei : sin aliter, recondit in saptargat suo, hoc est in bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & ossa recondunt, quando non habent spacium bene rodendi ea, ut postea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Cosmos.

IPsum Cosmos, hoc est lac jumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam super terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc stant matres juxta pullos suos & permittunt se pacifice mungi. Et si aliqua est nimis indomita, tunc accipit unus homo pullum & supponit ei permittens parum sugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis succedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod est ita dulce sicut vaccinum, dum est recens, fundunt illud in magnum utrem sive bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod grossum est inferius sicut caput hominis & cavatum subtus : & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire sicut vinum novum, & acescere sive fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc gustant illud; & quando est temperate pungitivum bibunt: pungit enim super linguam sicut vinum raspei dum bibitur. Et postquam homo cessat bibere, relinquit saporem super linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis jucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam provocat urinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-cosmos, hoc est nigrum cosmos ad usum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim est: quod nullius animalis lac nisi cujus fetet venter non invenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non invenitur: unde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod spissum est in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, sicut fæces vini, & quod purum est remanet superius, & est sicut serum, & sicut mustum album. Fæces sunt albæ multum, & dantur servis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & est pro certo valde suavis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. casalia circa herbergiam suam ad unam dietam, quorum unumquodque qualibet die servit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est, qualibet die lac trium millium equarum, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alii. Sicut enim in Syria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipsi afferunt ad curias dominorum suorum, ita & isti lac equarum tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrum & bulliunt illud usque ad perfectam decoctionem, & postea recondunt illud in utribus arietinis quos ad hoc reservant. Et non ponunt sal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionem non putrescit: & reservant illud contra hyemem. Residuum lac quod remanet post butirum permittunt acescere quantum acrius fieri potest & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud desiccant ad solem, & efficitur durum sicut scoria ferri. Quod recondunt in saccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac, [I. 76.] ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipsi vocant gri-ut, in utre, & super infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud resolvatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cavent ne bibant aquam puram.

De bestiis quas comedunt, & de vestibus, ac de venatione eorum.

MAgni domini habent casalia versus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant sibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Sclavi etiam implent ventrem suum aqua crassa, & hac contenti sunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipsi vocant Sogur: quæ conveniunt in una fovea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt sex mensibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam sicut cati; & in summitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias bestiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipsi valde bene discernunt. Cervos non vidi ibi. lepores paucos vidi, gaselos multos. Asinos sylvestres vidi in magna multitudine, qui sunt quasi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, sed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram una manu levare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant super manum dexteram: & ponunt semper falconi unam corrigiam parvulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei usque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum projiciunt eum ad prædam, inclinant cum sinistra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur sursum. Magnum ergo partem victus sui acquirunt venatione. De vestibus & habitu eorum noveritis, quod de Cataya & aliis regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perside & aliis regionibus austri veniunt eis panni serici & aurei, & telæ de bambasio, quibus induuntur in æstate. De Russia, de Moxel, & Majore Bulgaria & Pascatir, quæ est major Hungaria, & Kersis: (quæ omnes sunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ sylvis;) & aliis multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles preciosæ multi generis: quas nunquam vidi in partibus nostris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt semper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: unam, cujus pilus est ad carnem: aliam cujus pilus est extra contra ventum & nives, quæ multoties sunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum sedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conveniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua sciunt feras esse, & paulatim appropinquant sibi, donec concludant feras inter se quasi infra circulum, & tunc sagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Divites etiam furrant vestes suas de stupa setæ, quæ est supra modum mollis, & levis & calida. Pauperes furrant vestes de tela de bambasio, de delicatiori lana quam possunt extrahere: de grossiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos suas & cistas, & ad lectisternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas suas. De filtro etiam faciunt pavellas sub sellis, & capas contra pluviam. Unde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidistis.

Major Hungaria.

Nota.

De rasura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

Viri radunt in summitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt rasuram cristæ capitis usque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum usque ad summum concavitatis cervicis: & frontem anterius usque ad frontinellam, super quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum descendentium usque ad supercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas succingunt nodando usque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, nisi quod aliquantulum est longior. Sed in crastino postquam est nupta radit calvariam suam à medietate capitis versus frontem, & habet tunicam latam sicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fissam ante, quam ligat sub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas suas ad sinistram, Tartari semper ad dextram. Postea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam possunt invenire, leviore: & est grossum & rotundum, quantum potest duabus manibus complecti; longum vero unius cubiti & plus, quadrum superius, sicut capitellum unius columnæ. Istud botta cooperiunt panno serico precioso; & est concavum interius: [I. 77.] & super capitellum in medio vel super quadraturam illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis scilicet unius cubiti & plus: & illam sibi virgulam ornant superius de pennis pavonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præciosis. Divites dominæ istud ornamentum ponunt in summitate capitis quod stringunt fortiter cum almucia, quæ foramen habet in summitate ad hoc aptatum, & in isto recondunt crines suos quos recolligunt à parte posteriori ad summitatem capitis quasi in nodo uno & reponunt in illo botta, quod postea fortiter ligant sub gutture. Unde quum equitant plures dominæ simul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis elevatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea de super lancea. Et sedent omnes mulieres super equos sicut viti diversificantes coxas; & ligant cucullas suas panno serico aerii coloris super renes, & alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas: & ligant unam peciam albam sub occulis, quæ descendit usque ad pectus. Et sunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de naso pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies suas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de nuptiis earum.

OFicium fœminarum est ducere bigas, ponere domus super eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & consuere eas, quas consuunt filo denervis. dividunt enim nervos in minuta fila, & postea illa contorquent in unum longum filum. Consuunt etiam soculares & soccos & alias vestes. Vestes vero nunquam lavant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, & quod fiant tonitrua si suspendantur ad siccandum : Imo lavantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua supra modum timent : tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis ; & involvunt se in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec transierit. Nunquam etiam lavant scutellos, imo carne cocta alveum in quo debent ponere eam lavant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & postea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt solùm arcus & sagittas, fabricant strepas & fræna, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas : custodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipsum cosmos & lac equinum, faciunt utres in quibus reconditur : custodiunt etiam camelos, & onerant eos. Oves & Capras custodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ovium inspissato & salso parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lavare implent os suum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore suo super manus, & eadem humectant crines suos, & lavant caput suum. De nuptiis eorum noveritis, quod nemo habet ibi uxorem nisi emat eam : unde aliquando sunt puellæ multum adultæ ante quam nubant : semper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Servant etiam gradus consanguinitatis primum & secundum : nullum autem servant affinitatis. Habent enim simul vel successive duas sorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione ; quia credunt quod omnes qui serviunt eis in hac vita servient in futura. Unde de vidua credunt, quod semper revertitur post mortem ad primum maritum. Unde accidit turpis consuetudo inter eos quod filius scilicet ducit aliquando omnes uxores patris sui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris semper accidit juniori filio. Unde oportet quod ipse provideat omnibus uxoribus patris sui, quia adveniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc si vult utitur eis pro uxoribus, quia non reputat sibi injuriam, si revertatur ad patrem post mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater

Pellium paratio.

puellæ convivium, & illa fugit ad consanguineos, ut ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua est, accipe eam ubicunque inveneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis suis, donec inveniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quasi violenter ad domum.

De justiciis eorum & judiciis, et de morte ac sepultura eorum.

DE justiciis eorum noveritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet se intermittere. Etiam pater non audet juvare filium. Sed qui pejorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et si alius post appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod statim absque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui passus est injuriam ducit eum quasi captivum. Neminem puniunt capitali sententia, nisi deprehensus fuerit in facto, vel confessus. Sed quum diffamatus est à pluribus, bene torquent eum, ut confiteatur. Homicidium puniunt capitali sententia, & etiam coitum cum non sua. Non suam dico vel uxorem vel famulam: [I. 78.] Sua enim sclava licet uti prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro levi furto, sicut pro uno ariete, dummodo non fuerit sæpe deprehensus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et si dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur sententia curiæ. Item falsos nuncios, quia faciunt se nuncios & non sunt, interficiunt. Item sacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis postea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehementer ululando: & tunc sunt liberi quod non dant vectigal usque ad annum. Et si quis interest morti alicujus adulti, non ingreditur domum ipsius Mangucham usque ad annum. Si parvulus est qui moritur, non ingreditur usque post lunationem. Juxta sepulturam defuncti semper relinquunt domum unam. Si est de nobilibus, hoc est de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur sepultura: & semper circa loca illa ubi sepeliunt nobiles suos est una herbergia hominum custodientium sepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipsi recondunt thesaurum cum mortuis.

A.D. 1253.

Comani faciunt magnum tumulum super defunctum & erigunt ei statuam versa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu sua ante umbelicum. fabricant & divitibus pyramides, id est domunculas acutas : & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis : alicubi lapideas domos, quamvis lapides non inveniantur ibi. Vidi quendam noviter defunctum, cui suspenderant pelles sexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas : & apposuerunt. ei cosmos ut biberet, & carnes ut comederet : & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi sepulturas versus orientem. Areas scilicet magnas structas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & postea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et ubi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit signum super domum suam, quod ibi est infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur : unde nullus visitat infirmum nisi serviens ejus. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curiis infirmatur, ponunt custodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt transire : timent enim ne mali spiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipsos divinatores vocant tanquam sacerdotes suos.

Qualiter ingressi sunt inter Tartaros, & de ingratitudine eorum.

QUando ergo ingressi sumus inter illos barbaros, visum fuit mihi, ut dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud sæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis postquam diu fecerant nos expectare sedentes in umbra sub bigis nigris. Prima quæstio fuit, utrum unquam fuissemus inter eos. habito quod non : inceperunt impudenter petere de cibariis nostris, & dedimus de pane biscocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiscum de villa : & potata una lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum uno pede. non dedimus eis, excusantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæsiverunt unde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire. dixi eis superiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod esset Christianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas vestras. Ipsi

1253.

diligenter quæsiverunt, utrum irem de mea voluntate, vel utrum mitterer. Ego respondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec ivissem nisi voluissem : unde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate superioris mei. Bene cavi, quod nunquam dixi, me esse nuncium vestrum. Tunc quæsiverunt quid esset in bigis, utrum esset aurum vel argentum, vel vestes preciosæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego respondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perveniremus ad eum ; & quod non intererat eorum ista quærere : sed facerent me deduci usque ad capitaneum suum, & ipse si vellet mihi præbere ducatum usque ad Sartach faceret : sin minus, reverterer. Erat enim in illa provincia unus consanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Constantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret transire. Tunc ipsi acquieverunt, præbentes nobis equos & boves & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alii qui adduxerant nos sunt reversi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane nostro pro parvulis suis : Et omnia quæ videbant super famulos nostros, cultellos, chirothecas, bursas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excusabam me, quia longa nobis restabat via, nec debebamus ita cito spoliare nos rebus necessariis ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod essem batrator. Verum est quod nihil abstulerint vi : Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et si dat homo eis perdit, quia sunt ingrati. Reputant se dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & postea indigeat servicio eorum, male ministrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant Apram : & sic recessimus ab eis. Et visum fuit mihi recte, quod evasissem de manibus dæmonum. In crastino pervenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo recessimus a Soldaia usque ad Sartach in duobus mensibus nunquam jacuimus in domo nec in tentorio, sed semper sub dio, vel sub bigis nostris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel vestigium alicujus ædificii ubi [I. 79.]

fuisset villa, nisi tumbas Comanorum in maxima multitudine. Illo sero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere cosmos ; ad cujus haustum totus sudavi propter horrorem & novitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen sapidum videbatur mihi, sicut vere est.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Christiani non bibunt cosmos.

MAne ergo obviavimus bigis Scacatay onustis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obviaret mihi civitas magna. Mirabar etiam super multitudine armentorum boum & equorum & gregum ovium : paucos videbam homines qui ista gubernarent. unde inquisivi quot homines haberet sub se ? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non plusquam quingentos, quorum medietatem transiveramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare : & ipse fecit nos stare, & præcessit nuncians adventum nostrum. Jam erat hora plusquam tertia, & deposuerunt domos suas juxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipsius, qui statim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, poposcit de cibis nostris, & dedimus ei, poscebat etiam vestimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbum nostrum ante dominum suum. Excusavimus nos. Quæsivit quid portaremus domino suo ? Accepimus unum flasconem de vino, & implevimus unum veringal de biscocto & platellum unum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressi sumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipse in lecto suo tenens citharulam in manu, & uxor sua juxta eum : de qua credebam in veritate, quod amputasset sibi nasum inter oculos ut simior esset : nihil enim habebat ibi de naso, & unxerat locum illum quodam unguento nigro, & etiam supercilia : quod erat turpissimum in oculis nostris. Tunc dixi ei verba supradicta. Ubique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene præmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba nostra. Rogavi etiam eum ut dignaretur

Nota diligenter.

accipere munusculum de manu nostra, excusans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis nostri possidere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Unde non habebam aliquid talium, quod possem ei dare: sed de cibis nostris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & distribuit statim hominibus suis qui convenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Constantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octavis ascensionis) Qui statim eas Soldaiam misit ut ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat secum qui sciret literas Græcas. Quæsivit etiam à nobis, si vellemus bibere cosmos, hoc est, lac jumentinum. Christiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui sunt inter eos, qui volunt stricte custodire legem suam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant se Christianos postquam biberunt. Et sacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negassent fidem Christianam. Ego respondi, quod habebamus adhuc sufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæsivit etiam quid contineretur in literis nostris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clausæ erant bullæ nostræ: & quod non erant in eis nisi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæsivit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Respondi, Verba fidei Christianæ. Quæsivit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc exposui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenii, nec alicujus eloquentiæ, symbolum fidei. Quo audito, ipse tacuit & movit caput. Tunc assignavit nobis duos homines, qui nos custodirent, & equos & boves: & fecit nos bigare secum, donec reverteretur nuncius, quem ipse miserat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; & ivimus cum eo usque in crastinum Pentecostes.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia Pentecostes.

IN vigilia Pentecostes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur ‖ Acias, Christiani secundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Græcas & sacerdotes Græcos: tamen non sunt schismatici sicut Græci; sed sine accep-

‖ *Vel Akas.*

tione personarum venerantur omnem Christianum : & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes ut comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ solennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et exposui eis de solennitate, super quo fuerunt multum gavisi ; quia omnia ignorabant quæ spectant ad ritum Christianum, solo nomine Christi excepto. Quæsiverunt & ipsi & alii multi Christiani, Ruteni & Hungari, utrum possent salvari, quia oportebat eos bibere cosmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & aliis infidelibus : quæ etiam ipsi Græci & [I. 80.] Ruteni sacerdotes reputant quasi morticinia vel idolis immolata : quia ignorabant tempora jejunii : nec poterant custodire etiam si cognovissent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reservavimus usque ad diem festum : nihil enim inveniebamus venale pro auro & argento, nisi pro telis & aliis ‖ pannis : & illos non habebamus. Quum ‖ *Nota diligentissime.* famuli nostri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipsi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, ut odore sentirent, utrum essent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum nisi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum. Vinum jam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Nisi fuisset biscoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuissemus mortui.

De Saraceno qui dixit se velle baptizari, et de hominibus qui apparent leprosi.

IN die pentecostes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiscum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Christi, & resurrectionem mortuorum, & judicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum esset in baptismo : dixit se velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipse subito ascendit equum suum, dicens se iturum domum & habiturum consilium cum uxore sua. Qui in crastino loquens nobiscum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptisma, quia tunc non biberet cosmos. Christiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Christianus deberet bibere: & sine potu illo non posset vivere in solitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui divertere illum. Unde noveritis pro certo quod multum elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ jam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo est inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus unum hominem, qui nos deduceret usque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos usque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde distabat quinque dietas prout boves poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis unam capram pro cibo & plures utres lactis vaccini, & de cosmos parum: quia illud preciosum est inter illos. Et sic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, visum fuit mihi quod unam portam inferni transissemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amissis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Pervenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius provinciæ, quæ clauditur uno fossato ab uno mari usque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intrassemus: videbantur nobis leprosi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, ut reciperent tributum ab accipientibus sal a salinis superius dictis. Ab illo loco, ut dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inveniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus cosmos: & dedimus illis unum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biscoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boves, unam capram pro tanto itinere, & nescio quot utres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuimus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus usque ad aliam herbergiam: nec invenimus aquam in illa via nisi in fossis in convallibus factis, exceptis duobus parvis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exivimus prædictam provinciam Gasariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla est sylva, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Teutonicis

Salinæ.

Decem dietæ.

Comaniæ longitudo.

‖ Etilia quæ & Volga flumen.

Russia.

Prussia.

verò dicuntur Valani, & provincia Valania. Ab Isidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai usque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio usque Tanaim; qui est terminus Asiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam ultra à Tanai usque ‖ Etiliam: Inter quæ flumina sunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò istius provinciæ jacet Russia, quæ ubique sylvas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria usque Tanaim: quæ tota vastata est à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vastatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia sunt Christiani, Saracenos: & cum non possunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & parvulos eorum tanquam greges ad solitudinem ut custodiant animalia eorum. Ultra Russiam ad aquilonem est Prussia, quam nuper subjugaverunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquierent Russiam, si apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus sacerdos, hoc est, Papa faceret cruce signari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad solitudines suas.

De tediis quæ patiebantur, & de sepultura Comanorum.

IBamus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam sepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus leucis secundum quod [I. 81.] solebant parentelæ eorum sepeliri simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tædium quod patiebar quum veniebamus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noster, quod ad quoslibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non sufficiebant expensæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo personæ comedentes viaticum nostrum exceptis servientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & unus iturus nobiscum usque ad

Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non sufficiebant; nec inveniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis nostris pro umbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit faba jactari. Imo juxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias suas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tædiosa. Super omnia gravabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare: quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam unum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulavimus ergo cum magno labore de mansione in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluvium magnum Tanais: qui dividit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus fluvius Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum naviculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo & postea bigas ponentes unam rotam in una barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad invicem; & sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde stulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis ministrare equos, & dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, ut redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulavimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant privilegium à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, nisi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per

Calor maximus ibi in æstate.

Tanais fluvius.

Casale Rutenorum.

diversas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluvius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ est Sequana Parisiis. Et antequam pervenissemus ad locum illum, transivimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes ejus, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluvius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluvius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transivimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prædictum flumen magnam sylvam in ripa Occidentali. Ultra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis ‖ circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Unde aliud est casale inferius ubi transeunt nuncii tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec boves inveniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laboravi pro communi utilitate omnium Christianorum, accommodaverunt nobis boves & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunicalia sua exterius ornant vario vel grisio a pedibus usque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulavimus ergo tribus diebus non invenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati & boves similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tartaros invenire, accurrerunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & ascenderunt eos dux noster & interpres, ut specularentur quorsum possemus populum invenire. Tandem quarta die inventis hominibus gavisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus ivimus de mansione ad mansionem donec per-

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

‖ *Ad introitum Augusti redeunt ad meridiem.*

venimus usque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio ista ultra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina & sylvas ad aquilonem. Sunt sylvæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Civitatem non habent sed casulas in sylvis. Dominus eorum & magna [I. 82.] pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania. Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Unde ipsi multum commendant Alemanos, sperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à servitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo descendit provideat ei quamdiu vult esse inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum uxore alterius, ille non curat nisi videat propriis oculis: unde non sunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles preciosæ, & falcones. Post illos sunt alii qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & sunt Saraceni. Post illos est || Etilia, quæ est major fluvius, quam unquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de majori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu, de quo postea dicam vobis. Ista ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia versus regiones Aquilonis per quas transivimus non distant ab invicem nisi decem dietis, sed ad meridiem multum dividuntur ab invicem. Tanais enim descendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare sive lacum, cum aliis multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perside. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus versus solitudinem illam Cergis & Alani sive || Acas, qui sunt Christiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Post istos prope Mare sive lacum Etiliæ sunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Lesgi, qui similiter obediunt. Post hos est Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perside: de cujus situ dicam vobis postea, || quia transivi per eam in reditu. Et inter ista duo flumina in illis

Merdui Saraceni.

|| *vel Volga fluvius.*

|| *Kerkis. vel Aas.*

Lesgi Saraceni.

|| *Reditus ejus per Derbent.*

terris per quas transivimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria ejus.

INvenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cujus curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet sex uxores, & filius ejus primogenitus juxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Accessit autem ductor noster ad quendam Nestorinum Coiat nomine, qui est unus de majoribus Curiæ suæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Januam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In sero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, ut veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noster quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum scandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipse sedebat in gloria sua & faciebat sonare citharam & saltare coram se. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum ejus, rogans eum ut juvaret nos ut Dominus ejus videret literas nostras. Excusavi etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid preciosum, solis libris & capella in qua serviebamus deo exceptis: unde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino suo. Qui enim propria dimiseram, non poteram portator esse alienorum. Tunc respondit satis mansuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: sic servarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus nostris; sed magis daret nobis de suis, si indigeremus: & fecit nos sedere & bibere de lacte suo. Et post pauca rogavit ut diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæsivit & quis esset major dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, si haberet terram suam in pace. Non, inquit, sed Rex Franciæ. Audiverat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inveni etiam ibi unum de Sociis domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narraverat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reversi sumus ad hospitium nostrum. In crastino misi

Coiat Nestorinus.

ei unum flasconem de vino Muscato, quod optime se custodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biscocto quod fuit ei gratissimum, & retinuit illo sero famulos nostros secum. In crastino mandavit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus suus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes unam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & vestes explicari, & circumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Christiani & Saraceni: quibus inspectis, quæsivit, si vellem ista omnia dare domino suo, quo audito, expavi, & displicuit mihi verbum, dissimulans tamen respondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noster dignetur recipere panem istum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid est, sed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipse autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas sciet, qua de causa venimus ad eum: & tunc stabimus mandato ejus nos & omnes res nostræ. Vestes enim sanctæ sunt, & non licet eas contingere nisi sacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino suo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus preciosioribus vestibus accepi in pectore pulvinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, psalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit missale & crucem, clericus indutus supercilicio accepit thuribulum: sic accessimus ante dominum ejus: & levaverunt [I. 83.] filtrum quod pendebat ante ostium ut nos posset videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requisiverunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, ut caveremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & ut cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingressi sumus cantando, Salve regina. In introitu autem ostii stabat bancus cum cosmos & cum ciphis. Et convenerant omnes uxores ejus: & ipsi Moal. Ingredientes nobiscum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenso, quod ipse respexit, tenens in manu diligenter: postea tulit ei psalterium quod valde respexit, & uxor ejus sedens juxta eum. Postea tulit biblium, & ipse quæsivit, si evangelium esset ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu sua, & quæsivit de imagine, utrum esset imago Christi? Respondi quod sic. Ipsi Nestoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt super cruces suas figuram Christi. Unde videntur male sentire de passione, vel erubescunt eam. Postea fecit circumstantes nos retrahere se, ut plenius posset videre ornamenta nostra. Tunc obtuli ei literas vestras cum transcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in utraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant sacerdotes Armeni, qui sciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui sciebat Syrianum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exivimus & deposuimus vestimenta nostra: & venerunt scriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: vestimentà & libros fecit nos reportare ad hospitium. Hoc actum est in festo Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu patrem Sartach.

IN crastino mane venit quidam sacerdos frater ipsius Coiac postulans vasculum cum chrismate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, ut dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora vespertina vocavit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex scripsit bona verba Domino meo: Sed sunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, sine consilio patris sui. Unde oportet vos ire ad patrem suum, & duas bigas quas adduxistis heri cum vestimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego statim suspicatus sum malum de cupiditate ejus, & dixi ei. Domine, non solum illas sed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus sub custodia vestra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de aliis facietis velle vestrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo posset fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei.

Tunc quæsivit si vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexistis literas domini regis, potestis scire, quod sic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos esse patientes multum, & humiles. Sic discessimus ab eo illo sero. In crastino mane misit unum sacerdotem Nestorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipsius Coiacis, seperavit omnia nostra ab ipsis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam sua, scilicet libros & vestimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiscum vestimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach ut illis indueremur coram Baatu si expediret: quas ille sacerdos abstulit nobisvi, dicens: Tu attulisti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, respondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc necessaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingressus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet justiciam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipse aliquid aliter dixisset, quam ego dixissem ei: quia ipse bene voluisset, quod de omnibus fecissemus xenium. Unum erat mihi solacium, quia quum persensi cupiditatem eorum, ego subtraxi de libris Biblium & sententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Psalterium dominæ reginæ non fui ausus subtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reversi sumus cum duobus residuis bigis ad hospitium nostrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum festinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipse retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipsum cum garcione nostro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes versus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die pervenimus ad Etiliam: cujus aquas cum vidi, mirabar unde ab Aquilone descenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis supradictus Coiac cum aliis multis scriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noster sit Christianus, sed Moal. Quia nomen Christianitatis videtur eis nomen cujusdam gentis. In tantam superbiam sunt erecti, quod quamvis aliquid forte credant

Perveniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

de Christo, tamen nolunt dici Christiani volentes nomen suum, hoc est, Moal exaltare super omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus sic didici.

[I. 84.]

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham faciunt reverentiam Christianis.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan. Con est proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem est qui divinator. Omnes divinatores vocant Can. Unde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per divinationem. Unde legitur in historia Antiochiæ, quod Turci miserunt propter succursum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem est quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Undè Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipsorum Catay qui erant in Oriente super Oceanum de quibus postea dicam vobis. Isti Catay erant in quibusdam alpibus per quas transivi. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Nestorinus pastor potens & dominus super populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Mortuo Con can elevavit se ille Nestorius in regem, & vocabant eum Nestoriani Regem Johannem: & plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quàm veritas esset. Ita enim faciunt Nestoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Unde disseminaverunt de Sartach quod esset Christianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt majorem reverentiam Christianis, quàm aliis populis, & tamen in veritate Christiani non sunt. Sic ergo exivit magna fama de illo Rege Johanne. Et quando ego transivi per pascua ejus, nullus aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestoriani pauci. In pascuis ejus habitat Kencam, apud cujus curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam transivi per eam in reditu. Huic Johanni erat frater quidam potens, pastor similiter, nomine Vut: &

Con can.

Unde venerunt Turci.

Caracatay.

Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Presbyter Johannes.

Kencham ubi habitavit.

Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Unc.

Caracarum. Villula. Crit, & Merkit.

Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum sedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

ipse erat ultra Alpes ipsorum Caracatay, distans à fratre suo spacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cujusdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens sub se, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Sed ipse dominus eorum dimisso cultu Christi, sectabatur idola; habens sacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes sunt invocatores dæmonum & sortilegi. Ultra pascua istius ad decem vel quindecem dietas erant pascua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines sine capitaneo & sine lege, exceptis sortilegiis & divinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et juxta Moal erant alii pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Johannes mortuus fuit sine hærede, & ditatus est frater ejus Unc; & faciebat se vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges ejus usque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Unc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conquesti sunt pastores Vut domino suo. Tunc congregavit exercitum & equitavit in terram Moal, quærens ipsum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipse Vut accepta prædà Moal & à Tartaris reversus est. Tunc ipse Cyngis allocutus est Tartaros & ipsos Moal dicens, Quia sine duce sumus opprimunt nos vicini nostri. Et fecerunt ipsum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit super ipsum Vut, & vicit ipsum, & ipse fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia ejus, quam Cyngis dedit uni ex filiis in uxorem, ex quo ipsa suscepit istum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipse Cyngis premittebat ubique ipsos Tartaros: & inde exivit nomen eorum, quia ubique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti sunt. Unde isti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & suum elevare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & ubi est adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari est regio circa quam fuit acquisitio eorum, illam civitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt suum Can.

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caspio.

[I. 85.]

DE Sartach autem utrum credit in Christum vel non nescio. Hoc scio quod Christianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Christianos. Ipse enim est in itinere Christianorum, scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkisorum, Alanorum: qui omnes transeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris sui deferre ei munera, unde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen si Saraceni veniant, & majus afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa se Nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam, & cantant officium suum.

Berta vel Berca.

Est alius qui dicitur Berta super Baatu, qui pascit versus Portam ferream, ubi est iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perside & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & transeuntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit se Saracenum, & non permittit in terra sua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu nostro præceperat ei, quod transferret se de illo loco ultra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum transire per eum, quia videbatur sibi damnosum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam provisum fuit nobis de cibo, nisi semel de modico cosmos. In via verò inter ipsum & patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani servi eorum, quorum est magna multitudo inter eos, associant se viginti vel triginta simul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inveniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando sunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in pascuis, & mutant equos, & unum vel duos ducunt secum, ut comedant quum indiguerint. Occursum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noster. In illa via fuissemus mortui fame, si non portavissemus nobiscum modicum de biscocto.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Est

Exacta maris. Caspii descriptio.

Canglæ populi, vel Cangittæ.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Isidori error de mari Caspio.

enim in quadruplo majus quàm Sequana, & profundissimum: Veniens de majori Bulgaria, quæ est ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, sive quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam civitate, quæ est juxta ripam ejus in Perside. Sed Isidorus vocat illud mare Caspium. Habet enim montes Caspios, & Persidem à meridie: montes verò Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caspiis: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam solitudinem, in qua modò sunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui crescit in æstate sicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Lesgi; & Portam feream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipse circumdedit duo latera ejus, meridionale scilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare scilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in revertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor mensibus potest circumdari. Et non est verum quod dicit Isidorus, quòd sit sinus exiens ab Oceano: nusquam enim tangit Oceanum, sed undique circumdatur terra.

[I. 86.]

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Isidorus.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali istius maris, ubi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, usque ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis ubi mergitur Tanais, solebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Isidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, ut tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verum est, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi versus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis sicut boves propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco ubi nos applicuimus super Etiliam est casale novum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui transponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu:

quia Baatu est in ulteriori ripa versus Orientem: nec transit illum locum ubi nos applicuimus ascendendo in æstate, sed jam incipiebat descendere. De Januario enim usque ad Augustum ascendit ipse, & omnes alii versus frigidas regiones, & in Augusto incipiunt redire. Descendimus ergo in navi ab illo casali usque ad curiam ejus. Et ab illo loco usque ad villas majoris Bulgariæ versus Aquilonem, sunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portavit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ est exitus Persidis, sunt plusquam triginta dietæ per transversum, solitudinem ascendendo juxta Etiliam usque in illam Bulgariam, ubi nulla est civitas, nisi quædam casalia propè ubi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alii. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expavi; quia videbantur propè domus ejus, quasi quædam magna civitas protensa in longum, & populus undique circumfusus, usque ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et sicut populus Israel sciebat unusquisque, ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipsi sciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant se collocare, quando ipsi deponunt domus. Unde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in medio hominum suorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus se collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à sinistris extendunt se quantum volunt secundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex opposito curiæ non descendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non providebat nobis de aliquo cibo: sequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuisset capere tot homines & mulieres, quot convenerant. Monuit nos ductor noster ut non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breviter. Quæsivit etiam utrum misissetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miseratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipsum misissetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, nisi credidissetis eos fuisse Christianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, sed ex congratulatione, quia audiveratis

Descendit navi per flumen Volga.

Nota.

30 dietæ à Porta ferrea.

Astracan.

Descriptio curiæ Baatu.

Horda sonat medium.

Misit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

eos esse Christianos, misistis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem : & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorii, quas ipsi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu nostro discoopertis capitibus, & eramus spectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Johannes de Plano carpini, sed ipse mutaverat habitum ne contemneretur ; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus usque ad medium tentorii, nec requisiverunt ut faceremus aliquam reverentiam genua flectendo, sicut solent facere nuncii. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum possit dici, Miserere mei Deus : & omnes erant in summo silentio. Ipse verò super solium longum sedebat & latum sicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod ascendebatur tribus gradibus, & una domina juxta eum. Viri vero diffusi sedebant à dextris dominæ & à sinistris : quod non implebant mulieres ex parte una, quia erant ibi solæ uxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum cosmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætiosis erat in introitu tentorii. Respexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum : & videbatur mihi similis in statura Domino Johanni de Bello monte cujus anima requiescit in pace. Erat etiam vultus ejus tunc perfusus gutta rosea. Tandem præcepit ut loquerer. Tunc ductor noster præcepit ut flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi unum genu tanquam homini : tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere super hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens : Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis ista terrena, ut det vobis post hæc cœlestia : quia hæc sine illis vana sunt. Et ipse diligenter auscultavit, & subjunxi : Noveritis pro certo quòd cœlestia non habebitis, nisi fueritis Christianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit : qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipse modestè subrisit, & alii Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obstupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare

Johannes de Plano carpini.

ne timerem. Tunc facto silentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium vestrum, quia audivimus quòd esset Christianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipse misit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis scire qua de causa. Tunc fecit me surgere. Et quæsivit nomen vestrum, & meum, & socii mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia scribi. Quæsivit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram vestram cum exercitu ut haberetis bellum. Respondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hierusalem. Quæsivit etiam si unquam misissetis nuncios ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos sedere, & dari de lacte suo ad bibendum, quod ipsi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit cosmos cum eo in domo sua. Et dum sedens respicerem terram, præcepit ut elevarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius respicere, vel fortè pro sortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel signo, vel pro mala Prognostica, quando aliquis sedet coram eis inclinata facie quasi tristis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum super manum. Tunc exivimus, & post pauca, venit Ductor noster ad nos, & ducens nos ad hospitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra ista: & hoc non potest Baatu facere sine conscientia Mangu cham. Unde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo revertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec revertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans se perditum: Socius etiam meus contestari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod divideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod sine socio non possem ire: Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia si contingeret unum infirmari, non possem solus remanere. Tunc ipse reversus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit: vadant duo sacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus revertatur ad Sartach. Ille reversus dixit nobis summam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiscum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definivit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemosyna habebat Goset clericus viginti sex ipperpera, &

Literæ Regis Francorum.

[I. 87.]

non plus: quorum decem retinuit sibi & puero: & sexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et sic divisi sumus cum lachrimis ab invicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum versus curiam Mangu cham.

Quinque septimanas juxta Etiliam descendebant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

IN Vigilia Assumptionis pervenit ipse clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in crastino fuerunt Sacerdotes Nestorini induti vestimentis nostris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hospitem, qui debebat nobis providere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigavimus cum Baatu descendendo juxta Etiliam quinque septimanas. Aliquando habuit socius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quasi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum sequitur semper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem invenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum unus sciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab aliis Hungaris quasi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias suorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter instructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, sed nesciebat respondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam consolationem, afferentes cosmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum postulassent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos possem dare, nullos enim habebam, nisi Biblium & breviarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego scribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hîc: quod & fecerunt. Et scripsi utrasque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die junxit se nobis quidam Comanus, salutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Salvete Domini. Ego mirans, ipso resalutato, quæsivi ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam salutationem. Et ipse dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus nostris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæsiverat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipse dixerat ei conditiones ordinis nostri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba sua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, secundùm æstimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis sanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam dives Moal, cujus pater erat millenarius, quod magnum est inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & est iter quatuor mensium: & tantum frigus est ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis utrum poteritis sustinere. Cui respondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos sustinebimus, quod alii homines possunt sustinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis sustinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui respondi, hoc non esset justum: quia non ivimus pro nobis, nisi missi à Domino vestro: Unde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. Post hoc fecit nos ostendere sibi omnes vestes nostras, & quod sibi videbatur minus necessarium fecit deponere sub custodia hospitis nostri. In crastino attulerunt cuilibet nostrum unam pelliceam villosam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas sive bucellos secundùm morem eorum cum soccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus secundùm modum eorum. Et secunda die post exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes signarios: & equitavimus continuè versus Orientem usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus majorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caspium.

Iter quatuor mensium à Volga.

Ingens frigus.

[I. 88.]

26. Septemb.

Cangle populi.

Major Bulgaria.

De flumine Iagag, & de diversis regionibus sive nationibus.

Postquam iveramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia invenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in prædictum mare. Idioma Pascatir & Hungarorum idem est: & sunt pastores sine civitate aliqua. Et con-

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Pascatir terra, vel Bascirdorum terra vel Zibier.

tiguatur majori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra versus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non est amplius aliqua civitas. Unde Bulgaria major est ultima regio habens civitatem.

Hungari à Pascatir oriundi.

De illa regione Pascatir exierunt Huni, qui posteà dicti sunt Hungari. Unde ipsa est major Bulgaria. Et dicit Isidorus, quòd pernicibus equis claustra Alexandri rupibus Caucasi feras gentes cohibentia transierunt: ita quod usque in Ægyptum solvebatur eis tributum. Destruxerunt etiam omnes terras usque in Franciam. Unde fuerunt majoris potentiæ, quàm sunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim majori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui sunt ultra Danubium propè Constantinopolin, & juxta Pascatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt

Nota.

Tartari sonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani. Utrosque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclavorum est idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro majori parte est cum Tartaris quos Deus suscitavit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem stultam,

Deut. 32. 21.

secundùm quod dicit Dominus, Provocabo eos, id est, non custodientes Legem suam, in eo qui non est populus, & in gente stulta irritabo eos: Hoc completur ad literam super omnes nationes non custodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Pascatir scio per fratres Prædicatores,|| qui iverunt illuc ante adventum Tartarorum.

|| *Qui fuerunt isti fratres?*

Et ex tunc erant ipsi subjugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia possunt sciri per Chronica: quia constat quod illæ provinciæ post Constantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclavonia, fuerunt provinciæ Græcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia.

Cangle planicies ingens.

Equitavimus ergo per terram Cangle à festo Sanctæ crucis usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum est à Parisiis usque Aurelianum, secundùm quod possum estimare, & plus aliquando: secundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inveniebamus populum, & oportebat levius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos semper habebamus pejores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi semper providebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderosus valdè: sed utrum suaviter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæstionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, si durè portaret. Sed fortunam suam oportebat unumquemque sustinere. Unde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam possemus pervenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam vestes super alios saginarios, mutare equos saginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in uno equo.

De fame & siti, & aliis miseriis quas sustinuerunt in itinere.

DE fame & siti, frigore & fatigatione non est numerus. Non enim dant cibum nisi in sero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel sorbere milium. In sero dabant nobis carnes, scapulam arietis cum costis & de brodio ad mensuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad satietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi suavissimus potus & maximè nutriens. [I. 89.] Feria sexta permanebam jejunus usque ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in tristitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes semicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, *Defectus materiæ ignis.* quando jacebamus in campis & de nocte descendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere stercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis raro inveniebamus; nisi fortè alicubi aliquas spinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum *Aliqua flumina.* fluminum sunt alicubi sylvæ. Sed hoc rarò. In principio despiciebat nos multùm Ductor noster, & fastidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Postea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoscere, ducebat nos per curias divitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipsis. Unde si habuissem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem seminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egressi sunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vastam solitudinem, quæ est sicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noster. Et mirabantur supra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes præciosas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, si esset ita senex sicut audierant: audierant enim quod esset quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris nostris si ibi essent multæ oves, & boves, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod esset sine termino vel sine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimisimus viam in Orientem, ‖ quia jam populus descenderat multum versus meridiem: Et direximus iter per quasdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis assimulantur mulis: quos multum prosequuti sunt Dux noste & socii ejus, sed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altissimi: & intravimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur sicut hortus, & invenimus terras cultas. In octavis omnium Sanctorum intravimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cujus capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci nostro cum cervisia & ciphis. Hic est enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis subditis eis, occurratur nunciis Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi super glaciem. Et prius à festo Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in solitudine. Quæsivi de nomine Provinciæ illius: sed quia jam eramus in alio territorio nescierunt mihi dicere, nisi à nomine civitatis, quæ erat valdè parva. Et descendebat magnus fluvius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, secundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec descendebat in aliquod mare, sed absorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Vasta solitudo.

‖ Nota diligenter.

Iter versus meridiem octo dierum.

Asini velocissimi.

Montes altissimi.

Terræ cultæ.

Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Novembris ibant super glaciem.

Civitas valdè parva.

Magnus fluvius.

Multæ paludes.

Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonicorum.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud casale propinquius montibus. Et quæsivi de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd essent montes Caucasi: qui contiguantur ex utraque parte maris ab Occidente usque ad Orientem: & quod transiveramus mare supradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæsivi etiam de Talas civitate, in qua erant Teutonici servi Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæsiveram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis. Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (Et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliæ, sicut Baatu, ut pascam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, ut adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæsivit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: & ipse confessus est, tamen excusavit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebriis:) & Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere usque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos juxta montes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos de licentia Baatu versus Orientem spacio itineris unius mensis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: ubi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Unde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Transivi eundo satis prope, per tres dietas fortè, civitatem illam: sed ego ignoravi: nec potuissem etiam declinasse extra viam, si benè scivissem. A prædicto casali ivimus ad Orientem juxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intravimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui ubique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore

Casale.

Montes Caucasi contiguantur mari Orientali.

Talas, vel Chincitalas civitas.

Frater Andreas.

Casale.

Bolac villa.

Aurifodinæ.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

nostro: quia ipse erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent sibi mutuo, ut homines Mangu cham [I. 90.] recipiant nuncios Baatu prædicto modo: Et similiter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores sunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus post hoc intravimus Alpes, in quibus solebant habitare Cara catay: & invenimus ibi magnum fluvium, quem oportuit nos transire navigio. Post hæc intravimus quandam vallem, ubi vidi castrum quoddam destructum, cujus muri non erant nisi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et post invenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Persicum: longissimè tamen erant à Perside. Sequenti die transgressis illis Alpibus quæ descendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à sinistris, sive quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis descendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æstate redivimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, ubi similiter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta solebant esse multæ villæ: sed pro majori parte omnes erant destructæ, ut pascerent ibi Tartari: quia optima pascua erant ibi. Unam magnam villam invenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quievimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam scriptorem Baatu, qui debebat esse socius ducis nostri in negotiis expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa solebat dici Organum: & solebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate solebant facere Nestorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia solebant esse optimi Organistæ vel Citharistæ, ut dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noveritis, quod sunt multæ sectæ in Oriente.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay.

Magnus fluvius.

Terra culta.

Equius villa bona.

Longissimè à Perside.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa & plena mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

Quod Nestorini et Saraceni sunt mixti & Idolatræ.

Jugures populi, Idolatræ.

PRimi sunt Jugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos versus Orientem: Et in omnibus civitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini & Saraceni. Et ipsi etiam sunt diffusi versus Persidem in civitatibus Saracenorum. In prædicta civitate Cealac habebant etiam ipsi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intravi, ut viderem stultitias eorum. In prima inveni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento super manum suam. Unde credidi quod esset Christianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, respondebat ut Christianus. Unde quæsivi ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Jesu Christi? Et ipse respondit, non habemus consuetudinem. unde ego credidi quod essent Christiani: sed ex defectu doctrinæ omitterent. Videbam enim ibi post quandam cistam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, super quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quasi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quasi ipsorum tenentes digitos sicut ad benedicendum. Illo sero non potui aliud invenire. Quia Saraceni in tantum invitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Unde quando quærebam a Saracenis de ritu talium, ipsi scandalizabantur. In crastino fuerunt kalendæ & pascha Saracenorum & mutavi hospitium: ita quod fui hospitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet secundum posse suum vel portionem suam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inveni sacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa sua, & ornant se sacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo describo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & postea istorum Jugurum; qui sunt quasi secta divisa ab aliis. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complosis manibus: & prosternentes se genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem super manus. Unde Nestorini in partibus illis nullo modo jungunt manus orando: sed orant extensis palmis ante pectus.

Cailac.

Jugures secta divisa ab aliis Idolatris.

Porrigunt templa sua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram unam quasi eorum exeuntem: vel aliter, Si est domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt unam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant unam arcam longam & latam sicut mensam unam. Et post illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracarum, ita magnum sicut pingitur Sanctus Christopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam sacerdos Nestorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa est Idolum ita magnum, quod potest videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super cistam illam, quæ est quasi mensa una, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum sunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas sicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gasaria.

fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

[I. 91.]

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter se habent in officio deorum suorum.

OMnes sacerdotes eorum rasum habent totum caput & barbam; sunt vestiti de croceo, & servant castitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et vivunt pariter centum vel ducenti in una congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo scamna, & sedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quamdiu insunt in templo, legentes in silencio, & tenentes silencium. Unde cùm ingressus fuissem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & invenissem eos ita sedentes, multis modis tentavi eos provocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam restem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, sicut nos portamus pater noster: Et dicunt semper hæc verba: Ou mam Hactavi: hoc est, Deus tu nosti; secundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus est mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum suum semper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua sedent ad colloquendum. Et super illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat si possint, super totam villam. Et per illam perticam potest cognosci, quod domus illa sit templum Idolorum. Ista communia sunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingressus fui prædictam Idolatriam, inveni sacerdotes sedentes sub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci esse rasis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Istorum Jugurum sacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt: semper sunt in tunicis croceis satis strictis accincti desuper recte sicut Franci: & habent pallium super humerum sinistrum descendens involutum per pectus & dorsum ad latus dextrum sicut diaconus portans casulam in quadragesima. Istorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipsi incipiunt scribere sursum, & ducunt lineam deorsum, & eodem modo ipsi legunt & multiplicant lineas a sinistra ad dextram. Isti multum utuntur cartis & caracteribus pro sortilegio. Unde templa sua plena sunt brevibus suspensis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Isti comburunt mortuos suos secundum antiquum modum, & recondunt pulverem in summitate pyramidis. Cum ergo sedissem juxta prædictos sacerdotes, postquam ingressus fueram templum & vidissem idola eorum multa magna & parva: quæsivi ab eis, quid ipsi crederent de Deo. Qui responderunt, Non credimus nisi unum Deum. Et ego quæsivi. Creditis quod ipse sit spiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod sit spiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam sumpserit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non sit nisi unus spiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot insuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus sit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc responderunt, Nos non figuramus istas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis dives moritur ex

Tyaræ cartaceæ.

Chinenses ita etiam scribunt.

Sortilegi.

Combustio mortuorum.

1253.

nostris, vel filius, vel uxor, vel aliquis charus ejus facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam ejus. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis ista nisi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæsiverunt à me quasi deridendo: ubi est Deus? Quibus ego. Ubi est anima vestra? Dixerunt, in corpore nostro. Quibus ego. Nonne est ubique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus ubique est, & omnia gubernat, invisibilis tamen, quia intellectus & sapientia est. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Istorum sectæ sunt Moal sive Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipsi non credunt nisi unum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum suorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciocissimis, & ponunt in una biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere: & sunt sub custodia divinatorum suorum, qui sunt eorum sacerdotes, de quibus postea narrabo vobis. Isti divinatores semper sunt ante curiam ipsius Mangu & aliorum divitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; nisi illi qui sunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipsi præcedunt, sicut columna nubis filios Israel, & ipsi considerant locum metandi castra, & post deponunt domos suas; & post eos tota curia. Et tunc cum sit dies festus sive kalendæ ipsi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo sua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant se imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

[I. 92.]

De diversis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere solebant parentes suos.

PRædicti vero Jugures, qui sunt mixti cum Christianis & Saracenis, per frequentes disputationes, ut credo, pervenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt nisi unum deum. Et isti fuerunt habitantes in civitatibus, qui post obediverunt Chingis Cham: unde ipse dedit regi eorum filiam suam. Et ipsa Caracarum est quasi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis sive presbyteri Johannis & Vut fratris ejus circa terras eorum: Sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Jugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum. Et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum: & omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum. Post istos sunt ipsi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortissimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimissus ab eis, postea subjugavit eos. Isti habent boves fortissimos habentes caudas plenas pilis sicut equi, & ventres pilosos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt aliis bobus in tibiis, sed ferociores multum. Isti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuosa, acutissima: ita quod oportet semper secare summitates eorum. Vacca non permittit se injungi nisi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia si vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post illos sunt Tebet homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctos, ut causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulchrum eis nisi viscera sua. Modo tamen hoc dimiserunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, ut illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in jocunditate sua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Isti habent multum de auro in terra sua. Unde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, residuum condens in terra: quia si reponeret in arca vel in thesauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod est in terra. De istis hominibus vidi personas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos sed fuscos. Jugures sunt mediocris staturæ sicut nostri. Apud Jugures est fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Post Tebet sunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas plusquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur sex bobus. Isti sunt parvi homines & fusci sicut Hispani: & habent tunicas sicut supertunicale diaconi manicis parum strictioribus:

Patria Presbiteri Johannis.

Tangut populi, fortissimi.

Boves pilosis caudis: his similes sunt in Quivera Americæ septentrionalis provincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

Tangut homines magni sed fusci.

Langa & Solanga.

Solangi similes Hispanis, & fusci.

& habent in capitibus mitras sicut episcopi. Sed pars anterior est parum interior quàm posterior, & non terminatur in unum angulum: sed sunt quadræ desuper, & sunt de stramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium solis sicut speculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia assutas ipsi mitræ; quæ se extendunt ad ventum sicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis jactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ superius à tempore in tempus: & jacent sicut circulus ex transverso capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem unius cubiti, & ad latitudinem unius palmi, rasam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipsi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, semper aspiciebat in illam tabulam, ac si inveniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec respiciebat ad dextram vel sinistram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nusquam respicit nisi in tabulam suam. Ultra istos sunt alii homines, ut intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, sed nulla animalia sibi appropriant: tamen sunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipsorum, & nullus custodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, ascendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt se tractari quasi domestica. Et si nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipsi includunt eum in domo, & ministrant ei necessaria, donec negocium ejus fuerit expeditum. Quia si iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem ejus fugerent, & efficerentur sylvestria. Ultra est magna Cathaya, cujus incolæ antiquitus ut credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi panni serici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione est oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In ista terra sunt multæ provinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter *

Tabula de dente elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

* *Aliqua desiderantur.*

The journal of frier William de Rubruquis a French man of the order of the minorite friers, unto the East parts of the worlde. An. Dom. 1253. [I. 93.]

TO his most Soveraigne, & most Christian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health & continual triumph in CHRIST.

Ecclus. 39. *ver.* 4. It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall travell into forren countries, and good and evill shall he trie in all things. The very same action (my lord and king) have I atchieved: howbeit I wish that I have done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more undiscreetly: of which number I feare my selfe to be one. Notwithstanding howsoever I have done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things unto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long letters, I have done as your majestie injoined me: yet with feare and reverence, because I want wordes and eloquence sufficient to write unto so great a majestie. Be it knowen therefore unto your sacred Majestie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, divided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two provinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South province is called Synopolis, and it is the castle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North province is called of the Latines, Gasaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite upon the sea shore thereof, it is called Cassaria, that is to say Cæsaria. And there are certaine head lands stretching foorth into the sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are 300. miles of distance betweene Synopolis and Cassaria. Insomuch that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles also from thence to the East, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a province of *Gasaria.* Georgia. At the province of Gasaria or Cassaria we arrived, which province is, in a maner, three square, having a citie on the West part thereof called Kersova, wherein S. Clement suffered martyrdome. And sayling before the said citie, we sawe an island, in which a Church is sayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midst of the said province toward the South, as it were, upon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called *Soldaia.* Soldaia directly over against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countries, in their journey outward, arrive, and as they returne homeward also from Russia, and the said Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and costly skinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombast, and silke, and divers kindes of spices. But upon the East part of the said province standeth a citie *The citie of Matriga.* called Matriga, where the river Tanais dischargeth his streames into the sea of Pontus, the mouth wherof is twelve miles in breadth. For this river, before it entreth into the sea of Pontus, maketh a little sea, which hath in breadth and length seven hundreth miles, & it is in no place thereof above sixe paces deepe, whereupon great vessels cannot sayle over it. Howbeit the merchants of *‖Matriga.* Constantinople, arriving at the foresayd citie of ‖ Materta, send their barkes unto the river of Tanais to buy dried fishes, Sturgeons, Thosses, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresayd province of Cassaria is compassed in with the sea on three sides thereof: namely on the West side, where Kersova the citie of Saint

Clement is situate: on the South side the citie of Soldaia whereat we arrived: on the East side Maricandis, and there stands the citie of Matriga upon the mouth of the river Tanais. Beyond the sayd mouth standeth Zikia, *Zikia.* which is not in subjection unto the Tartars: also the people called Suevi and Hiberi towards the East, who likewise are not under the Tartars dominion. Moreover towards the South, standeth the citie of Trapesunda, which hath a governour proper to it selfe, named Guydo, being of the linage of the emperours of Constantinople, and is subject unto the Tartars. Next unto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subjection unto them. Next unto these lyeth the countrey of Vastacius, whose sonne is called Astar, of his grandfather by the mothers side, who is not in subjection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Westward as farre as Danubius is under their jurisdiction. Yea beyond Danubius also, towards Constantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Assanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute unto them. And besides the tribute imposed, they have also, of late yeares, [I. 94.] exacted of every houshold an axe, and all such corne as they found lying on heapes. We arrived therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of June. And divers merchants of Constantinople, which were arrived there before us, reported that certaine messengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were desirous to travell unto Sartach. Notwithstanding I my self had publikely given out upon Palme Sunday within ye Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I travailed unto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arrived, the said merchants admonished me to take diligent heede what I spake: because they having reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not have free passage granted unto me. Then I spake after this maner unto the governors of the citie, or rather unto their Lieutenants, because the governors themselves were gone to pay tribute unto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad therof, & especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth against the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go unto Sartach, & to deliver unto him ye letters of my lord the king, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they received us with gladnes, and gave us enterteinement in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing so. Then put they us to our choyce, whither we woulde have cartes and oxen, or packe horses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople advised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy covered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in) and to put all our carriages, which I would daylie take out, into them: because, if I should use horses, I must be constrained at every baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them up againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherfore, contenting my selfe with their evil counsel, I was traveiling unto Sartach 2. moneths which I could have done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants advised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present unto the governours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free passage: because they looke favourablie upon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the governours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable unto him. Wee tooke our journey therefore about the kalends of June, with fower covered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest upon in the night, and they allowed us five horses to ride upon. For there were just five persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my servant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed upon me. Moreover, they allowed us two men, which drave our carts and gave attendance unto our oxen and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersova unto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersova and Soldaia, every one of which almost have their proper languages: amongst whome there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North, there is a most beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & freshets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing five dayes journey unto the very extremitie and borders of the said province northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land, having sea on the East & West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made from one sea unto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang up) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foresayd cities and castles to pay tribute unto them. But when the Tartars came upon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foresaid province, and fled all of them, even unto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were alive, were constrained to eate up those which were dead: and (as a marchant reported unto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the living men devoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe upon carrion. Towards the borders of the sayd province there be many great lakes: upon the bankes whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soone as it entereth into

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

the lake, becommeth hard salte like unto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baatu and Sartach have great revenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia for salte: and for each carte loade they give two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many ships for salt, which pay tribute every one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars. Amongst whome being entred, me thought I was come into a new world. Whose life and maners I wil describe unto your Highnes as well as I can.

The Tartars.

[I. 95.]

Of the Tartars, and of their houses. Chap. 2.

THey have in no place any setled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestiall citie to come. They have divided all Scythia among themselves, which stretcheth from the river Danubius even unto the rising of the sunne. And every of their captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they descend unto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend unto the colde regions northward. In winter when snowe lyeth upon the ground, they feede their cattell upon pastures without water, because then they use snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground upon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consisteth (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting above into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth upward a necke like unto a chimney, which they cover with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth upon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they cover it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish over with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a felt curiously painted over. For they spend all their coloured felt, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beastes thereupon. The sayd houses they make so large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete over: and when the house was upon the carte, it stretched over the wheeles on each side five feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house upon a cart, eleven in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleven more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like unto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, upon the forestall of the carte driving forth the oxen. Moreover, they make certaine fouresquare baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or cover of such like wickers, and make a doore in the fore side thereof. And then they cover the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed over with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe & treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly bind upon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to ye end they may wade through rivers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here & there, within half a stones cast of ye house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for themselves most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe unto your majestie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly have painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baatu hath sixteene wives, every one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place

The benefite of a painter in strange countreis.

behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And unto every of the said houses do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwelleth upon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like unto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte driving the oxen, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them over one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots.

Chap. 3.

HAving taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwaies on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting upon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is upon ye West side, namely at the right hand of their master. Men when they enter into the house, wil not in [I. 96.] any case hang their quivers on the womens side. Over the masters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another over the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the wall: and above betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with wooll or some other matter, and neare unto that a litle image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next unto the doore also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes udder, for the women that milke the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the doore next unto the men, there is another image with the udder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they sprinckle parte of their drinke upon the image which is above the masters head: afterward upon other images in order: then goeth a servant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke sprinckling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at every time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: & lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part upon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on horse backe, hee powreth out part thereof upon the necke or maine of his horse before hee himselfe drinketh. After the servaunt aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the house: and two other servants stand ready with two cuppes, and two basons, to carrie drinke unto their master and his wife, sitting together upon a bed. And if he hath more wives then one, she with whome hee slept the night before, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wives must that day resorte unto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes also which are presented that daye are layd up in the chests of the sayd wife. And upon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

[Of their

Of their drinkes, and how they provoke one another to drinking. Chap. 4.

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they have wine brought unto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next unto it stands a minstrell with his fidle. I sawe there no such citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not used among us. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his servants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minstrell playes upon his fidle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyse of musique, the men before their master and the women before their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his servant as before, and the minstrell stayeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will provoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreover when some of them will make great feasting and rejoycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to have the cuppe reached unto him, still singing and dauncing before him: and when he stretcheth foorth his hand to receive the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so having deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe untill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they give him the cuppe, singing and dauncing and stamping with their feete, untill he hath done drinking.

They use the like custome in Florida.

Of their foode and victuals. Chap. 5.

COncerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen unto your Highnesse that they do, without al difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongst so many droves it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mares milke lasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to have an oxe or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it up against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and also without stenche or corruption. They make better puddings of their horses then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserve untill winter. They make of their oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their horse hides they make very fine sandals & pantofles. They give unto 50. or an 100. men the flesh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with salt and water (other sauce they have none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the same purpose (such as wee use to take rosted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach unto every one of the company a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of guestes. The master of the house, before the rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giveth unto any of the company a speciall part, the receiver therof must eat it alone, and must not impart ought therof unto any other. Not being able to eate it up all, he caries it with him, or delivers it unto his boy, if he be present, to keepe it: if not, he puts it up into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square buget, which they use to cary about with them for the saving of all such provision, and wherein they lay up their bones, when they have not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward,

Drying of flesh in the wind.

[I. 97.]

to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

How they make their drinke called Cosmos. Chap. 6.

THeir drinke called Cosmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They fasten a long line unto 2. posts standing firmely in the ground, & unto the same line they tie the young foles of those mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to stand by their foles gently suffering themselves to be milked. And if any of them be too unruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it under her, letting it suck a while, and presently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said mare. And having gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, having a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat upon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be sower and sharp of taste, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raspes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaveth behind it a taste like the taste of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braines: also it causeth urine to be avoided in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say black Cosmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. First they beat the said milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth above, being like unto whay or white must. The said lees or dregs being very white, are given to servants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke: and in very deed it is marveilous sweete and holesome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies journey of his abiding place: every one of which serveth him dayly with the Caracosmos of an hundreth mares milk, and so all of them together every day with the milke of 3000. mares, besides white milke which other of his subjects bring. For even as the husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruicts and carie it unto the courts of their lords, even so doe they their mares milke every third day. Out of their cowes milke they first churne butter, boyling the which butter unto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams skinnes, which they reserve for the same purpose. Neither doe they salte their butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store up in sachels against winter. In the winter season when milke faileth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they cal Gry-ut) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they have resolved it into the said water, which is thereby made exceedingly sowre, and that they drinke in stead of milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it selfe.

Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. Chap. 7.

GReat lords have cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poorer sort provide themselves of such necessaries, for ye exchange of rams, & of other beasts skins. The Tartars slaves fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate mise with long tailes, nor any kinde of mise with short tailes. They have also certaine litle beasts called by them Sogur, which [I. 98.] lie in a cave twenty or thirty of them together, al the whole winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies having long tayles like unto cats: & on the outside of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They have many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, & but a fewe hares, but a great number of Roes. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like unto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast called Artak, having in al resemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift up a paire of them with one hand: & of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They have Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary upon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to ye midst of their gorges, by the which string, when they cast them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed up & downe, & beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen unto your Majestie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought unto them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & also out of many other countries of the North, which are subject unto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of divers sortes (which I never saw in our

Our falconers use the left fist.

Another strange custome, which I leave to be scanned by falconers themselves.

countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter. And alwaies against winter they make themselves two gownes, one with the fur inward to their skin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & snow, which for the most part are made of woolves skins, or Fox skins, or els of Papions. And when they sit within the house, they have a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their upper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company of them together, & invironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle & litle they approch on al sides, til they have gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, & then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make themselves breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gowns with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, & warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cotton cloth which is made of the finest wooll they can pick out, & of the courser part of the said wool, they make felt to cover their houses and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wool, being mixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt coverings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Great expense of wooll.

Of the fashion which the Tartars use in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. Chap. 8.

THe men shave a plot foure square upon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shave, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shave also their temples and the hinder part of their head even unto the nape of the necke: likewise they shave the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, & upon their foreheads they leave a locke of hayre reaching downe unto their eye browes: upon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they have two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them under each eare one. Moreover their womens garments differ not from their mens, saving that they are somwhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, shee shaves her scalpe from the middest of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like unto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before and girt unto them under the right side. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They have also an ornament for their heads which they call Botta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thicknes & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a square sharp spire rising from the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & fashioned like unto a pinacle. The said Botta they cover al over with a piece of rich silke: & it is hollow within: & upon the midst of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of slender canes a cubite long and more: & the sayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al ye length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, & with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament upon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come through it: [I. 99.] & under the foresaid ornament they cover the haires of their heads, which they gather up round together from the hinder part therof to the crowne, & so lap them up in a knot or bundel within the said Botta, which afterward they bind strongly under their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces upright: for the said Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce over it. Al their women sit on horsebacke bestriding their horses like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their wastes with a skie coloured silke skarfe, & with another skarfe they girde it above their breasts: & they bind also a piece of white silke like a mufler or maske under their eyes, reaching down unto their breast. These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube over their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they never lie in bed for their travel of childbirth.

Of the dueties injoined unto the Tartarian women, and of their labours, and also of their mariages. Chap. 9.

THe duties of women are, to drive carts: to lay their houses upon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine: to make butter & Gry-ut: to dresse skins & to sow them, which they usually sowe with thread made of sinewes, for they divide sinewes into slender threads, & then twine them into one long thread. They make sandals & socks & other garments. Howbeit they never wash any apparel: for they say that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil ensue, if washed garments be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat such as wash, & take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, & then wrapping themselves in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be overpast. They never wash their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the said broth into the pot againe. They make felte also, & cover their houses therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, stirrops, bridles, and saddles: to build houses & carts, to keepe horses: to milke mares: to churne Cosmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels also & lay burthens upon them. As for sheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aswell the men as the women. With sheeps milke thicked & salted they dresse and tan their hides. When they wil wash their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & spouting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinckle their haire & wash their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to understand, that no man can have a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon somtimes their maids are very stale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe them till they can sel them. They keepe the first and second degrees of consanguinitie inviolable, as we do: but they have no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by succession, two sisters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reason: because they beleeve, that al who have served them in this life, shall do them service in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that every widow after death shal returne unto her own husband. And herehence ariseth an abominable & filthy custome among them, namely that the sonne marieth somtimes all his fathers wives except his own mother: For the court or house of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger son. Wherupon he is to provide for all his fathers wives, because they are part of his inheritance aswel as his fathers possessions. And then if he will he useth them for his owne wives: for he thinks it no injurie or disparagement unto himselfe, although they returne unto his father after death. Therfore when any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth unto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father unto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take

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her wheresoever you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, and having found her hee must take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently unto his owne house.

Of their execution of justice and judgement: and of their deaths and burials. Chap. 10.

COncerning their lawes or their execution of justice, your Majesty is to be advertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne sonne. But he that goes by the worst must appeale unto the court of his lord. And whosoever els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must go presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the injury, carieth him, as it were captive. They punish no man with sentence of death, unles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him unto extreame torture to make him confesse the trueth. They punish murther with death, and carnall copulation also with any other besides [I. 100.] his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid servant, for he may use his slave as he listeth himself. Heinous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if ye executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must have an 100. staves, namely for such as are beaten upon sentence given in the court. Also counterfeit messengers, because they feine themselves to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they use in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Majesty shall understand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle most pitifully for him: & the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosoever is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after. Neere unto the grave of the partie deceased they alwaies leave one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the stock of Chingis, who was their first lord & father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is unknowen. And alwayes about those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they use to hide treasures in the graves of their dead. The Comanians build a great toomb over their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his navel. They erect also upon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, litle sharpe houses or pinacles: & in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged up 16. horse hides, unto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high posts: & they set besides his grave Cosmos for him to drink, & flesh to eat: & yet they sayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East: namely large flowres or pavements made of stone, some round & some square, & then 4. long stones pitched upright, about the said pavement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, & causeth a signe to be set upon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke party but his servant only. Moreover, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand round about the said court, who wil not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare least evill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Of our first entrance among the Tartars, and of their ingratitude. Chap. 11.

AND being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) y^t I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about us on horse back, after they had made us a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, under their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had ever bin with them heretofore, or no? And giving them answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from us. And we gave them some of our bisket & wine, which we had brought with us from the towne of Soldaia. And having drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gave them no more, excusing our selves that we had but a litle. Then they asked us, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I answered them with the words above mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, & that unto him our determination was to travel, having your Majesties letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquisitive to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent? I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, unles I my selfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my superior. I tooke diligent heed never to say that I was your Majesties ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or silver, or rich garments to carie unto Sartach? I answered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come unto him, & that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me unto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed unto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same province one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, unto whom my lord the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giving us horses & oxen, & two men to conduct us. Howbeit before they would allow us the foresayd necessaries for our journey, they made us to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our servants, as their knives, gloves, purses, & points, and desiring to have them. I excused my self that [I. 101.] we had a long way to travel, & that we must in no wise so soon deprive our selves of things necessary, to finish so long a journey. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they wil beg that which they see very importunatly & shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought upon them, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme themselves lords & think y^t nothing should be denied them by any man. If a man gives them nought, & afterward stands in neede of their service, they will do right nought for him. They gave us of their cowes milke to drink after ye butter was cherned out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from them. And in very deed it seemed to me y^t we were escaped out of the hands of divels. On the morrow we were come unto the captain. From the time wherin we departed from Soldaia, till we arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we never lay in house or tent, but alwaies under the starry canopy, & in the open aire, or under our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graves of the Comanians in great abundance. The same evening our guide which had conducted us, gave us some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof I sweat most extreamly for the novelty and strangenes, because I never dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very savory, as indeed it was.

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Of the court of Scacatai: and how the Christians drinke no Cosmos. Chap. 12.

ON the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wondered also at the great multitude of huge droves of oxen, & horses, and at the flockes of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: wherupon I inquired how many men he had under him, & they told me that he had not above 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the servant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat unto Scacatay: & so he caused us to stay, going himselfe before to give notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they unladed their houses nere unto a certain water: And there came unto us his interpreter, who being advertised by us that wee were never there before, demanded some of our victuals, & we yeelded unto his request. Also he required of us some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings unto his master. Howbeit we excused our selves as well as wee could. Then he asked us, what we would present unto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with bisket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate upon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, having annointed the very same place with a black ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most ugly in our eies. Then I rehearsed unto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stoode us in hand to use one and the same speech in all places. For

A caveat right worthy the noting. we were wel forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should never varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gifte at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold, or silver, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to give him, howbeit he should receive some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our present to be received, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I delivered also unto him the Emperor of Constantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia to have them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the Greeke tongue. He asked us also whether we would drink any Cosmos, that is to say mares milke? (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, wil in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselves no Christians after they have once drunke of it, & their priests reconcile them unto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian faith.) I gave him answere, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed us, we must be constrained to drink such as should be given unto us. He enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Majestie sent unto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed up, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliver unto Sartach? I answered: the words of Christian faith. He asked again what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare them. [I. 102.] Then I expounded unto him as well as I could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any utterance of speech) the Apostles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned unto us two men, who shoulde give attendance upon our selves, upon our horses, and upon our Oxen. And hee caused us to ride in his companie, till the messenger whome hee had sent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And so wee traveiled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecost.

Howe the Alanians came unto us on Pentecost or Whitson even. Chap. 13.

UPon the even of Pentecost, there came unto us certaine Alanians, who are there called *Acias, being Christians after the maner of the Grecians, using greeke bookes and Grecian priests: howbeit they are not schismatiques as the Grecians are, but without acception of persons, they honour al Christians. And they brought unto us sodden flesh, requesting us to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I sayd, because it was the even of so great and so solemne a feast day, that we would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded unto them the solemnitie of the sayd feast, whereat they greatly rejoyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian religion, except only the name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of us, whether they might be saved or no, because they were constrained to drinke Cosmos, & to eate the dead carkases of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other infidels? Which even the Greeke & Russian priests themselves also esteeme as things strangled or offered unto idoles: because they were ignorant of the times of fasting, neither could they have observed them albeit they had knowen them. Then instructed I them aswell as I could and strengthened them in the faith. As for the flesh which they had brought we reserved it untill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for gold & silver, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of marchandise wee had none at all. When our servants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they

*Or, Akas.

Cloth is the chiefe marchandise in Tartarie.

rubbed it with their fingers, and put it unto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow us any foode but cowes milke onely which was very sowre & filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting unto us. For the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine bisket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining unto us, we had undoubtedly perished.

Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to be lepers. Chap. 14.

UPon the day of Pentecost there came unto us a certain Saracen, unto whome, as hee talked with us, we expounded the Christian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited unto mankind by the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, & the judgement to come, & that in baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) sayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our selves to the baptizing of him, he suddenly mounted on horsebacke, saying that he would goe home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told us, that he durst in no case receive baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor he could not live in that desert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remove him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty unto your highnes, that they are much estranged from the Christian faith by reason of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacatay the captaine aforesayd gave us one man to conduct us to Sartach, and two other to guide us unto the next lodging, which was distant from that place five dayes journey for oxen to travell. They gave unto us also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our journey directly toward the North, me thought that wee had passed through one of hell gates. The servants which conducted us began to play the bold theeves with us, seeing us take so little heed unto our selves. At length having lost much by their theevery, harme taught us wisdome. And then we came unto the extremity of that province, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea unto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as we had entred, al the inhabitants there seemed unto us to be infected with leprosie: for certain base fellowes were placed there to receive tribute of al such as tooke salt out of the salt pits aforesaid. From that place they told us that we must travel fifteen daies journey, before we shuld find any other people. With them wee dranke Cosmos, and gave unto them a basket full of fruites and of bisket. And they gave unto us eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine us in so great a journey, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And so changing our oxen, we tooke our journey which we finished in tenne dayes, arriving at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two small rivers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid province of Gasaria, we travailed directly Eastward, having a Sea on the South side of us, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty dayes journey in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the province it selfe Valania. But Isidore calleth all that

Salt pits.

[I. 103.]

Ten dayes journey.

The length of Comania. tract of land stretching from the river of Tanais to the lake of Mæotis, and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius unto Tanais (which divideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths journey, albeit a man should ride poste as fast as the Tartars use to ride: and it was all over inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the river of Edil or Volga: the space betweene the two which rivers is a great and long *Russia.* journey to bee travailed in ten dayes. To the North of the same province lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, even to the river of Tanais: and it hath bene wasted all over by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Of our afflictions which we sustained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. Chap. 15.

Prussia. THey preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they are able to give them no more golde nor silver, they drive them and their children like flockes of sheepe into the wildernes, constraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Russia lieth the countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Jerusalem have of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede they might easily winne Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once know, that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the ensigne of the crosse to bee displaied against them, they would flee all into their desert and solitarie places. We therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but heaven and earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared unto us two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were travelling through the desert, it went reasonably well with us. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I susteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would have us goe in unto every Captaine with a present, and our expenses would not extend so farre. For we were every day eight persons of us spending our waifaring provision, for the Tartars servants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selves were five in number, and the servants our guides were three, two to drive our carts, and one to conduct us unto Sartach. The flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate under our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselves into our companie, that they would even tread upon us, to see whatsoever things we had. Having list at any time to ease themselves, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themselves farther from us, then a beane can bee cast. Yea, like vile slovens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with us: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome unto us. But above all things it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would utter ought unto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it was which he saide, For I perceived afterward, when I began to have a litle smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoever came next unto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traveiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length,

Extreme heate in Sommer.

a fewe dayes before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, *Tanais.* we arrived at the banke of the mightie river Tanais which divideth Asia from Europa, even as the river Nilus of Ægypt disjoyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where wee arrived, Baatu and Sartach did cause a [I. 104.] certaine cottage to be built, upon the Easterne banke of the river, for a companie of Russians to dwell in to the ende they might transport Ambassadours and merchants in ferrie-boates over that part of the river. First they ferried us over, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, having bounde both the lyters together, and so they rowed them over. In this place our guide played the foole most extreamely. For hee imagining that the said Russians, dwelling in the cottage, should have provided us horses, sent home the beasts which we brought with us, in another cart, y^{t} they might returne unto their owne masters. And when we demanded to have some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a priviledge from Baatu, wherby they were bound to none other service, but only to ferry over goers & commers: and that they received great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We staied therfore by the said rivers side three daies. The first day they gave unto us a great fresh turbut: the second day they bestowed rye bread, and a litle flesh upon us, which the purveyer of the village had taken up at everie house for us: and the third day dried fishes, which they have there in great abundance. *The breadth of Tanais.* The saide river was even as broad in that place, as the river of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we passed over many goodly waters, and full of fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fish, except it be so great, that they may pray upon the flesh therof, as upon the flesh of a ram. *He is much deceived.* This river is the limite of the East part of Russia, and it springeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes stretch unto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great sea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the sea called Pontus Euxinus. And al the rivers, which we passed over, ran with ful stream into those quarters. The foresaid river hath great store of wood also growing upon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars ascend no farther unto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe unto the South. And therfore there is another cottage somwhat lower, where passengers are ferried over in Winter time. And in this place wee were driven to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither horses, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared unto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent us oxen & men; howbeit we our selves were faine to travel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat prospereth not wel in that soile. They have the seed of Millium in great abundance. The Russian women attire their heads like unto our women. They imbroder their safegards or gowns on the outside, from their feet unto their knees with particoloured or grey stuffe. The Russian men weare caps like unto the Dutch men. Also they weare upon their heads certain sharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like unto a sugar loafe. Then traveiled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our selves and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we should find any Tartars, on the sudden, there came two horses running towards us, which we tooke with great joy, and our guide and interpreter mounted upon their backes, to see, how far off they could descry any people. At length upon the fourth day of our journey, having found some inhabitants, we rejoyced like sea-faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recovered the haven. Then having taken fresh horses, and oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, upon the

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

second of the Kalends of August, we arrived at the habitation of Duke Sartach himselfe.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subjects. Chap. 16.

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

THe region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, having store of rivers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two sorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They have neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in ye woods. Their lord & a great part of themselves were put to the sword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the brave courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come unto them, he must provide things necessary for him, with whom he is first of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her husband, unles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not jelous over their wives. They have abundance of hogs, and great store of hony & waxe, and divers sorts of rich & costly skins, and plentie of falcons. Next unto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the river of Etilia or Volga, which is ye mightiest river that ever I saw. And it issueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certain lake containing in circuit the space of 4. moneths travel, whereof I will speak hereafter. The two foresaid rivers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwise called Volga, towards the Northren regions through the which we traveiled, are not distant asunder above x. daies journey, but Southward they are divided a great space one from another. For Tanais descendeth into the sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid sea or lake, with the help of many

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuite of the Caspian sea.

[I. 105.]

other rivers which fal therinto out of Persia. And we had to the South of us huge high mountains, upon the sides wherof, towards the said desert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, & wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond them, next unto the sea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subjection unto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your majestie shall understand more about the end of this Treatise: for I travailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid rivers, in the regions through the which we passed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were overrun by the Tartars.

Kergis or Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. Chap. 17.

AND we found Sartach lying within three daies journey of the river Etilia: whose Court seemed unto us to be very great. For he himselfe had sixe wives, and his eldest sonne also had three wives: every one of which women hath a great house, & they have ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went unto a certaine Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made us to goe very farre unto the Lordes gate. For so they call him, who hath the office of enterteining Ambassadours. In the evening Coiac commanded us to come unto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would present him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he saw that we had nothing ready to present. We stoode before him, and he sate majestically, having musicke and dauncing in his presence. Then I spake unto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpose I was come unto his lorde, and requesting so much

Coiat the Nestorian.

favour at his hands, as to bring our letters unto the sight of his Lord. I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not having, nor receiving, nor using any golde, or silver, or any other precious thing, save onely our bookes, and the vestiments wherein wee served God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present unto him, nor unto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then hee answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well: for so I should observe my vowe: neither did himselfe stand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to bestow upon us such things as we our selves stood in neede of: and he caused us to sit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And presently after he requested us to say our devotions for him: and we did so. He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franckes? And I saide, the Emperour, if he could injoy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he sawe there. Then returned wee unto our lodging. And on the morow we sent him a flagon of Muscadel wine (which had lasted very wel in so long a journey) and a boxe full of bisket, which was most acceptable unto him. And he kept our servants with him for that evening. The next morning he commanded me to come unto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my vestimentes, and bookes with me: because his Lorde was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestiments to bee laide forth. And there stoode round about us many Tartars, Christians and Saracens on horseback. At the sight whereof, he demanded whether

I would bestow all those things upon his Lord or no? Which saying made me to tremble, and grieved me full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lorde your master would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a present, because it is too meane, but as a benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And he shall see the letters of my sovereigne Lord the king, and by them he shall understand for what cause we are come unto him, and then both our selves, and all that we have, shall stand to his curtesie: for our vestiments be holy, and it is unlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commaunded us to invest our selves in the saide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Majesty gave me, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed upon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the clearke having put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so wee came unto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted up the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might behold us. Then they caused the clearke and the interpreter thrise to bow the knee: but of us they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished us to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested us to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing Salve Regina. And within the entrance of the doore, stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wives were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich Tartars thrusting in with us pressed us sore. Then Coiat caried unto his lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter [I. 106.]

unto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his wife also that sate beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians & the Armenians do never make the figure of Christ upon their crosses. Wherfore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about us, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I delivered unto him your Majesties letters, with the translation therof into the Arabike, & Syriake languages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the saide tongues. And there were certain Armenian priests, which had skil in the Turkish & Arabian languages. The aforesaid knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came unto us certaine Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, & caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and fruits to be received. And he permitted us also to carie our vestiments and bookes unto our owne lodging. This was done upon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

How they were given in charge to goe unto Baatu the Father of Sartach. Chap. 18.

THe next morning betimes came unto us a certaine Priest, who was brother unto Coiat, requesting to have our boxe of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gave it him. About eventide Coiat sent for us, saying: My lord your king wrote good words unto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the advise and counsell of his father. And therfore of necessitie you must depart unto his father, leaving behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yesterday with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lorde is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his covetousnes, said unto him: Sir, we will not onely leave those with you, but the two other carts also, which we have in our possession, will we commit unto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leave those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conveniently be done: but needes we must leave all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I answered: If you throughly understand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are even so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that evening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be delivered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet us, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before unto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with us, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but the said Priest tooke them from us by violence, saying: thou hast brought them unto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them unto Baatu? And when I would have rendred a reason, he answered: be not too talkative, but goe your wayes. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could have no accesse unto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe us justice. I was afraide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide unto him: for his will was good that we should have given away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining unto me: for when I once perceived their covetous intent, I conveyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soveraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other carts unto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide unto the court of Baatu, willing us to take our journey in all poste-haste: unto whom I said, that I would in no case have the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared unto Coiat. Then Coiat commaunded, [I. 107.] that we should leave them and our servant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so traveling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court said unto us: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth unto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeve perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not bee called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted above all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars wil be called Moal.

This history of Presbiter John in the North-east, is alleaged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe.

How Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reverence unto Christians. Chap. 19.

At the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion over the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diviner or soothsayer. All diviners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that unto them belongeth the government of the people by divination. Wee doe reade also in the historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, unto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay. Kara signifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was given to make a difference between the foresaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eastward over against ye Ocean sea: concerning whom your majesty shall understand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt upon certaine Alpes, by the which I travailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty governour over the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King John, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, use to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports upon just nothing. Whereupon they gave out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselves are no Christians. So likewise there went foorth a great report concerning the said king John. Howbeit, when I travailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This John had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being

From whence the Turkes first sprang.

An Ocean sea.

Nayman.

Presbiter John.

The place of Ken Kan his aboade.

Vut Can, or Unc Can.

distant from his brother John, the space of three weekes journey. He was lord over a certain village, called Cara Carum, having people also for his subjects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, reteining with him Priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of devils and sorcerers. Beyond his pastures some tenne or fifteene dayes journey, were the pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without governour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their divinations, unto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. Neere unto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king John died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his droves and flockes raunged even unto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as many cattel from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vut complained unto their Lord. Then provided he an armie, and marched up into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongest them. And Vut having taken some spoiles both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis unto the Tartars, and unto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a governour and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse us. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then having secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly upon Vut, and overcame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the same time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis married unto one of his sonnes, by whom she conceived, & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then

The village of Cara Carum. Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggerly people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

[I. 108.]

Mangu-Can.

Cyngis sent ye Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indevour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the region, about which they have obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Manckerule.

Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. Chap. 20.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeves in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea rather he seemeth unto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priestes, who pray upon their beades, and sing their devotions. Also, there is another under Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe unto Baatu, and passing by, they give rewards unto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions.

Or, Berca.

Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remove himselfe from that place, and to inhabite upon the East side of Volga: for hee was unwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berta, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed us, but once onely a litle Cosmos. And in our journey betweene him and his father, wee traveiled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians being servants unto the Tartars (of whom they have great multitudes among them) assemble themselves twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conveying themselves from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomesoever they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselves in the day time. And having tired their horses, they goe in the night unto a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraide, least we should have met with such companions. In this journey wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with us. At length we came unto the mighty river of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the river of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they cal the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing upon the shore thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the South side thereof: and the mountaines of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which mountaines are conjoyned unto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changlæ. And on that side it receiveth the streams of Etilia; which river increaseth in Sommer time, like unto the river Nilus in Ægypt. Upon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the mountaines, but on the North side with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his journey traveiled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may travel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, joyne with the Ocean, but is invironed on all sides with lande.

Changlæ.

Frier Andrew

Of the court of Baatu: and howe we were interteined by him. Chap. 21.

[I. 109.]

AL the region extending from the West shore of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Mæotis, whereinto the river of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true, as I understand by divers, who tolde me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreover, upon that part of Etilia where we arrived, there is a new cottage built, wherein they have placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie over, and transport messengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For

The North Ocean.

Baatu remaineth upon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foresaide place where we arrived, but was even then descending to the South. From Januarie untill August both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of rivers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therefore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage unto his court. From the same place unto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is five dayes journey. I wonder what devill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is upon the extreame borders of Persia, it is above 30. daies journey to passe overthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere unto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the damnable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatsoever. Moreover, when I first beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging up and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And even as the people of Israel knew every man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: even so every one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. Wherupon the court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the governour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subject or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that region the court gates are set open: but unto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themselves as farre as they

He descendeth downe the river Volga in a barke.

Astracan.

The description of Baatu his court.

Horda signifieth the midst.

will, according to the conveniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the court. At our arrival we were conducted unto a Saracen, who provided not for us any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought unto the court: and Baatu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not containe so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished us not to speake, till Baatu had given us commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Majestie had sent Ambassadours unto him or no? I answered, that your Majestie had sent messengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not have sent messengers unto him, or letters unto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not unto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Christianitie. Then led he us unto his pavilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier John de Plano Carpini had byn there before my comming: howbeit, because he was the Popes messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of us to do any reverence by bowing our knees, as they use to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might have rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate upon a seate long and broad like unto a bed, guilt all over, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on the left. Those places

John de Plano Carpini.

on the one side which the women filled not up (for there were only the wives of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent, stoode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of silver, and golde, beeing richly set with precious stones. Baatu beheld us earnestly, and we him: and he seemed [I. 110.] to me to resemble in personage, Monsieur John de beau mont, whose soule resteth in peace. And hee had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded us to speake. Then our guide gave us direction, that wee should bow our knees & speak. Wherupon I bowed one knee as unto a man: then he signified that I should kneele upon both knees: and I did so, being loath to contend about such circumstaunces. And again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of praier unto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath given you these earthly benefites, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heavenly blessings: because the former without these are but vain and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowen unto you of a certainty, that you shal not obtain the joyes of heaven, unles you become a Christian: for God saith, Whosoever beleeveth & is baptized, shalbe saved: but he that beleeveth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride us. And my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should have received comfort in time of need, was himself abashed & utterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said unto him, I came unto your sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought unto him letters on the behalfe of my sovereigne Lord the king of France: and your sonne sent me hither unto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best known unto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise up. And he enquired your majesties name, and my name, and the name of mine

The letters of the French king.

associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewise (because he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Jerusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnes had ever before that time sent any messengers unto him, or no? To you sir? (said I) never. Then caused he us to sit downe, and gave us of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great favour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his own house. And as I sate looking downe upon the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of us, or els perhaps for a kinde of superstitious observation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of evill unto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne upon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide unto us, and conducting us unto our lodging, saide unto me: Your master the King requesteth that you may remaine in this land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter must of necessitie goe unto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne unto the court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreover I my selfe saide, that without mine associate I coulde not goe: and that we stood in neede of two servants at the least, to attend upon us, because, if one should chance to fall sicke, we could not be without another. Then returning unto the court, he told these sayings unto Baatu. And Baatu commanded saying: let the two Priests and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne unto Sartach. And comming againe unto us, hee tolde us even so. And when I would have spoken for the clearke to have had him with us, he saide: No more words: for Baatu hath resolved, that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not goe unto the court any more. Goset the clearke had remaining of the almes money bestowed upon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more; 10. whereof he kept for himselfe and for the lad, and 16. he gave unto the man of God for us. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning unto the court of Sartach, and our selves remaining still in the same place.

Of our journey towards the Court of Mangu Can. Chap. 22.

UPon Assumption even our clearke arrived at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priestes were adorned with our vestments in the presence of the saide Sartach. Then wee our selves were conducted unto another hoste, who was appointed to provide us houseroome, victualles, and horses. But because wee had not ought to bestowe upon him, hee did all things untowardly for us. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, descending along by the banke of Etilia, for the space of five weekes together: Sometimes mine associate was so extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had never eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from us that we could not have recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Cleargie men) found us out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for unto the funerals of his deceased countrey men. There was

They travell five weekes by the banke of Etilia.

[I. 111.]

Hungarians.

another of them also pretily wel instructed in his Grammer: for hee could understand the meaning of any thing that wee spake, but could not answere us. These Hungarians were a great comfort unto us, bringing us Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to have some bookes of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breviarie) it grieved mee exceedingly. And I saide unto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum.

A Comanian.

Moreover, upon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied us, saluting us in Latine, and saying: Salvete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of salutation? Hee saide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He saide moreover, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that hee tolde him the estate of our order. Afterwarde I sawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his subjects that were housholders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not five hundred persons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal unto us (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you unto Mangu-Can, and wee have thither a journey of foure moneths long to travell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe even rive asunder in regarde thereof.

A journey of 4. moneths from Volga.

Therefore I would wish you throughly to advise your selves, whether you be able to indure it or no. Unto whome I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not just dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither upon anie businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherfore sithence we are committed unto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake us. Then he saide: all shalbe well. Afterward he caused us to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoever hee deemed to be lesse needfull for us, he willed us to leave it behind in the custodie of our hoste. On the morrow they brought unto ech of us a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnes, with the wool stil upon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also or buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skinnes after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward on our journey, having three guides to direct us: and we rode continually Eastward, till the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Upon the North side of us, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

The 16. of September.

46. dayes.

Or, Kangittæ.

Of the river of Iagac: and of divers regions or nations. Chap. 23.

Or, Iaic.

HAving traveiled twelve dayes journey from Etilia, wee found a mightie river called Iagac: which river issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descendeth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not having any cities. And their countrey bordereth upon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the Northeast part of the said countrey, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next unto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they traversed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks

Iaic twelve dayes journey from Volga.

Pascatir.

The Hungarians descended from the Bascirdes.

of Caucasus, served to restraine those barbarous and bloodthirstie people from invading the regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paied unto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all countreis even unto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And unto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals joyned themselves. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreover, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere unto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (saving the pronunciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of them called Ilac (both these, & the other) in ye languages of the Russians, ye Polonians, & the Bohemians. The Sclavonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselves with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they unite themselves unto the Tartars: whom God hath raised up from the utmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will provoke them to envy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, upon all nations which observe not the Law of God. All this which I have written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which travailed thither before ever the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued unto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proved Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those provinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclavonia, were of old time provinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding over the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, untill the feast of All Saints: traveil-

Valachians.

[I. 112.]

Deut. 32. *v.* 21.
Rom. 10. *v.* 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

ing almost every day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were provided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twise or thrise in a day. Sometimes we travailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For every one tooke their choice of the best horses before us. They provided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent & heavy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But every man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments upon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of us to ride upon one horse.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our journey.

Chap. 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gave us no victuals, but onely in the evening. In the morning they used to give us a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the evening they bestowed flesh upon us, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and every man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were marvellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Every Saterday I remained fasting until night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our journeis end: because we could not then conveniently gather together the doung of horses or oxen: for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise upon the bankes of some rivers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should have had opportunitie to have done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, every one of which doeth at this day enjoy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed over that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like unto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our journey, unto many of their habitations. And they marveiled exceedingly, that we would receive neither gold, nor silver, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, & horses or no? Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not conceive of it, because it was without limits or banks. Upon the even of ye feast of Al Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our journey by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like unto mules: these did our guide & his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes

Certaine rivers.

Eight dayes journey southward.

Asses swift of foote.

High mountaines. [I. 113.] *Manured grounds.* *Kenchat a village of the Saracens.* *The 7. day of November.* *A great river.* *Many lakes.* *Vines.*

were two swift for them. Upon the 7. day there appeared to the South of us huge high mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arrived at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the governour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, subject unto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went upon the yce in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that province: but being now in a strange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same province. And there descended a great river downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would give it passage, by making divers chanels and sluces: neither did this river exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed up by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. Chap. 25.

A cottage. *The mountains of Caucasus are extended unto the Easterne Sea.* *The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.* *Frier Andrew.*

THe day following, we came unto another cottage neere unto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I understood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, & continued on both parts to the sea, from the West unto the East: and on the West part they are conjoyned unto the foresaid Caspian sea, wherinto the river of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen servants unto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could have no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & master Ban was put to death upon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And upon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise unto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew unto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse upon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported unto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote unto his servants to bring their Lorde bound unto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not understand ought, till I was come unto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had removed them out of the jurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths journey from Talas Eastward, unto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes journey thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I have turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we travailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe affoord eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiving the messengers of Baatu in maner aforesaide: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people

The village of Bolac.

He entreth into the territories of Mangu-Can.

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mighty river.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

A lake of fifteene dayes journey in compasse.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

Contomanni.

of Baatu are more surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie unto the subjectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe unto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered upon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie river: insomuch that wee were constrained to imbarke our selves, and to saile over it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, having passed over the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, having high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of us a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes journey in circuite. All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Upon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, [I. 114.] that the Tartars might feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts used the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing upon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported unto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen unto your majestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are joyned together. Chap. 26.

The people called Jugures idolaters.

THe first sort of these idolaters are called Jugures: whose land bordereth upon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in al their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of ye foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man having a crosse painted with ink upon his hand, wherupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian unto al questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore have you not the crosse with the image of Jesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We have no such custome. Whereupon I conjectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was unto them in steed of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image having wings like unto the image of Saint Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That evening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely invite men thither, but they will not have them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeover. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke up mine abode neere unto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said citie of Cailac doe curteously invite, & lovingly intertaine all messengers, every man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselves, and offer up the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe unto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common unto all their idole-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Jugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselves on their knees upon ye earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case joyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and upon the North side they build a chamber, in maner of a Vestry for themselves to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side therof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like unto a table: and behinde the saide chest towardes the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Catay, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes, that it may be seen two daies journey before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt over with pure golde: and upon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They have also great

Frier William was at Caracarum.

belles like unto us. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case use great belles. Notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Græcians of Gasaria.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behave themselves in worshipping their false gods. Chap. 27.

All their Priests had their heads and beards shaven quite over: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shaven, they lead an unmaried life from that time forward: and they live an hundreth or [I. 115.] two hundreth of them together in one cloister or covent. Upon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and so sitting upon the sayd foormes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly over against the other, they have certaine books in their hands, which sometimes they lay *Bookes.* downe by them upon the foormes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly unto themselves, not uttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious devotions, and finding them all siting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted divers waies to provoke them unto speach, and yet could not by any means possible. They have with them also whithersoever they goe, a certaine string with an hundreth or two hundreth nutshels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with us. And they doe alwayes utter these words: *Ou mam Hactani*, God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it unto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like unto a churchyard, which they environ with a good wall: and upon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And upon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right up, exalting it, if they can, above all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles, These rites and ceremonies aforesayd be common unto all idolaters in those parts. Going upon a time towardes the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portal. And those which I sawe, seemed unto me, by their shaven beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments upon their heads made of paper. The priestes of the foresaide Jugures doe use such attire whithersoever they goe. They are alwaies in their saffron coloured jackets, which be very straight being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they have a cloake upon their left shoulder descending before and behind under their right arme, like unto a deacon carying the houssel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receive. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe use certaine papers and characters in their magical practises. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters unto your Majestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Jugures. They burne their dead according to the anncient custome, and lay up the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresaid priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeved concerning God? And they answered: We beleeve that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleve that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance? They saide: We beleeve that he is a spirite. Then said I: Doe you beleeve that God ever tooke mans nature upon him? They answered: Noe. And againe I said: Sithence ye beleeve that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so

Paper.

So do the people of China use to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the lefte.

many bodily images to represent him? Sithence also you beleeve not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather unto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered saying: we frame not those images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst us, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reverence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule? They said, in our bodies. Then saide I, is it not in every part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceived? Even so God is every where and ruleth all things, and yet is he invisible, being understanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to have had some more conference with them, by reason, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleeve that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, covering them with five most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will give your Highnesse more at large to understand hereafter. These soothsayers or diviners do alwaies attend upon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they have them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remove or to take any journey, the said diviners goe before them, even as the cloudie piller went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must

[I. 116.] be pitched, and first of al they take down their owne houses: & after them the whole court doth the like. Also upon their festival daies or kalends they take forth the foresayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselves before the said images and worship them. Moreover, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For upon a certaine time I my selfe would have gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of divers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. Chap. 28.

BUt the foresayd Jugures (who live among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, have bene brought unto this, to beleeve, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in subjection unto Chingis Can: whereupon he gave his daughter in mariage unto their king. Also the citie of Caracarum it selfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter John, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere unto their dominions: saving, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Jugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals received letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: & al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next unto them, between the foresaid mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league hee was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut have oxen of great strength, with tailes like unto horses, and with long shagge haire upon their backes and bellyes. They have legges greater then other oxen have, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oxen

The countrey of Presbiter John.

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

drawe the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled unto one of them, unles they whistle or sing unto her. They have also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in red, they run upon him immediately to kill him. Next unto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they have left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious unto al other nations. Notwithstanding unto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their jollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Tebet have great plentie of golde in their land. Whosoever therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his turne, he layeth up the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storehouse, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Jugures are of a middle stature like unto our French men. Amongst the Jugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next unto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, every one of which was drawen with sixe oxen. They be little browne men like unto Spaniards. Also they have jackets, like unto the upper vestment of a deacon, saving that the sleeves are somewhat streighter. And they have miters upon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their

The people of Tebet.

Abundance of golde.

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Jugures.

Langa & Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of strawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like unto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they have long bands of the foresayd matter fastened unto their miters, which hover in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde tosseth them up and downe too much, they tie them over the midst of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise overthwart their heads. Moreover their principal messenger comming unto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoever hee spake unto the Emperor himselfe, or unto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor upon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only upon his table. Beyond them (as I understand of a certainty) there are other people called Muc, having villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell unto himselfe. Notwithstanding there are many flockes and droves of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth up unto an hill, and there maketh a shout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their countrie, they shut him up into an house, ministring there things necessary unto him, untill his businesse be dispatched. For if anie stranger should travell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great

A table of elephants tooth.

The people called Muc.

[I. 117.]

Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the same countrey. I was crediblie informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne having walles of silver, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many provinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued unto the Tartars. And amongst*

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good services done unto him by sea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king John, and Henry the third continued unto them.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Shirifs, Provosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subjects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull service that our Barons of the five Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & unto us lately in our armie of Wales have done, and for their good service to us and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we have granted & by this our Charter confirmed for us and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, rivage, asponsage, and from all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall have Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and lovecopfree. And that they shall have Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by us thereof made perpetually to bee observed. And also that they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great grandfather: And that they shall have their findelles in the sea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they have their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoever they shall come. And that they shall be free for ever of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Justices to any maner of pleadings, journeying in what shire soever their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Justices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And that they have their liberties and freedomes from hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors have had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward, William the first, William the second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king John our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters: as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof have, and which we have seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man unjustly trouble them nor their marchandise upon our

The fishing at great Yarmouth.

Henry the third.

Edward the confessor.

forfeyture of ten pounds. So nevertheless, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of Justice or in receiving of Justice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of [I. 118.] the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Justice. So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do unto us and to our heirs kings of England by the yeare their full service of 57. shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We have granted also unto them of our speciall grace that they have Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, have in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Juries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do travaile of our right prise, that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We have granted furthermore unto the said Barons for us and our heires, that they for ever have this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not have the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their service aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and mariages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation upon the liberties and freedomes aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe have caused to be made, saving alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And saving unto us and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for us and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for ever have all the aforesaid liberties and freedomes, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especial grace they have outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the maner that Archbishops, Bishops,

57. *Ships of the Cinque Portes bound to serve the king* 15. *dayes at their owne costs.*

Abbots, Earles and Barons have in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assises, Juries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they travaile of our right price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for ever they have the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires have not the wardships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for which they doe their service aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessors the wardships and mariages have not had in times past. But our aforesayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of new we have caused to bee made. Saving alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And saving unto us and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reverend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior povincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our uncle, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steven of Pennester, Frances of Bonava, John of Lenetotes, John of Metingham and others. Given by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of June, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings great wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

Thomas Walsingham writeth y^{t} he had once 1100. strong shippes.

The South fleete.

The Kings	Shippes 25. Mariners 419.	Lyme	Ships 4. Mariners 62.
London	Shippes 25. Mariners 662.	Seton	Ships 2. Mariners 25.
Aileford	Shippes 2. Mariners 24.	Sydmouth	Ships 3. Mariners 62.
Hoo	Shippes 2. Mariners 24.	Exmouth	Ships 10. Mariners 193.
Maydstone	Shippes 2. Mariners 51.	Tegmouth	Ships 7. Mariners 120.
Hope	Shippes 2. Mariners 59.	Dartmouth	Ships 31. Mariners 757.
New Hithe	Shippes 5. Mariners 49.	Portsmouth	Ships 5. Mariners 96.
Margat	Shippes 15. Mariners 160.	Plimouth	Ships 26. Mariners 603.
‖ Motue	Shippes 2. Mariners 22.	Loo	Ships 20. Mariners 315.
Feversham	Shippes 2. Mariners 25.	Yalme	Ships 2. Mariners 47.
Sandwich	Ships 22. Mariners 504.	‖ Fowey	Ships 47. Mariners 770.
Dover	Ships 16. Mariners 336.	Bristol	Ships 22. Mariners 608.
Wight	Ships 13. Mariners 220.	Tenmouth	Ships 2. Mariners 25.
Winchelsey	Ships 21. Mariners 596.	Hasting	Ships 5. Mariners 96.
Waymouth	Ships 15. Mariners 263.	Romney	Ships 4. Mariners 65.

‖ *Or, Morne.*

[I. 119.]

‖ *Or, Foy.*

	Rye	Ships	9.	Swanzey	Ships	1.
		Mariners	156.		Mariners	29.
	Hithe	Ships	6.	Ilfercombe	Ships	6.
		Mariners	122.		Mariners	79.
‡ *Or, Padstow.*	Shoreham	Ships	20.	‡ Patrickestowe	Ships	2.
		Mariners	329.		Mariners	27.
‡ *Or, Seford.*	‡ Soford	Ships	5.	Polerwan	Ships	1.
		Mariners	80.		Mariners	60.
	Newmouth	Ships	2.	Wadworth	Ships	1.
		Mariners	18.		Mariners	14.
	Hamowlhooke	Ships	7.	Kardife	Ships	1.
		Mariners	117.		Mariners	51.
	Hoke	Ships	11.	Bridgwater	Ships	1.
		Mariners	208.		Mariners	15.
	Southhampton	Ships	21.	Kaermarthen	Ships	1.
		Mariners	576.		Mariners	16.
	Leymington	Ships	9.	Cailechesworth	Ships	1.
		Mariners	159.		Mariners	12.
	Poole	Ships	4.	Mulbrooke	Ships	1.
		Mariners	94.		Mariners	12.
	Warham	Ships	3.	Summe of the South fleete.	Ships	493.
		Mariners	59.		Mariners	9630.

The North fleete.

	Bamburgh	Ships	1.	Woodhouse	Ships	1.
		Mariners	9.		Mariners	22.
Stockhith.	Newcastle	Ships	17.	Strokhithe	Ships	1.
		Mariners	314.		Mariners	10.
[I. 120.]	Walcrich	Ships	1.	Barton	Ships	3.
		Mariners	12.		Mariners	30.
	Hertilpoole	Ships	5.	Swinefleete	Ships	1.
		Mariners	145.		Mariners	11.
	Hull	Ships	16.	Saltfleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	466.		Mariners	49.
	Yorke	Ships	1.	Grimesby	Ships	11.
		Mariners	9.		Mariners	171.
	Ravenser	Ships	1.	Waynefleet	Ships	2.
		Mariners	27.		Mariners	49.

Wrangle	Ships	1.
	Mariners	8.
‡Lenne	Ships	16.
	Mariners	382.
Blackney	Ships	2.
	Mariners	38.
Scarborough	Ships	1.
	Mariners	19.
Yernmouth	Ships	43.
	Mariners	1950. or 1075.
Donwich	Ships	6.
	Mariners	102.
Orford	Ships	3.
	Mariners	62.
Goford	Ships	13.
	Mariners	303.
Herwich	Ships	14.
	Mariners	283.
Ipswich	Ships	12.
	Mariners	239.
Mersey	Ships	1.
	Mariners	6.
Brightlingsey	Ships	5.
	Mariners	61.
Colchester	Ships	5.
	Mariners	90.
Whitbanes	Ships	1.
	Mariners	17.
Malden	Ships	2.
	Mariners	32.
Derwen	Ships	1.
	Mariners	15.
Boston	Ships	17.
	Mariners	361.
Swinhumber	Ships	1.
	Mariners	32.
Barton	Ships	5.
	Mariners	91.
The Summe of the North fleete.	Ships	217.
	Mariners	4521.

Now Brickelsey.

‡ Or, Linne.

Or, Yermouth.

The summe totall of all the English fleete	Ships	700.
	Mariners	14151.

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

Bayon	Ships	15.
	Mariners	439.
Spayne	Ships	7.
	Mariners	184.
Ireland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	25.
Flanders	Ships	14.
	Mariners	133.
Gelderland	Ships	1.
	Mariners	24.

The summe of all the Estrangers	Ships	38.
	Mariners	805.

THe summe of expenses aswell of wages, & prests, as for the expenses of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, [I. 121.]

and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king, unto the foure and twentieth day of November in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundreth xxxvii. thousand li. ix.s. iiii.d.

A note out of Thomas Walsingham touching the huge Fleete of eleven hundred well furnished ships wherewith king Edward the third passed over unto Calais in the yeere 1359.

ANno gratiæ 1359. Johannes Rex Franciæ sub umbra pacis, & dolose obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliasque terras quas equitaverat & vastarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Unde motus Rex Angliæ, celeriter se & suos præparavit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Walliæ Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancastriæ, & ferè proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel sequebantur pœne mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicum instructas optime undecies centum naves, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam navigavit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo juniore admodum parvulo, Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1359. John the French king craftily, and under pretence of peace, offered unto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaied them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being provoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending upon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleven hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed over the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leaving his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate under the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, upon the description of the North partes.

QUod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Jacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, majorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad ulteriora arte Magica profectum descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subjectam formam ferè, uti ex Jacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, ut naves semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, nequè verò unquam tantum ibi ventum esse, ut molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus

Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes undique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò navem hâc fortè transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, ut eam statim irrevocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines hujus Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, unde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & Æolicos flatus causaliter pervenire nonnulli conjectant.

[I. 122.]

The same in English.

Touching the description of the North partes, I have taken the same out of the voyage of James Cnoyen of Hartzevan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leaving them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) have set downe in my mappe, and as I have taken it out of the aforesaid James Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driven backe againe, and that there is never in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to drive a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who florished in the yeere 1210,

under king John) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these. videlicet:

Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waves of the sea from farre have their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conveying themselves into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed up, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waves, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole devoureth the same.

There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, called Malestrande, about the latitude of 68.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe conjecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, have their first originall.

A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

ANno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leaving his company together, hee travailed alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he delivered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inventio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. usque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did five times passe from England thither, and home againe.

Inventio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the haven of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Francisan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not above a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and usuall trade: which further appeareth by the privileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary service, in respect of their trade to Island.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertii.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly king of England, by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Prussia and Lettowe, against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham.

An. Dom. 1390.

DOminus Henricus Comes de Derbie per idem tempus profectus est in le Pruys, ubi cum adjutorio marescalli dictæ patriæ, & cujusdam Regis vocati Wytot devicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus supradicti pariter interemptis. Civitas quoque vocatur ‖ Will, in cujus castellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maximè, atque suorum capta est. Namque qui fuerunt de familia sua primi murum ascenderant, & vexillum ejus super muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, posuerunt. Captaque sunt ibi vel occisa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui adversarius nostri fuit. Obsessumque fuit castrum dictæ Civitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutiùs expectare. Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captivorum.

‖ *Alias Vilna.*

[I. 123.]

The same in English.

ABout the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derbie travailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Province, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captivitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his savegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, advanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of five weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconveniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were converted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons unto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captives.

[The voyage

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

‖ *Filius natu minimus Edwardi* 3.

Eodem tempore dux Gloverniæ Dominus ‖ Thomas de Woodstock, multis mœrentibus, iter apparavit versùs le Pruys: quem non Londinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tàm Urbana quàm rustica metuebant quòd eo absente aliquod novum detrimentum succresceret, quo præsente nihil tale timebant. Siquidèm in eo spes & solatium totius patriæ reposita videbantur. Ipse verò mòx, ut fines patriæ suæ transiit, illicò adversa agitatus fortuna, nunc hàc nunc illàc turbinibus procellosis circumfertur; & in tantum destituitur, ut de vita etiam desperaret. Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scoticam barbariem non sine mortis pavore transcursam, pervenit Northumbriam, & ad castellum se contulit de Tinnemutha velùt assylum antiquitùs notum sibi: ubi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de Plashy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus evasione, quàm de adventu suo.

Reditus.

The same in English.

AT the same time the Duke of Glocester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great griefe of many, tooke his journey towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the lamentation of the communaltie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit having skarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne

countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed up and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired even of his owne life. At length, having not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as unto a place of refuge knowen of olde unto him: where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his journey toward his Mannour of Plashy, bringing great joy unto the whole kingdome, aswell in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who living in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to travaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to advance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes. [I. 124.]

The English Knights Prologue.

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loved Chevalrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.
full worthy was he in his lords warre:
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,
As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse, *Long travaile.*
and ever had honour for his worthinesse.
At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne: *Alexandria.*
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
aboven all nations in Pruce,
In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce, *Lettowe, Ruce.*
no Christen man so oft of his degree:
In Granade at the siege had he bee

At Algezer: and ridden in Belmarye:
At Leyes was hee, and also at Satalye,
When they were wonne: and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:
  This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of ‖ Palathye
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May
in our Palace, where many a million
of lovers true have habitation,
The yeere of grace joyfull and jocond,
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

Algezer in Granado.

Layas in Armenia. Froysart. lib. 3. cap. 40.

Satalie in the mayne of Asia neere Rhods.

Tremisen is in Barbarie.

‖ Or, Palice Froysart lib. 3. cap. 40. Turkie.

The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide.

The original, proceedings and successe of the Northren domestical and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord 70. under the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest, untill this present time, gathered out of the most authenticall histories and records of this nation.

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius Tacitus, prooving London to have bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

AT Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negociatorum & commeatu maxime celebre.

A.D. 604

The same in English.

BUt Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the middest of his enemies, unto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Marchants and concourse of people.

[I. 125.]

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) prooving London to have bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beda Ecclesiasticæ historiæ Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 3.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinavit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Justum: Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum provinciæ Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluvio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Civitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis posita, & ipsa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Justus. He appoynted Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons, which are divided from Kent by the river of Thames, and border upon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, seated upon the banke of the aforesayd river, which is also a Marte Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea and by land.

[The league

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap. 4.

Offa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum paravit: quamvis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo invenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo ut magnis motibus utrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola Albini hujusce rei index, cujus partem hic apponam.

Navigatio interdicta.

Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.

Nesico quid de nobis venturum sit. Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum est: ita ut utrinque navigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli fœdus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subjiciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri charissimo Offæ Regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni servientes, sed lucra sectantes, inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclament ad nos vel nostros judices, & plenam videbimus justitiam fieri.

The same in English.

IN the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit enclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were so alienated before, that, bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, even the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albinus is a sufficient testimony of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique prohibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of us. For there is of late, by the instigation of the devill, some discord and variance sprung up betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden unto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

[I. 126.]

Navigation forbidden.

A league betweene Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, unto the reverend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render unto almightie God most humble thankes for the salvation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, have found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the love of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort unto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places convenient. It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall have lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any injust oppression, let them

Protection of the English Marchants.

make their supplication unto us, or unto our Judges, and we will see justice executed to the full.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the advancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

IT was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, every one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and under-Thein. And if a churle thrived so, that hee had fully five hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a severall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thrived, that he served the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings journey five hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord served, and thrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thrive so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thrived, that he passed thrise over the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and served Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto belonged: unlesse he forfaited so, that he the use of his degree use ne might.

A.D. c. 1027.

A testimonie of certaine priviledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and John the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his journey to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written unto the Cleargie of England.

William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.

Sit vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilum in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Joanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, usque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice suscepere, & magnificis donis honoravere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis variis & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in palliis & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, ut eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax securior in via Romam adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter injustum teloneum fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodulphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, ut homines mei tam Mercatores, quàm alii orandi gratia viatores, absque omni anguria clausurarum & telonecariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The same in English.

[I. 127.]

YOu are to understand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope John and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the Princes of the nations from mount Garganus unto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them

Garganus a mountaine of Apulia in Italie.

honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed divers costly presents and rewards upon mee, both in vessels of golde and silver, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subjects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more favourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted unto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their journey, and wearied by reason of injust exactions. And the Emperour condescended unto my request, and King Rodulphus also, who hath greatest authoritie over the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subjects, as well Marchants, as others who travailed for devotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe unto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.

HAud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliariis est Londonia Civitas nobilis, opima civium divitiis, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commerciis. Unde fit ut cum ubique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili proventu messium sit, ibi necessaria distrahantur & emantur minore, quàm alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispendio. Peregrinas invehit merces Civitatis finibus Tamesis fluvius famosus, qui citra urbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, ultra plus 70. nomen profert.

The same in English.

NOt farre from Rochester, about the distance of five and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be provided and bought with lesse gaine unto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse unto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conveighed into the same Citie by the famous river of Thames: which river springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name. 70. miles beneath it.

Germanie.

The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, after this maner.

IN eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est navium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cæteris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus divitiis tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

IN the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, with an Haven belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

[I. 128.]

The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the first Booke and seventeenth Chapter of Radevicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

Ibidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ missi, varia & preciosa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præstantes. Inter quæ papilionem unum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeximus. Cujus si quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere & adminiculo levari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem aliquando ab aliquo hujusce apparatu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito sermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori invictissimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegavensis, salutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ vestræ quantas possumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nunciis vestris visitare, salutare literis, muneribus prævenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris invicem dignatus estis fœdera inchoare. Exultavimus, & quodammodo animum nobis crescere, & in majus sensimus evehi dum vestra promissio, in qua nobis spem dedistis, in disponendis Regni nostri negociis, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultavimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ vestræ assurreximus, id vobis in sincero cordis affectu respondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare noverimus, pro posse nostro effectui mancipare parati sumus. Regnum nostrum, & quicquid ubique nostræ subjicitur ditioni vobis exponimus & vestræ committimus potestati, ut ad vestrum nutum omnia disponantur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperii. Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros dilectionis & pacis unitas indivisa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen ut vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestræ Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Jacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbum posuimus. Teste Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.

The same in English.

THere were present also the same time, the messengers of Henry king of England presenting divers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pavilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was never any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stuffe or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloved friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most invincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render unto your highnes (most renowmed and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you have so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite us, in your letters to salute

us, with your gifts to prevent us, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene us. We rejoyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selves to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilest your promise, whereby you put us in good comfort, did make us more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We rejoyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance unto your Majestie, giving you at this time to understand from the sincere & unfained affection of our heart, that whatsoever we shal know to tend unto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoever is under our jurisdiction we doe offer unto you, and commit the same unto your highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selves and our subjects, an indivisible unitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize: yet so, as that unto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in us. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put us in remembrance of your Majestie, even so in like maner sending unto [I. 129.] your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable unto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee unmindefull of us. Have respect therefore not unto the gifts, but unto the affection of the giver, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered unto you.

Concerning the hand of S. James, about which you wrote unto us, we have sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king John in the || first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Joannis.

|| 1199.

Joannes Dei gratia &c. Majori & Communitati Londinensi salutem. Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunque fuerint terra salvum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam. Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis unde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliva vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliva vestra. Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solitæ mercatorum consuetudines.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Majori & communitati Civitatis Winton, Ballivo de Southampton, Ballivo de Lenne, Ballivo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portubus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Devon.

The same in English.

JOhn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communaltie of London, greeting. You are to understand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soever, shall have safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same favour in England, which is granted unto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we give you in charge, that you cause this to be pub-

lished, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmely to be observed, permitting them to goe & come, without *The ancient customes of Marchants.* impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes used in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communaltie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southamptonshire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Devon.

Literæ regis Henrici tertii ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ de pacis fœdere & intercursu mercandisandi ‖Anno 1. Henrici 3.

‖1216.

Henricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ salutem. Immensas nobilitati vestræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas vestras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Lisa, nobis significastis, volentes & desiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire, & nobiscum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terræ nostræ communes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostram adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terram vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinetis, & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quàm nostra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras nostras. Et si quid vestræ sederit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id securè nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, ut de navi vestra & rebus in ea contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King Henry the third unto Haquinus King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c. [I. 130.]

HEnry by the grace of God, &c. unto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway, sendeth greeting. Wee render unto your highnesse unspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subject the Abbat of Lisa, you have signified unto us, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene us both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort unto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewise have recourse unto your territories. Provided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send unto us your letters patents, and wee will send ours also unto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same unto us. Wee have as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Lamhith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent unto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13. Henrici 3.

MAndatum est omnibus Ballivis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegiæ & Mercatores Saxoniæ, quod cum prædictam Cogam in portus suos venire contigerit, salvò permittant ipsam Cogam in portubus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arrive at any of their Havens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Havens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoever the governours of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum 8. Julii Anno Regni 18. prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

‖ *Antiqua consuetudo Gildhallæ Coloniensium Londini.*

REx Archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris dilectos nostros, Cives de Colonia, & mercandisam suam de illis duobus solidis, ‖ quos solebant dare de Gildhalla sua

London, & de omnibus aliis consuetudinibus & demandis, [I. 131.] quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram nostram ; & quod liberè possunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram nostram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, salva libertate Civitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quod prædicti cives de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas consuetudines habeant per totam terram nostram Angliæ sicut prædictum est. His testibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolensi Episcopo, Willielmo de Ferariis, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Disspenser, Waltero Marescallo, Galfrido Dispenser, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukevill, & aliis. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicistrensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri apud Davintre Octavo die Novembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

The same in English.

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

THe King unto Archbishops &c. greeting. Be it knowen unto you, that wee have quite claimed, and for us and our heires released our welbeloved the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London, and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine unto us, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions : and that they may safely resort unto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmely command for us and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enjoy the liberties and free priviledges above-mentioned, throughout our

The ancient custome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.

whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reverend father Walter Bishop of Carlil, William de Ferariis, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Disspenser, Walter Marescal, Geofrie Disspensser, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukevill and others. Given by the hand of the reverend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Davintre, the eight day of November, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

Carta Lubecensibus ad septennium concessa.

Anno 41. Henrici 3.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus Ballivis suis salutem. Sciatis nos ad instantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris nostri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, suscepisse in protectionem & defensionem nostram & salvum & securum conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandisis quas in Regnum nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandisis suis nihil capiatur ad opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem ; sed libere vendant & negocientur inde in Regno prædicto, prout sibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgensibus vel eorum nunciis in veniendo in terram nostram cum rebus & mercandisis suis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab aliis inferri permittatis impedimentum aut gravamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab aliis vexari permittatis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes per septennium durantes : Dum tamen iidem Burgenses interim bene & fideliter se habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem nostrum. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium undecimo die Maii Anno Regni nostri quadragesimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata est, pro Burgensibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

Carta conditionalis.

A.D. c. 1257.

[I. 132.]

The same in English.

The charter of Lubek granted for seven yeeres, obtained in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.

HEnry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloved and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we have received under our protection and defence, and under our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We have also granted unto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized unto the use of our selves, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith, according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selves do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or molestation unto the said Burgers or unto their messengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither molest them your selves, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seven yeeres next following.

Provided, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane time behave themselves well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our selves at Westminster the eleventh day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemanniæ, qui habent domum in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur Anno 44. Henrici tertii, & Anno primo & 29. Edwardi primi renovata & confirmata.

AD instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi fratris nostri concedimus mercatoribus Alemanniæ, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Civitate nostra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos universos manutenebimus per totum Regnum nostrum in omnibus iisdem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris & ‖ progenitorum nostrorum temporibus usi sunt & gavisi. Ipsosque extra hujusmodi libertates & liberas consuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

‖ *Nota antiquitatem.*

The same in English.

A charter for the Marchants of Almaine, who have an house at London commonly called ‡ the Guild hall of the Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of Edward the first.

‡ *The Stiliard.*

AT the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt unto the Marchants of Alemain (namely unto those that have an house in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and every of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the

times of our progenitors, they have used and enjoyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made patents.

Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.

[I. 133.]

MErcatores extranei vendant mercimonia sua in civitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies post ingressum suum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The same in English.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.

WE will and command that outlandish marchants doe sel their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arrivall.

The great Charter granted unto forreine marchants by king Edward the first, in the 31 yeare of his reigne commonly called Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini 1303.

EDwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justitiariis, Vicecomitibus, præpositis, ministris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & provinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hispaniæ, Portugalliæ, Navarræ, Lombardiæ, Thusciæ, Provinciæ, Cataloniæ, ducatus nostri Aquitaniæ, Tholosaniæ, Caturluni, Flandriæ, Brabantiæ, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunque nomine censeantur, venientium in regnum nostrum Angliæ & ibidem

conversantium nos præcipua cura sollicitat, qualiter sub nostro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ securitatis immunitas eisdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Ut itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra & regni nostri servitia promptiora, ipsorum petitionibus favorabiliter annuentes, & pro statu eorundem plenius assecurando, in forma quæ sequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum subscripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. Inprimis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum salvè & secure sub tuitione & protectione nostra in dictum regnum nostrum Angliæ, & ubique infra potestatem nostram alibi veniant cum mercandisis suis quibuscunque, de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in civitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatoriis possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu incolis ejusdem regni & potestatis nostræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel privatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter merceriæ vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consuevit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandisas suas, quas ipsos ad prædictum regnum & potestatem nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifestorum & notoriorum hostium regni nostri, solvendo consuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia speciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

Exceptio contra notorios regni hostes.

2. Item quod prædicti mercatores in civitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia sive domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque personis undecunque fuerint super quocunque genere mercandisæ initus, firmus sit & stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit recedere, vel resilire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas contrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super contractu ejusmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundum usus & consuetudines feriarum & villarum, ubi dictum contractum [I. 134.] fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisæ de cætero de mercimoniis, mercandisis seu aliis bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores aliis ejusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia, mercandisas, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

5. Item volumus quod omnes ballivi & ministri feriarum, civitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram iis celerem justitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de universis & singulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et si forte inveniatur defectus in aliquo ballivorum vel ministrorum prædictorum, unde iidem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda sustinuerint vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperaverit damna sua, nihilominus ballivus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in favorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum justitia maturanda.

Lex mercatoria.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, salvo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est pœna mortis, ubi

mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitaverit, cujuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel privatus, in nundinis, civitatibus, sive Burgis, ubi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquisitio fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eiisdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius ubi placitum illud esse contigerit. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inveniatur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei invenientur ibidem, & residii sint de aliis bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni nostri prædicti & alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem statera in præsentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia sint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum stateram posuerit in æquali statim amoveat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & potestatem nostram sit unum pondus & una mensura: & signo standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram unius quaternionis, & infra, ubi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, sive contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hactenus observatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur justitiarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomites & Majores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris justitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam præsentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: scilicet de his quæ sunt inter mercatores & mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Lex mercatoria quæ?

9. Item ordinamus & statuimus, & ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum

volumus firmiter observari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes nostri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores supradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis iidem supradicti mercatores universi & singuli pro se & omnibus aliis de partibus suis nobis concorditer & unanimiter concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducent vel adduci facient infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & unde marinariis fretum solvere tenebuntur, solvent nobis & hæredibus nostris nomine Custumæ duos solidos ultra antiquas custumas debitas & in denariis solvi consuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naves ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. *Antiquæ Custumæ.* Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alii nomine ipsorum ement & è regno educent, aut emi & educi facient, solvent quadraginta denarios de incremento ultra custumam antiquam dimidiæ marcæ, quæ prius fuerat persoluta. Et pro lasta coriorum extra regnum & potestatem nostram vehendorum dimidiam marcam supra id quod ex antiqua custuma ante solvebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios ultra certum illud, quod de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. [I. 135.] Item duos solidos de quolibet scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

10. Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere soleant mercandisas, ut de Averio ponderis, & de aliis rebus subtilibus, sicut de pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & aliis diversis mercibus, & de equis etiam & aliis animalibus, blado & aliis rebus & mercandisis multimodis, quæ ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, iidem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis & hæredibus nostris de qualibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandisarum hujus-

modi, quocunque nomine censeantur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandisarum ipsarum in regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam infra viginti dies postquam hujusmodi res & mercandisæ in regnum & potestatem nostram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ seu venditæ fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in eductione quarumcunque rerum & mercandisarum hujusmodi emptarum in regno & potestate nostris prædictis ultra custumas nobis aut aliis ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione rerum & mercandisarum hujusmodi de quibus tres denarii de qualibet libra argenti sicut prædicitur sunt solvendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut sociis suis ostendere poterunt : Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, si præsentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorundem mercatorum absentia, juramentis.

11. Liceat insuper sociis de societate prædictorum mercatorum infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictas, lanas vendere aliis suis sociis, & similiter emere ab iisdem absque custuma solvenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanæ ad tales manus non deveniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradicti mercatores semel in uno loco infra regnum & potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandisis suis in forma solverint supradicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, sive hujusmodi mercandisæ infra regnum & potestatem nostram remaneant, sive exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & potestate nostris prædictis sine voluntate & licentia nostra sicut prædictum est, nullatenus educantur :) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac hæredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisa, vel præstatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorum prædictorum, mercandisas seu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Coventriæ & Lichfildiæ episcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolniense, Humfredo de Bohum

comite Herfordiense & Essexiæ & Constabulo magno Angliæ, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lespensor, Waltero de Bello campo, senescallo hospitii nostri, Roberto de Buriis, & aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Windesore, primo die Februarii, anno regni nostri xxxi.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

EDward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Vicounts, governours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee have speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreis following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardie, Florence, Provence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreis and places by what name soever they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may live in quiet and full securitie under our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our service and the service of our kingdome, wee favourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller asring of their estate, have thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for us and our heires for ever these priviledges under written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoever safely and securely under our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall subjects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or private persons. Yet so, that 1.

[I. 136.] marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be sold by the small, as heretofore hath bin accustomed. And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; saving unto the countreis of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion, paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall favour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

An exception for traficking with ye known enemies of the kingdome.

2. Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that every bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soever they be, for any kind of marchandise whatsoever, shalbe firme & stable, so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or give backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once given and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peradventure any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the uses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for ever for us and our heires, that from hence foorth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selves, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would have sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other

satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselves well contented: and that no price or valuation shalbe set upon their wares, marchandises, & goods by us or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie justice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes, which may be determined by the same law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them have sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recover his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to us ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in favour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their justice.

Where is this law now become?

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, saving in case where punishment of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soever hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Jurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put upon the jurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in every market towne and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certaine place; and that before the weighing

the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances even, let him straightway remoove his hands, so that the balance way remayne even: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that every man may have a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and under, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by us and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene observed.

8. Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreete man resident in London be appointed to doe Justice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may have their sutes decided, and may speedilie recover their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day give them speedy justice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant unto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmely bee observed for ever for us and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal [I. 137.] not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any liberty whatsoever, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods, the aforesayd marchants all and every of them for themselves and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent have granted unto us, that of every tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay

freight unto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd unto us, they will pay unto us and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for every sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence above the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke above that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, above that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings upon every scarlate and every cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for every cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelve pence upon every cloth dyed without graine. Item twelve pence upon everie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Haver de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and divers other marchandises, and to sell horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced unto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants have granted to give unto us, and to our heires of every pound of silver of the estemation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soever they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there unladen and solde. And likewise three pence upon every pound of silver in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd above the customes beforetime payd unto us or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of every pound of silver, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe given unto them upon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they have no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their servants.

Moreover, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said wools come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due unto us. And furthermore it is to be understood, that after that the aforesaid marchants have once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome above granted unto us in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & have their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe carried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd, without our favour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and we grant for us and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd upon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, upon their marchandises or goods in any case, contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these presents are these, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Coventrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex, high Constable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Given by our

owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia arestatis, & eorum mercimoniis de arrestandis literæ Edwardi secundi anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegiæ.

MAgnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo Edwardus eadem Dei gratia rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ salutem cum dilectione sincera. Miramur non modicum & in intimis conturbamur de gravaminibus & oppressionibus quæ subditis nostris infra regnum [I. 138.] vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex gravi querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentii de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socii mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines & servientes suos cum tribus navibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negotiandum ibidem transmisissent: & naves illæ in portu villæ vestræ de Tonnesbergh halece & aliis bonis diversis usque ad magnam summam oneratæ fuissent: Et licet nautis navium prædictarum hominibusque & servientibus prædictis à regno vestro liberè cum navibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliæ redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de conductu, postmodum tamen antequam naves illæ propter venti contrarietatem portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam ballivi vestri naves prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis cujusdam militis nuper ballivi vestri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naves prædictæ in portu supradicto sicut præmittitur remanserunt supra mare ut dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro ut dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub aresto hujusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarii prædicti de quadraginta

Villa de Tonnesbergh.

A.D. 1313.

libris sterlingorum certo die statuto ad opus vestrum pro qualibet navi prædictarum solvendis inviti & coacti securitatem invenissent: Et similiter de eisdem navibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra festum nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptistæ proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis & navibus suis vestræ gratiæ seu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides ulterius liberassent: quod ipsis valde grave censetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & æquitatem, omnemque justitiam fore dinoscitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpæ seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscii vel participes, seu de hujusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliqualiter ulciscantur, vestram amicitiam affectuose requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmissa diligenti meditatione zelo justitiæ ponderantes, obsides prædictos jubere velitis ab hostagiamento hujusmodi liberari, dictamque securitatem relaxari penitus & resolvi. Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores prædicti, qui dictum militem vestrum, ut dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem nostram poterunt inveniri, de ipsis justitiam & judicium secundum legem & consuetudinem ejusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus æquanimiter tolerare, quod naves prædictæ seu aliæ de regno nostro, quæ semper promptæ ad nostrum servitium esse debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas se divertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum decreveritis in præmissis, nobis si placeat rescribatis per præsentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windesore decimo sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The letters of Edward the second unto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

TO the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend, Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. We marvell not a little, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greevances and oppressions, which (as wee have beene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present, more then in times past, without any reasonable cause inflicted upon our subjects, which doe usually resort unto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew, and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared unto us: that having sent certaine of their factors and servants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the haven of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and servants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome unto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your haven by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes upon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates upon the sea, whilest the sayd shippes remained in the haven aforesayd,

The towne of Tonesbergh.

did at your commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also deteined under that arrest, the foresaid [I. 139.] ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely untill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driven perforce, and constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment of fortie pounds sterling, upon a certain day appointed, unto your use, for every of the foresaide ships: and also untill they had moreover delivered three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid haven, before the feast of the nativitie of S. John the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand unto your favour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselves take very grievously, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and unwonted course. And because it is most undoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, justice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be punished in such persons, or in their goods, as neither have bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor have had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of justice, you would of your love and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the said securitie utterly to bee released and acquited. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) slewe your Knight aforesaide, shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cause justice and judgement to bee executed upon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conveniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our service) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, unto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this our request to performe in the premisses,

may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answere unto us. Geven at Windsore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thomæ de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filii Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cùm ipsi nuper quosdam servientes suos infrà regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimoniis transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quæ servientes prædicti in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis ultimò præterita fecit absque causa rationabili arestari, & ea adhuc taliter arestata detinet injustè, in ipsorum Thomæ & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris subvenire volumus, quatenus suadente justitia poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela prædictorum Thomæ & Simonis, vel ipsorum atturnatorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum prædictorum impendere velitis eisdem celeris justitiæ complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis justitiæ super arestatione prædicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris prædictis de alio remedio providere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ ut suprà.

Northbernæ villa.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of

England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. Wee received the complaint of our welbeloved Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their servants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer upon the feast of S. Michael last past, without any just or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said servants had under their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also injuriously deteineth the same under the same arrest, to the great damage and impoverishing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far foorth as we can, Justice requiring no lesse in this [I. 140.] behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that having hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Atturneyes, you woulde of your love and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Justice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of Justice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to provide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere unto us, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Given as above.

A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

MAgnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Pro mercatoribus nostris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Ballivus & Officiarii vestri civitatis vestræ Bergen dudum

ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi ut jam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, ut ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, vestræ serenitati Regiæ nostras nuper transmisimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vestras quas audivimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera rescripsistis, quod quidam mercatores de regno vestro de injuriis, violentiis & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus sunt, ut asserunt, contra justitiam aggravati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adjiciendo in vestris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filii in villa Lennæ, ad piscandum ut dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Ballivum vestrum, in Vikia unà cum decem aliis subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotiis existentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens nostra gravatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præsertim quum nunquam nostræ fuerit voluntatis, quod injuriæ, violentiæ, seu arrestationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel aliis de regno vestro per aliquos de regno & potestate nostris fierent indebitè vel injustè: nec adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris huc usque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit hujusmodi gravamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos sufficientes emendas, & satisfactiones debitas super illis, celerisque justitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et insuper si malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios secum existentes, ut præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, seu potestate nostra sint, vel infrà idem regnum vel potestatem poterunt inveniri, de ipsis judicium & justitiam fieri præcipiemus, secundùm Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. Et quia inter nos & vos, nostròsque & vestros subditos hinc inde foveri desideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris &

Antiquitas commercii inter Angliam & Norwegiam.

vestris regnis & dominiis liberè, & absque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum nostrorum fieri consuevit, & ex dictarum literarum vestrarum serie collegimus evidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia & singula, quæ pro vobis & vestris subditis super discordiis, contentionibus, aut gravaminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos qualitercunque suscitatis pro bono pacis & justitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos consimilia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoscitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi utriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus jus & ratio dictitaverint, promittimus nos facturos: Vestram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores nostros prædictos, qui adhuc superstites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta felonia committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat custodia carceralis, jubere velitis nostri contemplatione, zelóque justitiæ ab hujusmodi custodia liberari, bona ab ipsis capta eis prout justum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et ut deliberatio mercatorum nostrorum prædictorum, & bonorum suorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alii mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione ejusdem gravaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, [I. 141.] ad sectam Tidemanni Lippe infrà regnum nostrum, ut dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persolverunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte una, & præfatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua injuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis hujusmodi plenam & celerem justitiam fieri faciemus. Ita quod iidem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt meritò se contentos.

A.D. 1313.

Et interim de excessibus & gravaminibus subditis vestris infrà regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestræ igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in præmissis nobis rescribere velitis per præsentium portitorem. Datæ apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.

The same in English.

TO the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere love. We sent of late unto your royall majestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adjoyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we understand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we have diligently heard, and throughly understood, have, amongst other matters, returned this answere unto us: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of injuries, violences and arrests, whereby they have lately (as themselves avouch) contrary to justice bene aggrieved and oppressed in our dominions: adding moreover in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murthered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subjects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and above measure grieved and troubled, especially sithence it was never any part of our intent, that any injuries, violences, or arrests should unjustly be inflicted upon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet have any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered unto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subjects: giving you for a certaintie to understand, that if upon lawfull inquisition we shalbe advertised of any such grievances, which have bene offered unto your subjects within our realme, we will cause speedie justice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreover, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining unto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command justice and judgement to be executed upon them, according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be mainteined and cherished between your and our subjects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we evidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subjects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoever occasioned, and sprung up betweene your and our subjects) lovingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selves, and our subjects, so much as in us and them lieth, for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquilitie of both our Realmes (as justice and reason shall move us) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your love and friendship, having regard of us, and consideration of justice, you would commaund that our foresaide

The antiquity of traffique betweene England and Norway.

marchants, who as yet remaine alive, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut up in close prison, be delivered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which have bene taken from them, to bee, according unto justice, restored to them again. And that the deliverie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeelded unto, may it please you with diligent observation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, upon occasion of the greivances offered unto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide unto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: even as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe conteined. [I. 142.] Moreover, if any of your subjects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subjects, or of any injury done unto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subjects to be admitted, and also full and speedie justice to be administred, upon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subjects shal thinke themselves right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grievances howsoever offered unto your subjects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere unto us, what you are determined to doe in the premisses. Given at Westminster, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. Edwardi secundi.

REx collectoribus custumæ lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cùm nos vicesimo die Maii anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna & gravamina, quæ mercatoribus de regno nostro diversimodè evenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diversa loca infrà terras Brabantiæ, Flandriæ, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: & volentes etiam hujusmodi damnis & gravaminibus quatenus bono modo possemus providere, de consilio nostro ordinaverimus, quod mercatores indigenæ & alienigenæ lanas & pelles hujusmodi infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam ementes, & ad terras prædictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam stapulam infrà aliquam earundem terrarum, per Majorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, seu duci faciant ullo modo: & inter cætera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supradicto pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd ipsi Major & consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili convicti fuerint, certas pecuniæ summas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illæ hujusmodi summæ de bonis & mercimoniis mercatorum sic delinquentium, ubicunque ea infrà regnum & potestatem prædictam inveniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leventur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenæ

Major & Communitas stapulæ.

Charta anno regni sexto confecta.

seu alienigenæ contra tenorem Chartæ prædictæ sub pœnis contentis in eadem venerint ullo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quàmplures mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ, lanas & pelles lanutas infrà regnum & potestatem prædictas ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quàm ad Stapulam juxta concessionem nostram prædictam per Majorem & communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis prædictarum assignaverimus quosdam fideles nostros in diversis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quàm ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendæ inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostrum leventur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigenæ quàm alienigenæ hujusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercentes sunt culpabiles de præmissis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alii timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt advocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reversuris, ut sic forisfacturas prædictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: quæ si permitterentur sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes hujusmodi fraudibus obviare, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus præcavere, vobis præcipimus firmiter injungentes, quod à singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutas per portum prædictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Evangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutas sub nomine ipsius, cujus propriæ sunt, & non alterius advocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cujus lanæ & pelles hujusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis [I. 143.] ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantiæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc convinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes exteras transire permittatis. Teste Rege apud Doveram decimo octavo die Junii, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

Et postmodum per breve de privato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus custumæ prædictæ in portubus subscriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.
In portu villæ Weymouth.
In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.
In portu villæ de Kingtone super Hull.
In portu villæ de novo Castro.
In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.
In portu villæ de Lenne.
In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

THe King unto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we upon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere of our reigne, considering the damages and grievances that have diversly happened unto the marchants of our realme, upon occasion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying up wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, have, for the better sale thereof, at their pleasure conveyed themselves, and trasported the said wooll & fels into sundry places within the provinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being desirous also, to our power, to

provide a remedie against such damages and inconveniences, have ordained by our counsel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying up such wools and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforesaid, and being desirous to transport them into the foresaid provinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide wools and fels, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of the saide Provinces, by the Maior and Communaltie of the said marchants of our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it expedient, to be changed and removed, and not unto any other place within the saide Provinces whatsoever: and whereas also, amongst other things, we have granted unto the marchants of our foresaid realme, for us and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the saide marchants for the time being, may impose upon all marchants, homeborne or aliens whatsoever, that shall transgresse the foresaid ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be convicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our use, be levied out of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wheresoever they shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforesaid, as in our Charter made for the same purpose, it is more plainly expressed, (which Charter we have caused to be published upon the Seacoasts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor strangers, may in any wise transgresse the tenour of the foresaide Charter, under the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing given us to understand, that divers marchants both home-borne, and aliens, bought up such woolles and woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conveyed themselves with the saide wools and felles for the sale thereof, unto other places within the foresaide Provinces, besides the saide Staple, which

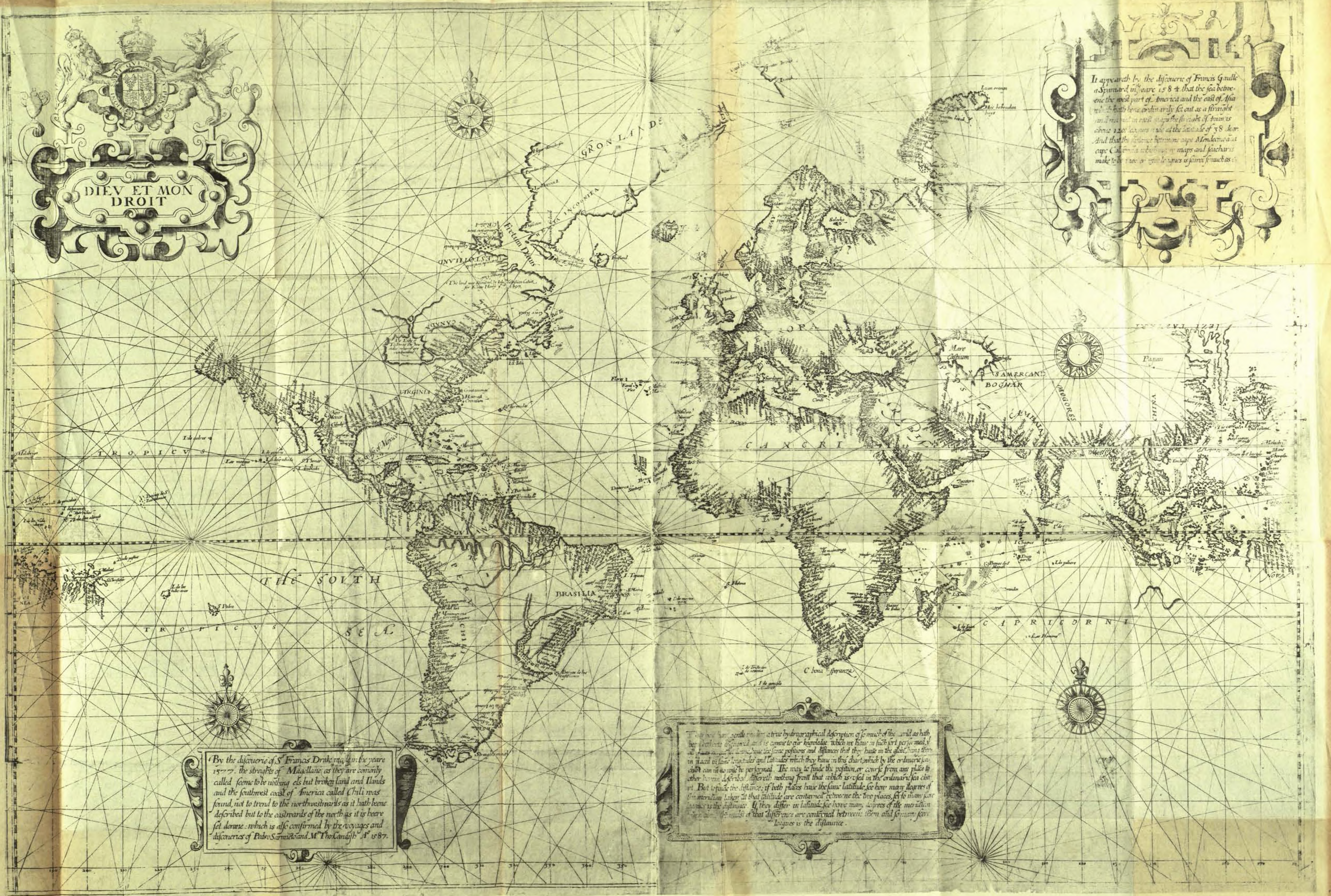
A Charter made in the sixt yeere of his reigne.

was, according to our graunt aforesaide, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communaltie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those Provinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforesaide, wee assigned certaine of our faithfull subjects, in divers parts of our Realme, to make inquisition for such wools and woollen felles, as were conveyed unto any other place of the saide Provinces, then unto the Staple, so that by these meanes, the penalties due unto us might bee levied unto our use: and having intelligence also, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and strangers bartering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premisses, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cause their wools and woollen felles to bee avouched under the [I. 144.] names of persons not culpable, and to be sent over unto certaine strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and defraud us of the penaltie, appertaining of right unto us, (which abuses, if they were suffered so to goe unpunished woulde redound unto our extreame hinderance:) and beeing likewise desirous to withstand such deceitefull dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to prevent our owne losses, we firmely command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receive of every particular marchant, desirous to convey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foresaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath upon Gods holy Evangelists: that they shall avouch all those wools and woollen fels under his name unto whom they doe properly belong, & under the name of none other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil undertake to warrantize, and make good unto us those penalties and forfaitures which shal unto us appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conveied or sent by any of the foresaid merchants unto any of the said provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition above mentioned (if they shal chance to be convinced hereof) that first, our due custome being received, you doe permit the said wools and woollen fels to passe out of the foresaid port into forrein countries. Witnes the king at Dover the 18. day of June. By the king himselfe and his Councell.

And afterwarde by a Writte under the Kings privie Seale there was a like commandement given unto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the portes underwritten.

That is to say:

In the port of the Towne of
- Weymouth.
- Southhampton.
- Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.
- Kingtone upon Hull.
- Newcastle.
- Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.
- Lenne.
- Gypwick or Ipswich.


DIEV ET MON DROIT
GRONLANDE
Fretum Davis
EUROPA
VIRGINIA
Golfo di Mexico
TROPICVS
CANCRI
THE SOUTH SEA
TROPICVS
CAPRICORNI
GUIANA
PERU
CHILI
BRASILIA
C bona speranza
Mare Caspium
SAMERCAND
BOGHAR

It appeareth by the diſcouerie of Francis Gaulle
a Spaniard in the yeare 1584 that the ſea betwe-
ene the weſt part of America and the east of Aſia
which hath bene ordinarily ſet out as a ſtraight
and named in moſt maps the ſtreight of Anian is
about 1200 leagues wide at the latitude of 38 degr.
And that the diſtance betweene cape Mendocino and
cape California which many maps and ſeacharts
make to be 1200 or 1500 leagues is ſcarce ſo much as [illegible]

By the diſcouerie of Sr Francis Drake made in the yeare
1577. the ſtreights of Magellane as they are comonly
called ſeeme to be nothing els but broken land and Ilands
and the ſouthweſt coaſt of America called Chili was
found, not to trend to the northweſtwards as it hath beene
deſcribed but to the eaſtwards of the north as it is heere
ſet downe: which is alſo confirmed by the voyages and
diſcoueries of Pedro Sarmiento and Mr Tho: Candiſh Ao 1587.

Thou haſt here gentle reader a true hydrographical deſcription of ſo much of the world as hath
beene hitherto diſcouered and is comme to our knowledge which we haue in ſuch ſort performed, y^t
all places [illegible] haue the ſame poſitions and diſtances that they haue in the globe, being therin
placed in ſame longitudes and latitudes which they haue in this chart, which by the ordinarie ſea
chart can in no wiſe be performed. The way to finde the poſition or courſe from any place to
other herein deſcribed, differeth nothing from that which is uſed in the ordinarie ſea chart.
But to finde the diſtance; if both places haue the ſame latitude, ſee how many degrees of
the meridian taken at that latitude are contayned betweene the two places, ſo ſo many ſcore
leagues is the diſtance. If they differ in latitude ſee howe many degrees of the meridian
taken [illegible] the midſt of that difference are contayned betweene them and ſo many ſcore
leagues is the diſtaunce.

A Catalogue of the great Masters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Jerusalem: and what great exploites every of the saide Masters hath atchieved, either in conquering the land of Prussia, or in taming and subduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them under their obedience and subjection, taken out of Munster.

THe order of the Dutch knights had their first original at Jerusalem in the yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hospitall of the blessed Virgine: and the first Master of the saide order was called Henrie of Walpot, under whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italie procured unto the order: and the saide Hospitall was removed from Jerusalem unto Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, and the foresaid Order grew and mightily increased, whereof I will hereafter discourse more at large in my Treatise of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceased in the yeere of Christ 1200. The 2. Master was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Master of the Order for the space of sixe yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bart a godly and devout person, who deceased in the yeere 1210. being interred at Acon, as his predecessors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together governed the saide Order, and managed the first expedition of warre against the infidels of Prussia, and ordained another Master also in Prussia to bee his Deputie in the same region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the sword, who traveiled into Livonia to convert the inhabitants thereof unto Christ, seeing they were not of sufficient force to performe that enterprise, and that their enemies increased on all sides, they united themselves unto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Prussia, that their worthie attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and assistance of the saide Duch knights. At the very same time the ensigne of the crosse was exalted throughout all Germanie against the Prussians, and a great armie of souldiers was gathered together, the Burgrave of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themselves unto the Dutch knights, joyned battell with the Infidels, and slew about five hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible invasions and in-roades into the dominions of Christians, wasting all with fire and sword, but especially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Provinces of Conradus Duke of Massovia. Nowe, the foresaide knights having made so huge a slaughter, built the castle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and so by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more castles, as namely, Crutzburg, Wissenburg, Resil, Bartenstein, Brunsburg, and Heilsburg, and furnished them all with garrisons. The fift Master of the Order was Conradus Landgravius, the brother of Lodovick, which was husband unto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gave great riches and possessions unto the Order, and caused Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious house of his saide Order. Under the government of this Master, Acon in the lande of Palestina was subdued unto the Saracens. Moreover, in the yeere 1254. there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared against Prussia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, aliâs Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of

Ensiferi fratres.

The first war moved against the Prussian infidels, anno dom. 1239.

[I. 145.]

Brandeburg, the Duke of Austria, the Marques of Moravia, the Bishops of Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great strength of their Nobles and common souldiers, and invading the lande of Prussia in the Winter season, they constrained the inhabitants thereof to receive the Christian faith, and to become obedient unto the knights. After which exploite, by the advice and assistance of king Odoacer, there was a castle built upon a certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the seate of the Prince of Prussia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsberg, that is to say, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finished in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort the knights did bridle and restraine the furie of the Infidels on all sides, and compelled them to obedience. The sixt Master was called Boppo ab Osterna, under whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very same instant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Prussians conspiring together, and abandoning the Christian faith, in furious maner armed themselves against ye Christians, defaced and burnt down Churches, slew Priests, and to the utmost of their abilitie, banished all faithfull people. The report of which misdemeanour being published throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was levied and sent for the defence and succour of the knights, which marching into the land of Natan, made many slaughters, & through the inconstancie of fortune sometimes woonne, and sometimes lost the victorie. Also the Infidels besieged these three castles, namely, Barstenstein, Crutzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine upon the Christians contained within the saide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle of Juliers, with other Princes and great chivalrie came downe, and giving charge upon the Prussians, put three thousand of them to the edge of the sworde. Afterward the Prussians banding themselves together, were determined to spoile the castle of Kunigsberg, but

The Prussians abandon Christianitie.

their confederacie being disclosed, they had the repulse. And when the knightes had prevailed against them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For upon a certaine time, after they had given divers pledges, they slewe two noble knights of the Order, and so by that meanes incensed the principall of the saide order, insomuch that they caused two paire of galloues to be set up besides the castle, & thirtie of the Prussians pledges to be hanged therupon. Which severitie so vexed and provoked the Prussians, that in revenge of the said injury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, slew many Christians, yea, and put 40. knights with the master of the Order, and the Marshal, unto the edge of the sword. There was at the same instant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus, professing the Christian faith, but being joyned in league with the Prussians, he indevoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Christians whatsoever out of the lande of Prussia, in which warre the foresaide knights of the Order suffered many abuses. For they lost almost all their castles, and a great number of themselves also were slaine. This Suandepolcus put in practise many lewde attempts against religion. For albeit he was baptized, he did more mischiefe then the very Infidels themselves, untill such time as the knights being assisted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the saide Duke and the Prussians also into such straights, that (maugre their heads) they were constrained to sue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admonished his sonnes that they should not doe any injurie unto the knights of the order, affirming that himselfe never prospered so long as he urged warre against them. Howbeit his sonnes for a certaine time observed not their fathers counsel, untill at length one of them named Warteslaus, was created one of the Order, and the other called Samborus bestowed by legacie his goods and possessions upon the saide Order, receiving maintenance and exhibition from the saide Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned also under the government of the foresayde Master Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to see howe the Prussians were imployed. And meeting with three Prussians, they slew two, and the thirde they reserved to guide them the directest way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceived, they slewe the Traytour. Then five Prussian horsemen came riding and tooke [I. 146.] them, delivering them bounde to the custodie of two. And the other three pursued the horses of the two, which broke loose in the time of the fraye. And they tarying somewhat long, the other two woulde have beheaded the two Knightes in the meane season. And as one of them was striking with his drawen sworde, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee saide unto them: Sirs, you doe unwisely in that you take not off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore loosing the cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, set his armes more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiving reached his keeper such a boxe, that his sworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all speede taking up, slewe both the keepers and unbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreover, seeing the other three Prussians comming furiously upon them, with stoute couragious hearts they made towarde the saide Prussians, and slew them, and so escaped the danger of death. The seventh great Master was Hanno de Sangershusen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand two hundreth seventie five. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceased in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuvenden beeing afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Johns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuvang: under this man the Citie of Acon in Palestina was sacked by the Soldan, and manie people were slayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had

A memorable stratageme.

great revenewes. The Knightes of Saint John, who also had an Hospitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence departing unto Rhodes, they subdued that Islande unto themselves. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and possessions throughout all Germanie, beeing Lordes of a good part of Prussia, Livonia, and Curland, whose chiefe house was then at Marpurg, till such time as it was remooved unto Marieburg, a Towne of Prussia. The eleventh great Master was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Under this man the knights sustained a great overthrowe in Livonia: but having strengthned their armie, they slewe neere unto Rye foure thousande of their enemies. 4000. The twelfth Master was Sifridus a Feuchtuvang. Under this man, the principall house of the Order was translated from Martpurg to Marieburg, which in the beginning was established at Acon, and from thence was remooved unto Venice, and from Venice unto Martpurg. This Sifridus deceased in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Master was called Charles Beffart of Triers. This man built a fort upon the river of Mimmel, and it was named Christmimmel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orsele, whome a certaine knight of the Order slewe with his sworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of Brunswick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceased 1352. The sixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenstein. The seventeenth was Ludolphus sirnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tusimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinstut captive, and kept him prisoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a servaunt, having broken out of the Castle, hee escaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horse, and went on foote through unknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himselfe in secrete places, and in the night hee continued his journey untill hee came unto Massovia. But all the Knightes joye was turned into sorrowe, after they had lost so great an enemie. The twentieth grand Master was Conradus Zolner of Rotenstein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Jungingen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and seven. The three and twentieth Ulricus a Jungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and tenne: which battell was fought against Vladislaus Father of Casimire. Both partes had levied mightie and huge forces: unto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had joyned themselves, over whome one Vitoldus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken up Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themselves one within twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Master of the Prussians sent an Herault to denounce warre unto the King, and immediately (alarme beeing given) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thousand horsemen in a readinesse. Vladislaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to give the first onsette, and placed the Polonians in the rerewarde of the battell: on the contrarie side, the Prussians regarded least of all to reserve any strong troupes behinde, which might rescue such as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede shoulde require, but set forwarde the flower and chivalrie of all his Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge beeing given certaine unarmed Tartars & Lithuanians were slaine handsmooth: howbeit the multitude pressed on, neither durst the fearefull Polonians turne their backes, and so a cruell battell was fought upon the heapes of dead carkases. The combate continued a long time, terrible slaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were slaine like sheepe. But when newe and fresh enemies continually issued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which

This man sent an ambassage to Richard the second.

[I. 147.]

Vladislaus no sooner perceived, but in all haste hee sends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who suddenly breaking in renewed the skirmish. The Dutch were not able to withstand the furie of the fresh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a fresh) insomuch that the knights with their people were constrained to flee. The master of the Order seeing his souldiers give way unto the enemie, gathered a companie together, and withstoode him in the face, howbeit himselfe was slaine for his labour, the flight of his people proved greater and more dishonourable, neither did the Dutch cease to flee, so long as the Polonian continued the chase. There fell on the Knights partie manie thousands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great spoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Prussia following the happie successe of the Polonian king (except Marieburg onely) yeelded themselves unto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigismund taking up the quarell, peace was ordained between the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine summes of money also were paide unto the Polonian, Prussia was restored unto the knights, neither was the saide order disturbed in the possession of their lands untill the time of Friderick. The 24. Master was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being deposed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden prisoner at Dantzik. The 25. Master was Michael Kuchenmeister, that is, master of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Russdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichshausen. This man, after divers and sundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the saide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig secretely going about to obteyne their freedome, that the foresaide Order might have no dominion over them, made sute unto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This

Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichshausen. Under this man there arose a dangerous sedition in Prussia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppressed with divers molestations. Whereupon they privily made sute unto Casimir then king of Polonia. The Master of the Order seeing what would come to passe began to expostulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to last for ever. Also Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Prussians to returne unto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their swordes had released that province out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the shedding of much blood. Notwithstanding the popular sort persisting stil in their stubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing unto the king usurped divers Castles belonging to the Master, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and some they slewe also. Fiftie and five townes conspired together in that rebellion: but thinking their estate and strength not sure enough against their own governors without forrein aide, they chose king Casimir to be their lord. Heereupon the Polonian king marched into Prussia with a great armie, taking possession of such cities as yeelded themselves unto him, and proceeding forward against Marieburg, besieged the castle and the towne. In the meane season the Master having hired an armie of Germane souldiers, suddenly surprised the king at unawares in his tents, and slewe about 300. Polonians, tooke prisoners 136. noblemen, spoiled their tents, tooke away their horses, victuals, and armour, insomuch that the king himselfe hardly escaped upon one horse. These things came to passe in the yeere 1455. The Master having thus obtained the victorie, sent his armie into the countrey, and recovered the castles and cities which he had lost, to the number of 80. putting many

The great master overcommeth the king of Polonia.

of his enemies also unto the sword. Moreover, he recovered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to say, Dantzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Master could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was unpaid unto his captains, those captaines which were in the garison of Marieburg conspired against the Master, and for a great summe of money betrayed the castle of Marieburg unto the king. Which practise beeing knowen, the Master fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great spoile and desolation was wrought on both sides: untill at length, after composition made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the castles and townes therein, together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the master injoyed Samaitia, Kunigsberg, &c. This composition was concluded in the yeere 1466. The 29. Master was Henrie Reuss, first being deputie, and afterwarde Master of Prussia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceased in the yeere 1477. The [I. 148.] 31. called Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. John a Tieflen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in question, whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee observed or no? especially sithence it conteined certaine articles against equitie and reason. Wherupon he appealed unto the Bishop of Rome, unto the Emperor, unto the princes and electors of Germany, and prevailed with them so farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaints and excuses, & dispatched no other businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere of his government. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did so grievously molest

The king by treason overthroweth the Master.

with war, and oppressed all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld unto such conditions, as turned to the utter overthrowe of the whole Order. And amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the originall of all discorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successor hath borne rule and authority, but divers and sundry have had the government therof, by whose meanes the nations have bene provoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grievously spoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often sollicited for the establishing of that perpetual league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed upon of both parties is in short time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will prove worse and worse, unlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome devise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refuseth not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

[The Oration

The Oration or speech of the Ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zolner Master generall of the land of Prussia, unto Richard the second, King of England, and France, &c.

The messengers which are sent from the Master generall of the land of Prussia, doe propound and declare the affaires and negotiations underwritten.

WHereas it is apparant, that divers and sundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predecessours the kings of England have alwaies bene gratious promoters and speciall friends unto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they have vouchsafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, unto the Masters and order aforesaide, sundry and manifolde favourable assistances in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Majestie insisting, have, in these your dayes shewed your selfe in like sort right graciously affected unto the Master generall which nowe is, and unto his famous Predecessour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of divers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded unto your Highnes, the foresaid Master general which now is hath caused us his messengers to be sent with letters of credence unto your Majestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master general, his successors, & our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same favour, benevolence, and stedfast amity & friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecessors: in regard wherof we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, unto your highnes, as your perpetual and devote friends. Notwithstanding

The ancient assistance of the kings of England against infidels.

(most sovereigne Prince) certaine other things we have to propound unto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of x. yeres last expired, his subjects and marchants have sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by divers subjects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by sea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the appointment of the Master general aforesaid, & of his predecessor, are put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Prussia. Of which parties damnified, some have obtained letters from the Master general that now is, & also from his predecessor, unto your renoumed grandfather K. Edward of famous memory, and sundry times unto your highnes also, to have restitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they have nothing at al prevailed, but heaping losse upon losse have misspent their time & their charges: both because they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your majesty, and also for divers other impediments. Certain of them also considering how others of their countriemen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like successe, have troubled the Master general very often with grievous and sundry complaints, craving & humbly beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to provide for them as his faithful & loial subjects, as touching the restitution of their losses: especially seeing y^t so much wealth of the English marchants was every yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing the Master general aforesaid & his predecessor also have deferred unto this present (albeit to ye great losse of their subjects) therby having meere & principal respect unto those special curtesies and favours which your excellent Majesty & your worthy progenitors have

[I. 149.]

Edward the 3.

A.D. 1388.

right gratiously vouchsafed upon our Masters and Order: neither yet for the injuries aforesaid, was there ever any maner of offence, or molestation offered unto any of your subjects noble or ignoble whatsoever. Moreover, in the name & behalfe of our foresaid Ma. general we do propound unto your excellency by way of complaint, that in the yere last past, 6. dayes after ye feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships & captains comming unto the port of Flanders, named Swen, & finding there, amongst sundry other, 6. ships of Prussia resident, which had there arrived w^t divers goods & marchandises: and being informed that they were of Prussia, & their friends, they caused them & their ships to remain next unto their owne ships, protesting unto them, that they should in no sort be molested or damnified by themselves or by any other of their company, & that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, from ye hands of their adversaries: & for their farther security & trust, they delivered some of their own men & their standerds into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred up, & bent far otherwise, they took out of ye foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherwith they were to gard & defend themselves from pirats, & they deteined the masters of those ships, not suffring them to return unto their own ships & companies, one also of ye said ships (having taken al the goods out of her) they consumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord unto ye abovenamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-masters, & of other persons they brake open, taking out money, jewels, garments, & divers other commodities: and so they inflicted upon them irrecoverable losses and unkind grievances. And departing out of the foresaid haven, they caried 2. of the Prussian ship-masters with them, as their captives unto an haven of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward released, were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare ye injuries offred unto them, either before your roiall majesty, or your hon. Councell, or your chancelor: neither were they permitted to come on shore. And being offred such hard measure, when they made pitiful mones & complaints unto your foresaide subjects, amongst other matters they spake on this wise unto them: Do you complain of injuries & losses offered unto you? Loe, in your own countrey of Prussia there are English marchants, & goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, & recover your losses, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, & so departed. Afterward returning unto ye land of Prussia, they & their friends repaired unto the Mast. general, jointly & wt one consent making their complaint unto him of the losses which had bin inflicted upon them by your subjects. And prostrating themselves at his feet, they all and every of them made their humble sutes, yt he would have compassion on them, as upon his poore subjects, regarding them selves, their wives, & children, and pitying their distres, and penury, and that he would graciously procure some redresse for them. And when he offred his letters unto them, wishing them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they were no way able to defray the expenses, and that others, who were in like sort damnified, had laboured that way altogether in vain & to no purpose: beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods, procure them restitution of their losses. At length the Master general being moved by so many and so great complaints, and by the molestation of his subjects, caused (albeeit full sore against his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg & Dantzik, and to be bestowed

The arresting of the English goods and marchants.

in sure places, until such time as he might conveniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the premisses unto your highnes. And forasmuch as the foresaid Master general and our Order do know no just occasion, wherby they have deserved your majesties indignation, but are firmely and most undoubtedly perswaded, to finde all curtesie, favour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemencie: the said Master generall therefore [I. 150.] maketh no doubt, that al the above written damages & molestations, being in such sort, against God and justice, offred unto his subjects by yours, be altogether unknown unto your magnificence, & committed against your mind: wherfore presently upon the foresaid arrest of your marchants goods, he dispatched his messengers unto your roial majesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely in the territory of Holland: & the other remained sick in those parts for a long season: & so that ambassage took none effect. Wherfore the said master general was desirous to send us now ye second time also unto your Highnes. We do make our humble sute therfore, in the name & behalf of our Master and Order aforesaid, unto your kingly supremacy, that, having God and justice before your eies, and also the dutifull and obsequious demeanor of the said master, and order towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premisses: wherby the foresaid losses may be restored and repaied unto our subjects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisedome & providence to procure so absolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, such dealings and inconveniences may be avoided on both parts, & finally that your marchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our marchants may be admitted unto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to convert & apply them unto such uses, as to themselves shal seem

A.D. 1388.

most convenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but more principally, for certain sinister reports and superstitious slanders, wherwith certaine of your subjects, not seeking for peace, have falsly informed your majesty, & your most honorable and discreete Councel : affirming that at the time of ye aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myre and water up to ye neck, restrained from al conference and company of men, and also that their meat was thrown unto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they have most slanderously devised concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and have published them in these dominions : upon the occasion of which falshoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special benevolence, were indued with certaine privileges and favours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, until such time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon, the foresaide master generall propoundeth his humble sute unto your majestie, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Majesty woulde vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example unto others presuming to doe the like.

Moreover, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported unto our Master general, that his former Legats required of your majesty safe conduct freely to come into your highnesse Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, sithence undoubtedly they did not this at his commaundement or direction. We therefore humbly beseech your Grace, as touching this oversight, to holde the Master generall excused, because there is no need of safe conduct, between so speciall friends.

Furthermore, sundry damages and complaints of the foresaid general Master, and his subjects are briefly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Also, all and singular damnified persons, besides other proofes, were compelled to verifie their losses by their formall othes, taken upon the holy Bible.

Lastly, we doe make our humble suite and petition unto the providence and discretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premisses, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded unto your Majesty, we may obtaine a speedy answere, and an effectuall end. For it would redound unto our great charges and losse to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of Ireland, To all, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We have seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloved clearke, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Ulricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of the right reverend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenstein, master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Jerusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed upon in these words. In the name of the supreame and indivisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will have peacemakers to be the sons of blessednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Christians: therefore for [I. 151.] the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowen unto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissension and discord bred betweene the most renowmed prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subjects on the one part: and the right reverend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinstein, Master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospitall of S. Marie at Jerusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subjects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and generall master, upon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours towards England unto the forenamed most soveraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint unto him of violence and injuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English unto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresayd most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receive, and accept, and after many speeches uttered in this treaty, lovingly dismissed them unto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters unto the foresayd reverend Master generall, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours unto the land of Prussia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he sent the hono: and reverend personages Master Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, 1388. Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence unto the right reverend lord and master generall aforesayd. Which ambassadours, together with John Bevis of London their informer, and the letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reverend lord and Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28. of July, in the yeare aforesaid, reverently and honourably received and enter-

1390.

teined: and in his minde esteemed them worthy to treate and decide the causes aforesayd: and so unto the sayd ambassadours he joyned in commission on his behalfe, three of his owne counsellers, namely the honourable and religious personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadors so entreating about the premisses, and sundry conferences and consultations having passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

1. First, that all arrestments, reprisals, and impignorations of whatsoever goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made before the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and released, without all fraud and dissimulation: insomuch that the damages, charges and expenses occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresayd goods arrested, are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatsoever propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether frustrate and voide, and all actions which may or shall be commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of none effect.

2. Moreover, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and singuler Prussians pretending themselves to be injuried by the English at the Porte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoever, and whensoever, before the date of these presents, having received the letters of the foresaide right reverende lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repayre towards England, unto the sayd hon: embassadours who are to assist them, and to propound and exhibite their complaintes, unto the forenamed lord and king. The most gracious prince is bounde to doe his indevor, that the parties damnified may have restitution of their goods

made unto them, or at least complete justice and judgement without delay. Also in like maner all English men affirming themselves to have bene endamaged by Prussians, wheresoever, howsoever, and whensoever, are to have recourse unto the often forenamed right reverend lorde the Master generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and causes unto him. Who likewise is bound to doe his indevour that the sayd losses and damages may be restored, or at the least that speedie judgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caveat being premised in each clause, that it may and shall be freely granted and permitted unto every man that will civilly make his suite and complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or procurators.

3. Also thirdly it is agreed, that whosoever of Prussia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinseman hath beene slaine, wounded, or maimed, by English men, the same partie is to repayre unto the citie of London in England, and unto the sayd ambassadors, bringing with him the letters of the sayd right reverend lord the master generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambassadors are to have free and full authority, according to the complaints of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation or honest recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliation the sayd parties reconciled are bound [I. 152.] undoubtedly & without delay to observe. But if there be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the composition of the foresayd ambassadors: then the sayd ambassadours are to bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes before the presence of the kings Majestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes, that complete justice and judgment may without delayes bee administred, according as those suites are commenced. Moreover whatsoever English man,

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against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent himselfe at the terme, the sayd ambassadours are to summon and ascite the foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next insuing, that the plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home, without judgement or the assistance of lawe. Nowe if the sayd English man being summoned shall be found stubborne or disobedient, the forenamed ambassadours are to make their appeale and supplication in manner aforesayd. And in like sorte in all respects shall the English plaintifes be dealt withall in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shal take unto themselves two other head boroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commissioners are to have in al respects, the very like authority of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld obedience unto any such order or composition, but shalbe found to contradict and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and supplication unto the Master generall of the land aforesayd, that unto the sayd English plaintifes speedy judgement and complete justice may be administred. But if it shall so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or already are deceased in either of the sayd countries, and then it shall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the premisses the termes under written are appointed: namely the first, from the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, untill the seventh day following: The second upon the feast of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for seven dayes following: The third upon the eight day after Saint John

Baptist next to come, & for seven daies following: The fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be upon the feast of S. Michael next to come, and upon seven dayes next following. And from thenceforth all causes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if peradventure any one of the foresayd ambassadours, shall in the meane season dye, then the other two shall have authoritie to chuse a third unto them. And if after the date of these presents any cause great or small doth arise or spring foorth, it must bee decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath beene accustomed in times past and from ancient times. *An ancient custome.*

4. *The priviledges of the English marchants in Prussia.* Also, it is farther concluded and agreed upon, that all lawfull marchants of England whosoever shall have free licence and authority, with all kindes of shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resorte unto every port of the land of Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises up farther unto any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all kindes of persons freely to bargaine and make sale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priviledge is granted in all things and by all circumstances unto the Prussians in England. And if after the date of these presents, betweene the sayd kingdome of England, and land of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forefend) should arise: then the foresayd sovereigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right reverend lord the Master generall are mutually by their letters and messengers to give certificate and intimation one unto another, concerning the matter and cause of such dissension and discord: with intimation, on the behalfe of the foresaid sovereigne prince & king of England, shall be delivered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the sayd right reverend lord the Master generall, such intimation shall be given in the citie of London aforesayd, unto the Maior of the said city: that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the

marchants of England and the subjects of the land of Prussia may, within the space of one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with al their goods & marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some composition, & friendly league betweene the two foresayd countreis be not in some sorte concluded. And that all the premisses may more firmely and faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the strong and inviolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and also for the full confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premisses, the three foresayd honourable and religious personages being by the said right reverend lord the Master general appointed as commissioners to deale in the above written ordination and composition, have caused their seales unto these presents [I. 153.] to be put: and the sayd ordination also, and letter in the same tenour word for word, and in all points even as it is inserted into these presents, they have mutually received from the abovenamed three ambassadours of the right soveraigne king of England under their seales. Given at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesayd, upon the twentieth day of the moneth of August. And we therefore doe accept, approve, ratifie, and by the tenour of these presents doe confirm, the composition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforesayd. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selves a Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counsell.

Lincolne.

The letters of Conradus de Jungingen, Master generall of Prussia, written unto Richard the second, king of England, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and composition concluded betweene England and Prussia, in regard of manifold injuries offered unto the Prussians.

OUr humble commendations, with our earnest prayers unto God for your Majestie, premised. Most renowmed prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Majesties remembrance, how our famous predecessour going immediately before us sent certaine letters of his unto your highnesse, effectually contayning sundry complaints of grievances, injuries and losses, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times past to visite your kingdome with their goods and marchandises, have bene contrary to their liberties and priviledges annoyed with manifold injuries and wrongs. Especially sithens they have beene molested in your realme, being contrary to the friendly composition made and celebrated by the hono: personages, master Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the assistance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all justice, oppressed with manifold damages, losses, and grievances: as in certaine articles exhibited unto our predecessors aforesayd it doeth more manifestly appeare. In consideration whereof being vehemently moved by the damnified parties, he humbly besought your highnesse by his messengers and letters, for complement and execution of justice. About the which affayres your Majestie returned your letters of answere unto our sayd predecessor, signifying that the sayd businesse of articles concerned al the communalty of your realme, and that your highnesse purposed, after consultation had in your parliament, to send a more deliberate answere concerning the premisses, unto our predecessour aforesayd. Howbeit he being by death translated out of this present world, and our selves by the providence of God succeeding in his roome, and also long time expecting an effectuall answere from your highnesse, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of injuries and losses offered unto our subjects doe continually increase. But from hencefoorth to provide a remedie and a caveat for the time to come, the sayd complaynt doeth upon great reasons moove and invite me. Sithens therefore in regard of the sayd composition, neither you nor your subjects may be judged in the empire: and sithens plaine reason requireth that the one be not inriched by the others losse: as undoubtedly our subjects should sustaine great damage by the composition aforesayd, by vertue whereof your subjects doe enjoy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwise our subjects in your realme have suffered, & as yet sundrie wayes do suffer manifold discommodities, losses and injuries. Wherefore (most soveraigne prince and mighty lord) being reasonably mooved upon the causes aforesayd, we doe, by the advise of our counsellers, revoke and repeale the sayd composition concluded as is above written, together with the effect thereof, purely and simply renouncing the same by these presents: refusing hereafter to have either our selves or our subjects in any respect to stand bound by the vertue of the sayd composition: but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore also, bee it altogether voide and of none effect.

Provided notwithstanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation given unto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the space of a yeare next ensuing, it shall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatsoever, with their goods and marchandises to returne home, according to the forme in the foresayd composition expressed: conditionaly that our subjects may even so in all respects be permitted to depart, with the safety of their goods and lives out of your dominions: this present renuntiation, revocation, and retractation of the order and composition aforesayd, notwithstanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatsoever, devoutly to submit our selves unto your highnesse pleasure and command, both our selves, and our whole order are right willing and [I. 154.] desirous: and also to benefite and promote your subjects we wil indevour to the utmost of our ability. Given in our castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our Lord 1398, and upon the 22. day of February.

Frater Conradus de Jungingen, master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital at Jerusalem.

A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and John Kington concerning their ambassages into Prussia, and the Hans-townes.

INprimis, that in the moneth of July, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Jungingen, being then Master general of Prussia, with his letters directed unto our foresayd sovereigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine injuries unjustly offered by English men unto the subjects of the sayd Master generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted unto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c. 1403.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord abovewritten, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord the king, between the reverend father in God, Henrie then bishop of Lincolne lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treasurer of England, on the one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongst other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our soveraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, untill the feast of Easter then next after ensuing to remaine in the land of Prussia, and from thence with their goods & marchandises to returne unto their own home: and also, that the subjects of the sayd Master generall in the kingdome of England should have licence and liberty to doe the like. Provided alwayes, that after the time above limitted, neither the English marchants in the land of Prussia, nor the Prussian marchants in the realme of England should use any traffique of marchandise at all, unlesse in the meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the sayd Master general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soveraigne lord the king sent his letters by John Browne marchant of Lin unto the foresayd Master generall, for to have mutuall conversation and intercourse of dealing to continue some certain space, betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia: promising in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send unto the foresayd Master his ambassadors to intreat about the pretended injuries aforesaid: which letters the foresayd Master, for divers causes, refused to yeelde unto, as in his letters sent unto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the moneth of July, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Master aforesaid, which are next above mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent William Esturmy knight, M. John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Coventrie, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into Prussia.

Item, before the arrivall of the sayd ambassadours in Prussia, all intercourse of traffique betweene the English and the Prussians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Prussia was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordayned and put in practise, that in whatsoever porte of the land of Prussia any English marchant had arrived with his goods, he was not permitted to conveigh the sayd goods, out of that porte, unto any other place of the land of Prussia, either by water, or by lande, under the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enjoyned to sell them in the very same porte, unto the Prussians onely and to none other, to the great prejudice of our English marchants.

Item, that after the arrivall of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, it was ordayned, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all English marchants whatsoever should have free liberty to arrive with all kindes of their marchandise in whatsoever port of the land of Prussia, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priviledges unto the realme of England were then ordayned and established: as in the indentures made for this purpose it doth more manifestly appeare. 1405.

Item, the said English ambassadours being arrived in the land of Prussia, demanded of the said Master generall, a reformation and amends, for the damages and injuries offered by the Prussians unto the liege people of our sovereigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses amounted unto the summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the said Master generall, besides the articles exhibited unto our soveraigne lord the king (as it is above mentioned) delivered unto the sayd ambassadours divers other articles of certaine injuries offered (as he sayth) unjustly by English men, unto his subjects, which amounted unto the summe of 5100. nobles. [I. 155.]

Item, it was afterward concluded, that upon the first of May next then insuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406. or within the space of one yeare immediatly following there should bee made a convenient, just, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations unjustly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe of our soveraigne 1406.

lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general. Which satisfaction not being performed, the Prussians with their goods & marchandises, within three moneths after the end of the sayd yere next following, were without molestation or impediment, enjoined to depart out of the realme of England with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the territories and dominions of the said Master general, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abstaine & separate themselves, from both the countreis aforesayd. For the performance of which premisses, the ambassadors on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland.

Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and John Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sorte with the Burgomasters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common society of the Hans marchants, unto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambassadors of England, about the redressing of injuries attempted on both parts: where divers agreements were set downe betweene the sayd ambassadors, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, upon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadors, proroged unto the first of August then next ensuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters unto the first day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadors of England, and the messengers & commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between them concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe,

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demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master generall for amends and recompense in consideration of wrongs offered unto himselfe and unto his subjects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforesaid: no times of paiment being then assigned or limited, but afterward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king. Insomuch, that our said soveraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be delivered the 16. day of March, unto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Otherwise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolved betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently and effectually be prooved, concerning the chiefe articles abovewritten, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made unto any of those parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertayne unto others, or that any other just, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proved & alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be payed: that then in the summes contained in the articles abovementioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shalbe found, either to have bene payd already, or to appertaine unto others, or by any true, just, and reasonable cause alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due unto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and justice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place above mentioned it was appointed and agreed upon, that our lord the king and his liege subjects, for the said 4535. nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompense to be made for injuries offered unto the Prussians, are to discharge & pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they have reserved a petition to them, unto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shalbe made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadors of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of injuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted unto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

[I. 156.] Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and sixe pence.

Item, forasmuch as divers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last convention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answere bee made unto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined upon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles given up by any of the foresayd parties whatsoever, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles evidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proved, to be proved, under paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly, complete justice shall be administred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleventh article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which conteined losses amounting unto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, conteining losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the Master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient unto them.

Now concerning the Livonians who are subject unto the great Master of Prussia.

INprimis, that the Master of Prussia demaunded of the sayd English ambassadours, at their being in Prussia, on the behalfe of them of Livonia, who are the sayd Master his liege people, to have restitution of their losses, unjustly (as he sayth) offered unto them by the English, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ships. The value of which ships and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Livonian marchants, doeth amount unto the summe of 8037. pound, 12. shillings 7. pence.

These ships were taken by the English ye 20. of July 1404.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the sayd ambassadors of England, the losse of the Livonians exceedeth not the summe of 7498. pound, 13. shillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, forasmuch as in the sayd ships, on the behalfe of the sayd Master, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged above 250. men very barbarously to be drowned, of whome some were noble, and others honourable personages, and the rest common marchants & mariners, there was demaunded, in the first dyet or convention holden at Dordract, a recompense at the handes of the sayd English ambassadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a scedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this present, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the last convention holden at Hage, as is aforesaid, it was concluded betweene the ambassadours of England, and the messengers and commissioners of the land of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our sayd soveraigne lord the king, should, of his great pietie, vouchsafe effectually to devise some convenient and wholesome remedie for the soules of such persons as were drowned.

Item, that our sayd soveraigne lord the king will signifie in writing his full purpose & intention as touching this matter, unto the aldermen of the Hans marchants residing at Bruges, upon the sixteenth day of March next following. Otherwise, that from hencefoorth all amity and friendship, betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia shall be dissolved.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the sayd goods, for the which they of Livonia doe demaund restitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded unto the use and commoditie of our soveraigne lord the king. And also our said soveraigne lord the king gave commandement by his letters, that some of the sayd goods should be delivered unto others. And a great part of them is as yet reserved in the towne of Newcastle. One Benteld also hath the best of the sayd three ships in possession. Also it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, have had a great part of the sayd goods, namely of the Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the Hans.

Hamburg. INprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demaunded restitution for certaine damages offered, as they sayd, by the English men, the value of which losses amounted unto the summe of 9117. nobles, 20. pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promised restitution to the summe of 416. nobles, [I. 157.] 5. shillings. Besides the two articles propounded against them of Scardeburg, the summe wherof was 231. pounds, 15.s. 8.d. concerning the which there was sentence given in England by the commissioners of our lord the king, the execution wherof was promised unto the said Hamburgers by the ambassadors of England: leave and licence being reserved unto the sayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaning certaine obscure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feast of Easter then next to come, or within one yeare next ensuing the said feast, unto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of prooving the sayd articles and others also, which have not as yet sufficiently bene proved. Which being done they are to have full complement and execution of justice.

Also by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which summe, if it shalbe prooved to be due unto any English men, the Hamburgers are to rest contented with those goods, which they have already in their possessions.

Breme. Item, they of Breme propounded sixe articles, wherein the summe conteined amounteth unto 4414. nobles. And there was no satisfaction promised unto them. But the same libertie and licence was reserved unto them, in like maner as before unto the Hamburgers.

Stralessund. Item, they of Stralessund propounded 23. articles, wherof the summe amounted unto 7415. nobles, 20.d. for the which there was promised satisfaction of 253. nobles, 3.q. Also here is a caveat to be observed: that they of Stralessund had of English mens goods a great summe particularly to be declared, which will peradventure suffice for a recompense. And some of their articles are concerning injuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres past. Also their articles are so obscure that they will never, or very hardly be able to declare or prove them. Howbeit there is reserved the very same liberty unto them, that was before unto the Hamburgers.

Lubec. Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the summe whereof extended unto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they should have paied unto them 550. nobles. There was reserved the same libertie unto them, which was unto the men of Stralessund.

Gripeswold. Item, they of Gripeswold exhibited 5. articles, the summe whereof amounted unto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promised satisfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the said men of Gripeswold have of the goods of English men in possession, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18.s, as it is reported by them of Linne. And the same libertie is reserved unto them that was unto the Hamburgers.

Campen. Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the summe whereof extended unto 1405. nobles. There is no satisfaction promised unto them: but the same liberty is reserved unto them, which was unto the other above mentioned.

Item, the ambassadors of England demanded of the citizens of Rostok & Wismer, for damages & injuries by them committed against the subjects of the foresayd sovereigne king 32407. nobles, 2.s. 10.d. And albeit every of the foresayd cities sent one of their burgomasters unto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the English ambassadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negotiating or concluding ought at al. And therfore they made their faithfull promises, that every of the said cities should send unto our soveraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators sufficiently instructed to treat & conclude with our said sovereigne lord the king about the damages and injuries aforesaid at the feast of the nativitie of Saint John the Baptist.

Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Jungingen master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

IN the yere of our Lord 1403, upon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, & the ambassadors of Prussia, John Godek of Dantzik, & Henry Monek of Elbing, masters of the same cities have at Westminster treated in maner of composition about the articles underwritten: between the most sovereigne lord the king of England, and the right reverend & honorable Conradus de Jungingen Master general of Prussia, as concerning the injuries offered unto the people of Prussia and Livonia upon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according unto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually undivided & whole, are incontinently & with al speed to bee restored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, & with other losses of goods to be restored, at the terme of the restitution to be made and delivered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restored, are to be restored and payd in the land of Prussia, between this and the terme appointed, [I. 158.] with full execution and complement of justice.

Item, concerning the persons throwen over boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reverend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betwene this and the terme appointed for the restoring of the goods taken away, & untill there be due payment & restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of marchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of 1403.

England and France &c. betweene the reverend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of them counsellers unto the sayd soveraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull John Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reverend and religious personage, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed upon, that all the liege people and subjects of the sayd soveraigne lord and king shall have free licence and liberty untill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safely to travel unto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ships, marchandises, & other their goods whatsoever, to returne unto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subjects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prefixed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Provided alwaies, that after the time above limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at al: unles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betweene the foresaid king of England, & the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witnesse wherof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Given in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere above written.

The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, unto Frater Conradus de Jungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

Right reverend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers John Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the presence of our most sovereigne lord the king of England and of

A.D. 1403.

France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a chearefull and favourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe unto the kings Majestie, with that reverence which beseemed them: expounding unto his highnes, sundry piracies & molestations offered of late upon the sea, by his liege people & subjects unto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) have bene maintained and continued on both parts. In consideration of which piracies and molestations, your messengers demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either unto the damnified parties, or unto their procurators. We therefore at that time, especially being in the presence of our soveraigne (who with his puissant army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subject unto his dominion, to see justice executed upon his people of those parts, who very rashly have presumed to rebell against him their sovereigne, contrary to their allegeance) right well perceived that it was his highnesse intention, that every one should have due justice faithfully administred unto him, especially your subjects, and that with all favour, whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege subjects and native countrey men, whome also hee purposeth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betweene him and his subjects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increase. And therefore we offered unto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly declared unto us such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters unto them of whom complaint was made, firmely injoyning them, under grievous penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to bee restored unto the parties damnified, or unto their procuratours, all ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subjects. And that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we have

‡ Namely the ship of Edgard Scof at Caleis. The ship of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepiswich.

commaunded certaine ‡ ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, found in certaine havens, to be delivered unto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps perished or wanting by infortunate dissipation or destruction, and for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made unto them within a certain time by us limited: may it please your honor to understand, that in the absence of our [I. 159.] sayd sovereigne lord the king, being as yet farre distant from us, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our soveraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whose answere so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his intention unto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reverend and mighty lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought thereat to rest content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily attaine unto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte and wished execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endevour, to the utmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and subjects are courteously intreated: even so the marchants and liege people of our soveraigne lord the king and of his kingdomes peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other just occasion, may there in like manner friendly bee used, and with your marchants and subjects suffered to communicate, and to have intercourse of traffique, injoying the commodities of the ancient league. By this also the fervent zeale and affection which you beare unto the royall crowne of England shall undoubtedly appeare: albeit betweene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of unfained love and friendship have bin successively confirmed and kept inviolable in times *Note well.* past. And thus (right reverend and mighty lord) wishing unto you increase of honour and prosperity, wee take our leaves. Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403. 1403.

By the chancelor, the treasurer, and other lords of the hono: counsell of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

The letters of king Henry the 4. unto Conradus de Jungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conversation and intercourse of traffique to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certaine terme of time.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare and welbeloved friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our auncient and sincere amity. By the grievous complaynts of our liege subjects concerning traffique, as it were circularwise too & fro both our dominions, we have often bene advertised that in regard of divers injuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandise were woont peaceably to use mutual conversation together, whereupon very many commodities are knowen to have proceeded) have, by occasion of pirates, roving up and downe the sea, sometimes heretofore sustayned: both the sayd marchants of our & of your dominions do abstaine themselves from their wonted mutual conversation & traffique, as they have likewise carefully abstained at sometimes heretofore, and especially from that time, wherein at the instant request of your messengers, being of late before our presence, the free accesse of our marchants unto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants unto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our most deare friend) such injuries (if any) as have bene attempted against your subjects, were never committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side have done the like: sithens also, so much as in us lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full justice with favour unto any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly justice may equally be done unto our marchants by you & your subjects, which marchants have in like sort bene injuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship & love, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may persevere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished & mayntained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent & ordain (even as, if you shall so do, we for our part wil consent likewise) that from this present until the feast of Easter next insuing (al molestations & injuries which may be offred ceasing on both parts) our subjects by your territories & dominions, & your subjects by our realms, may peaceably & securely travel, & that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly converse & exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send unto you & your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadors, friendly to intreat about the foresaid pretended injuries, so far forth as they shal concerne our subjects. At whose arival we stand in [I. 160.] good hope that by the due administration of justice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be established between us in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that our marchants & liege subjects may have more free passage granted them unto the parts of Sconia, for the providing of herrings and of other fishes there, that they may there remayne, and from thence also may more securely returne unto their owne home: and we

The auncient friendship betweene England and Prussia.

beseech you in consideration of our owne selves, that you would have our marchants and liege subjects especially recommended unto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) under the shadow of your defence: even as you would have us to deale in the like case with your own subjects. Moreover, whatsoever you shall thinke good to put in practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our faythfull subject John Browne the bearer hereof to give us to understand. In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall prosperity and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Given under our privie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of June, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

Right reverend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloved Arnold de Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this time to make his final returne unto your parts, by reason of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought not to marvel or any whit to be grieved thereat: because troubles of wars arising, which in some sort concerned our selves, and especially in regard of the continuall assaults of the French men & Britons against us and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subjects (especially they, of whom your subjects damnified have made their complaints) have armed themselves to combate upon the sea: we could not grant unto the foresayd Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to have. Unto the which Arnold your procurator we have offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete justice with favour, to ye end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet notwithstanding wee would do the very same even in the absence of the sayd procurator. Given as above.

To the most renowmed prince and mighty Lord, Henrie king of England &c. our gracious Lord.

OUr humble recommendations, with our most instant and continuall prayers for you being graciously by your Majestie taken in good part &c. Most soveraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and unto us most unfaynedly beloved, we received of late your gracious letters by your Majesties liege subject John Brown, the contents wherof seemed to be these following: first that of long time heretofore, there have bene between the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not only quiet & peaceable accesse one unto another, but also mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right commodious & availeable for them both: howbeit, that now the foresaid profitable conversation, by reason of certain notorious robberies, committed upon the sea by pyrates against both parts, & the wonted accesse also of your subjects unto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreover, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendship betweene both our lands, with the invaluable commodity of sweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Christians, to the utmost of their endevour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Majesties ful consent, that the foresaid prohibition being released until the feast of Easter next ensuing, the said marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewise may in your realms (al molestations ceasing) exercise their woonted traffique: especially sithens in the mean season your royall wisdome hath determined to direct unto us your hono: ambassadors in friendly sort to treat and parle with us as touching the pretended injuries, so far forth as they may concerne your subjects. Adding moreover in particular that when your people shall repayre unto the parts of Sconia to fish for herrings, having consideration & regard unto your majestie, we would have them especially recommended unto our protection &c. Most soveraigne lord & king, & gracious prince, wee doe with unfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your majesties most courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you have used most diligent & effectuall perswasions, that complement of justice should be done unto the parties injuried, & that peace & friendship should take place, making no doubt of your own royall person, nor of our selves or of any appertayning unto us, but that our inclinations and desires in this regarde are all one and the same: neither would we lightly transgresse the limits of your perswasions without some just, weighty, & reasonable cause, forasmuch as the matters perswaded are in very deede most happy preservatives of a common weale, yea & of nature it selfe. [I. 161.] Moreover whereas your highnes hath farther requested us, that the prohibition of your subjects accesse unto our dominions might, untill the feast of Easter next ensuing, be released: we answere (under correction of your majesties more deliberate counsell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to have the sayd prohibition continued then released, until such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides unto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually & really in deeds, or by some course of law or friendly composition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of consort or trade between the impoverished party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtayned justice and him that hath obtayned none between the offender and the party offended: because they are not mooved with like affections. For the remembrance of injuries easily stirreth up inconsiderate motions of anger. Also, such a kind of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then sweetnes, more hate then love: whereupon more grievous complaints aswel unto your highnes as unto our selves, might be occasioned. The lord knoweth, that even now we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subjects, insomuch that wee cannot at this present by any convenient meanes release or dissolve the sayd prohibition, before wee be sufficiently informed by your majesties ambassadors, of the satisfaction of our endamaged subjects. Furthermore, whereas your majesties request, concerning your subjects that shal come unto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them under our protection: be it knowen unto your highnes, that for divers considerations us reasonably moving, being provoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being also urged thereunto full sore against our wils, for the repelling and avoiding of injuries, we have sent forth our armie against them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, so that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from us also, that our subjects being occupied in warres, should in any sort willingly molest or reproch any strangers, of what landes or nations soever, not being our professed enemies. For this should be to oppresse the innocent in stead of the guilty, to condemne the just for the unjust: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a revenge of greater impietie. In very deede (most gracious prince and lorde) we are moved with right hearty sympathy and compassion for any inconvenience which might happen in your regiment: wishing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right prosperously and happily succeede, about the royall person and regiment of your most excellent Majestie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: most humbly commending our selves, and our whole Order unto your highnes. Given at our castle of Marienburgh, the 16. day the moneth of July, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queen of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Jungingen Master generall of the land of Prussia.

THis Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors, commissioners, & messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our sovereigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatsoever damages, grievances, excesses, violences, and injuries in any sort unjustly attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king and his liege people and subjects, unto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Jungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Jerusalem, or his subjects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiving of such like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foresayd lord the Master generall, for the behalfe of himselfe or any of his subjects whatsoever, from & in the name of our soveraign lord the king & his subjects, unto the sayd Master general, into his land of Prussia, by our sovereigne lord the king, & appointed as ambassadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious personages Conradus de Lichtenstein great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treasurer, the procurators & commissioners of the great & mighty lord the Master general, being in like & equal sort and in all respects, as the ambassadours of England are, authorized on the contrary side by the authoritie and power of the sayd Master general on the other part, witnesseth: That divers treaties & conferences being holden between the said ambassadors, messengers, & procurators or commissioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grievances, excesses, violences & injuries offered and attempted aswel by the Prussians against the [I. 162.] English as by the English against the Prussians, and of other actes unjustly committed on both parts: in conclusion, after the sayd treatise, the foresayd ambassadours, procurators and commissioners by vertue of the authority committed unto them appoynted, and with one consent agreed unto the articles under written.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall love and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles underwritten may more prosperously be brought unto a wished effect, between our said soveraign lord the king & his liege people & subjects, & the subjects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoever, shall have free licence and libertie to arrive with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoever, at any Porte of the land of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther unto any place of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargaine, even as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted unto the Prussians in England.

Item it is farther agreed betweene the sayd ambassadours, procurators, and commissioners, that whereas of 1403. late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the sayd Master general by his discreet subjects John Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors & messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them matters of damages, molestations, violences, and injuries committed and offered against the said Master generall & his subjects, by our sayd soveraigne lord the king his subjects & liege people, to be exhibited, given up and delivered unto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the sayd 20. articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and procurators, as in the acts & pleas had and made before the sayd ambassadors, commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and written of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (unto the which the sayd ambassadors, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselves) of the which articles also some are received by the commissioners aforesayd, and others are proroged unto a certaine time under written, even as in the foresayd registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe unto the sayd English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the rest are proroged until a terme underwritten) the same course is to be taken and observed, which was before appoynted and agreed upon, about the articles delivered and exhibited unto our foresayd sovraigne lorde the king, as is aforesayd.

Moreover, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their sayd soveraigne lord the king of England, unto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresayd lord the Master generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is proroged untill a certayne terme undernamed, even as in the registers made of and upon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more manifestly provided) the same course is to be taken, which must be observed about the articles of the sayd lord the Master generall, exhibited, as well unto the foresayd soveraigne prince in England, as unto his ambassadors in the land of Prussia, even as about the sayd articles it is before concluded.

The complaints of the Livonians.

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Livonia, many and great complaints have bene by way of articles exhibited and delivered unto the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for divers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed upon betweene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesayd, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, upon the first day of the moneth of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in ure) by themselves or their lawfull procurators, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a convenient, just, and reasonable reformation of all injuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

Provided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Livonia, in their articles received by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesayd, doe make mention, shall be justly esteemed, prized, and approoved, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Livonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such [I. 163.] like marchandise would have amounted unto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in Flanders.

Forasmuch also, as divers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifolde Articles of complaints, being received by the said English Ambassadours, at their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the saide English Ambassadours, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The prorogation above-mentioned was made unto the first day of the moneth of May: and also it was agreed upon by the saide Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before shall have libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, upon the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themselves or by their Procurators, and also to bring with them the letters testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the Master generall, (he having first of all received sound and sufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grievances any way unjustly inflicted upon them or any of them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles conveniently declare and prove, before the Ambassadours, Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners of both partes, the rate and value of their saide goods: and that in so doing they may obtaine convenient, just, and reasonable restitution, for all acts unjustly attempted against them, then, or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, even as it was above promised unto the marchants of Livonia.

But if they of Prussia last above-mentioned, shall not upon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire unto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to insinuate and declare unto him their complaints before exhibited unto the saide English Ambassadours in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should have bene delivered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched: and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare and prove the true worth and estimation of all damages and grievances any wayes unjustly offered by the English unto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is above mentioned) effectually receive, and also speedily and easily obtaine convenient, just, and reasonable reformation and satisfaction, for al acts unjustly attempted against them,

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which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreover, it is appointed and agreed upon betweene the foresaide Ambassadours and Commissioners: that the forenamed sovereign Lord & the said lord the Master general are to send and set forward their Ambassadours, messengers, and Commissioners, upon the first of May unto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambassadours, Procurators, and Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded: that unto all and singular lawfull statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lorde the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his governours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, unto the observation whereof, aswell the subjectes of the said Master general, as foreners and strangers, are tyed and bound: unto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al English marchants whatsoever resorting unto the land of Prussia, must be firmely bounden and subject.

Note well.

Also it is ordained, that whatsoever sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters above-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grievances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and proroged untill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of

Dordract aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serve, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall have performed unto them a convenient, just, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Provided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some convenient, just, and reasonable reformation bee not performed unto the parties injuried, and endamaged, which are generally above [I. 164.] mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yere shall expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soveraigne Lorde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they shal have gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaide three moneths: and that the English men also are likewise in all respects bounden to avoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themselves and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and perverse people, matter should be ministred unto the said lord the Master generall, of swarving from the faithfull observation of the foresaide agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee given him of not observing them: it is also decreed by the often above mentioned Ambassadours and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lorde Master generall his subjectes whatsoever shall be from hencefoorth unjustly taken upon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shalbe caried into the realme of England, and there received, that the Governours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoever names they be called) at the which portes and places such marchandises and goods shall chaunce to arrive, beeing onely informed of the saide goods and marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable suspition are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, favourably to be restored unto the owners therof, whensoever they shall be lawfully demaunded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the saide governours and keepers are bound to make unto the parties endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of justice to be executed, by the said governours and keepers, our soveraign lord the king above named, after he shall conveniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correspondent, just, and reasonable satisfaction, unto the saide parties endamaged. Otherwise, that it shal be right lawfull for the saide lorde the Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the condigne satisfaction of such injuries, as have bene offered unto his subjects, untill his said subjects be justly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same justice is to be done unto the English by the said Lord the Master generall and his subjects in Prussia, even as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the above written clause, beginning, Cæterum ne per &c. In English. Howbeit least that &c. for the said Master general, and his subjects by the foresaide ambassadors of England, and the commissioners of the said lord the Master generall, that in like cases justice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe, and of his subjects in the realme of England.

And that all and singular the covenants above written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inviolably be observed; the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and every of them, for the full credite, probation, and testimonie of all the premisses, have unto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused everie one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Given at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. upon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King Henrie the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

THis Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and John Kington clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lord of Ireland, for the performation of ye things underwritten, on the one part: & the hon. personages M. Henry Uredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Knesvolt secretary, M. Simon Clovesten chief notary, and John Zotebotter citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Gripeswold, for the demanding & obtaining severally, of due reformation, and recompense at the hands of our saide sovereigne lord the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesayde, for all injuries, [I. 165.] damages, grievances, and manslaughters, any wayes unjustly done, and offred severally by the liege people and subjects of our soveraigne lord the king, unto the common societie of the marchants of the Hans, and unto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide whatsoever on the other part, Witnesseth: That betweene all and every of the saide Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed unto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and subjects of our said soveraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common societie of the Dutch Hans aforesaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and seven moneths immediately next ensuing and following, shalbe permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & sell together, one of, and unto another, 1400. even as in times past, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time also, they have bin accustomed to exercise mutuall traffike and marchandise, and to buy and sell.

Also the saide William and John agreed and consented, that they themselves, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their saide lord the king in their stead, shall upon the first day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordract in Holland, or upon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to bee limited, competently satisfie, and performe convenient recompence unto the saide common societie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes, and villages of the Hans, of and for all injuries, damages, grievances, and drownings, or manslaughters done and committed, as they alleage, against them, delivered and exhibited in written articles, unto the above named William and John, or els heereafter to bee delivered and exhibited, either by the same procurators or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, or by the messengers procurators and commissioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, even as at the saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proroged, there is appointed by the said William and John, reparation, reformation, and recompence unto the inhabitants of Prussia, and Livonia, for the injuries, damages, and grievances unjustly done and committed against

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them by the liege people and subjects of the saide soveraigne lord the king, in the presence of the mightie lord the Master general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of such like injuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be understood as if it were inserted) it is more manifestly contained.

It was furthermore promised by the said William and John, that they should not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common society of the Hans, or of the above named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforesaid (having received sufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to more difficult or district proofes of their Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to come, to bee exhibited, then unto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia and Livonia, according to the forme of the Indentures above mentioned.

Moreover the saide William and John doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shall provide, that all and singular the priviledges graunted unto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renowmed kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soveraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to al their contents, be inviolably observed by the said soveraigne king and his subjects: and also, that from henceforth nothing is unjustly to be attempted, upon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soveraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the prejudice of the sayde priviledges. They shall provide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priviledges, shall, by reasonable amendement and just reformation, utterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forfend) within the space of the said one yere and seven moneths prescribed any damages, injuries or grievances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be unjustly inflicted upon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either unto the English, or unto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, upon any fained pretense whatsoever, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procurators have promised, that all such damages, injuries and molestations so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must bee reformed and amended, after the very same forme and manner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and amends of injuries, damages, and molestations committed by the English against them of [I. 166.] Prussia is to be performed, according unto a certaine clause contained in the letters above mentioned, which beginneth: Cæterum ne per &c. In English: Howbeit least that &c. continuing unto that clause: Et ut præscripta omnia &c. In English: And that all the covenants above written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and procurators, and with one generall consent agreed upon, that if from the first day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, some convenient, just, and reasonable reformation be not performed unto the parties injuried and damnified generally above mentioned, in regard of their damages, molestations, and injuries: then, within three moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this behalfe) to avoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to abstaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the said Soveraigne king of

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England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the space of the saide three moneths: and also the English likewise in all respects shall avoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforesaide.

Also it was promised by the saide William and John, that at the terme appointed, namely upon the first of May next following, or at some other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the land of Prussia, Livonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who have unjustly bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine, and presented unto them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and by the forenamed procurators and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they must faithfully and effectually, to the utmost of their abilitie indevour, for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witnesse whereof (these letters of Indenture remaining in the possession of the saide William and John the messengers, procurators, & commissioners of England aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the above named procurators and messengers Henri Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and John Sotebotter, of their certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and testimonie of al the premisses, the foresaid procurators and messengers have put to their seales. Given in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and John Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe sufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambassadours, procurators, messengers and commissioners, by our said soveraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the molestations, injuries and damages unjustly done and committed against the liege people and subjectes of the foresaide most excellent

Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of Wismer and Rostok underwritten, their common counsel being assembled for the same purpose, & authorized also, and as well closely as expresly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same occasion, demaund of you Syr John de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficiently ordeined by authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and messengers of the said cities, that convenient, just, and reasonable satisfaction and recompense may certainely and effectually be done unto the injuried and endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles under written.

Newcastle. Imprimis, that about the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok, being of the societie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ship of Newcastle upon Tine, called Godezere sailing upon the Sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging unto Roger de Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, John Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship, together with the furniture thereof amounteth unto the value of foure hundred pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship amounted unto the value of 200. marks of English money: moreover they unjustly slew John Patanson and John Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaid, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their utter undoing, detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres.

An English ship of 200. tunnes.

Hull. Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine persons of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuse of Hull of divers goods and marchandizes in a ship called the [I. 167.] Shipper Berline of Prussia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van *Hull.* Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway, wickedly and unjustly take from John Tutteburie, five pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of osmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seventie sixe nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one John van *Hull.* Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and unjustly tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one John van *Hull.* Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Everade Pilgrimson, and divers others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway villainously and unjustly take a shippe of John Wisedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with divers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays *Hull.* Scheld, and others above written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and unjustly took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ship called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin *Yorke.* Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and divers others of Wismer and Rostok, and of the Hans, wickedly and unjustly tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the master whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, John Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenswither of Yorke, namely in werke, waxe, osmunds, and bowstaves, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Yorke. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and unjustly took out of a ship of Holland (the master whereof was called Hinkensman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, silver and golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

London. Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and unjustly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133.li. 6.s.

London. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of other his complices of the Hans aforesaide, wickedly and unjustly tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London five lasts of herrings, besides 32. pounds, in the sea called Northsound.

Colchester. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wisle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and unjustly took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from John Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and John Plumer marchants of the same town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the same town, two fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40.li.

& from John Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. marks. Moreover they tooke and imprisoned certaine English men, which were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne servant unto John Diere, Thomas Mersh servant unto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome 20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforesaide, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment, lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaide Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunsome twentie nobles.

Yermouth. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, upon the coastes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and John Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine shippe of Elbing *Norwich.* in Prussia (whereof one Clays Goldesmith was master) with divers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, John, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thousande marks English, and carried the persons and goods aforesaide, away with them: [I. 168.] and the said Thomas, John, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Courtbuttressow, and there detained them, untill they paide an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth. Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedly tooke at Longsound in Norway, *Longsound in Norway.* a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zeland (the Master whereof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diverse goods and marchandises of John Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, masts, sparres, boordes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the said things in their possession, some of the Hans being their assistants in the premisses.

Yermouth. Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke upon the coast of England, neere unto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thousand canvasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canvas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Yermouth.

Selaw in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certaine malefactors of Wismer wickedly and unjustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke upon the sea a certain ship of one John Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was master) and conveighed the said ship unto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of divers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, unlawfully tooke upon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bets of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conveyed the ship it self unto Mawstrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of divers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned.

Cley.

Item, in the yere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, unlawfully took upon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and John Letis of Cley called the Nicholas (wherof John Prest was master) and conveyed the said ship unto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of divers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans unjustly took upon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (whereof William Noie was master) and conveyed it unto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his company of divers commodities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere next above mentioned, upon the Saterday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans unlawfully took upon the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was master, and also wickedly and unjustly drowned in the bottom of the sea divers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their confederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) & the foresaid crayer they wickedly and unjustly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiveton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans unjustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Durham, called the

Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiveton, laden with salt fishes (whereof John Austen was master) upon the coast of Denmarke. And they caried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreover, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, [I. 169.] and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger they caried with them into Wismer.

Wiveton. Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, unjustly tooke upon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and John Coote of Wiveton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsonne, nephew, and servant of the foresaid Simon Durham. Which ship, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Wiveton. Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the foresaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Gervase Cat was master, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise unjustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreover, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they utterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.

Wiveton. Item, in the yere of our Lord 1396. the foresaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices unjustly tooke upon the sea a certain crayer, called the Buss of Zeland, which one John Ligate marchant, and servant unto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the foresaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Wiveton. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the servant and factor of the foresaid Simon Durham had laden with mastes, sparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and unjustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the same away.

Lenne. Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and others of the Hans unjustly tooke upon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foresaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Prussia.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe avouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. sundry malefactors and robbers of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships, arrived at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said town by strong assault, and also wickedly and unjustly took al the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods and cattels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons unto great ransoms: even as by the letters of safeconduct delivered unto the said marchants it may more evidently appeare, to the great damage and impoverishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging unto the said marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, John Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

21. houses of English marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

[Concerning

Concerning this surprise Albertus Krantzius in the sixt book of his history of Norway, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

IN the meane while Norway enjoyed peace under the government of a woman: until Albertus king of Suecia, who had now seven yeeres continued in captivity under Queen Margaret, was to be set at liberty. Which, when the common souldiers of Rostok & Wismer, called the Vitalians perceived, (who, whilest their king was holden captive, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, undertooke and waged warre al the time of his captivitie) banding their forces together, they resolved, at their own costs & charges, but in the right of the said cities, to saile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take such spoiles as they could lay hold on. These common souldiers therfore, seeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approch, sailed into Norway, unto the towne of Norbern, being a mart town for al the marchants of Germanie: who transporting fishes from thence, doe bring thither marchandises of all kinds, especially corne, unto the scarcitie wherof, unlesse it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we have said) is very much subject. Departing out of their ships and going on shore, they set upon the towne, and by fire and sword they easily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake wodden houses, to give place. Thus these Vitalians entring and surprising the towne conveyed such spoiles unto their ships as them pleased, and having laden their ships with those booties, they returned home frolike unto the ports of their own cities. Without all respect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aswel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, wasting and making havock of all things, prooved themselves never the wealthier. For it is not the guise of such good fellowes to store up or to preserve

The Vitalians.

[I. 170.]

ought. The citizens, at the first, seemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus farre Krantzius.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaide marchants avouch, verifie, and affirme, that upon the 14. day after the feast of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next above written, as 4. ships of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandises, were sailing upon the maine sea, with all the goods and wares conteined in them, for Prussia, sundry malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, being in divers ships, came upon them, and by force of armes and strong hand tooke the said ships, with the goods and marchandises contained in them: and some of the people which were in the saide foure ships, they slew, some they spoyled, and others they put unto extreame ransomes. And carying away with them those foure ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes therwith, as them listed, to the great impoverishment & losse of the said marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Waterden, Joh. Brandon, Joh. Wesenham, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623.li. 5.s. 11.d.

Lenne. Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke upon the maine sea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with osmunds, and with divers other marchandises, perteining unto John Brandon of Lenne, to the summe and value of 443.li. 4.s. 2.d. Moreover, they tooke from John Lakingay 4. lasts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value of 220.lib. 10.s.

Lenne. Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactors of Wismer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing upon the maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof James

Snycop was master) cloth and other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13.lib. 13.s. 4.d.

Lenne. Item, the above-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and unjustly took out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Russe was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52.li. 7.s. 6.d. Also, for the ransome of his servant, 8.li. 6.s. 8.d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle divers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Lenne. Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly & unjustly tooke one crayer pertayning unto John Lakinglich of Lenne, laden with divers goods and marchandise pertaining unto sundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed John one fardel of cloth, and one chest full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90.lib. Item, they took out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one chest with divers goods, to the value of 58.lib. Item, from John Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one chest with divers goods, to the value of 440.lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with divers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Lenne. Item, the above-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and unjustly took from John Priour of Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of masers, worth 100.lib. 13.s. 4.d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber woorth 13.s. 4.d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20.li. Item, 20. furres wombys of Kalebre worth &c. Item, one girdle of silver, and one dagger adorned with silver worth 30.s. Item, two coates, and one long jacket, and other goods, to the value of 30.s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4.lib. 13.s. 4.d.

Unto all and singular the articles above-written, the ambassadors of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, injuries, and robberies set down in the articles above written, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of every houshold in the foresaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly & purposely set foorth one, two, or more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

Note the secret treasons of the Hans.

The foresaid English ambassadors doe exhibite the articles above-written unto the procurators of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leave and libertie being alwayes reserved unto the said ambassadors, to enlarge, or to diminish, or to expound all, or every, or any of the said Articles whatsoever, so often as it shall seeme expedient unto them.

[These

[I. 171.] These be the grievances and offences, whereat the marchants of the Hans of Almaine, comming unto, and residing in the Realme of England, doe finde themselves aggrieved, contrarie to the Articles and privileges of the Charter graunted unto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and also by the saide soveraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.

Imprimis, whereas the foresaide marchants have a privilege graunted unto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in grosse, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with strangers, and private persons: of late, those that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foresaid kingdome, do hinder and restrain all others that be strangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and sel with the marchants of the Hans aforesaid, to their great hinderance and losse.

Item, the foresaid marchants by vertue of their charter were wont to have and to hold Innes and mansions, for the reposing of themselves and of their goods, wheresoever they pleased in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foresaide marchants are not suffered to take up their mansions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants are privileged not to undergoe any other burthens or impositions, but onely to pay certaine customs, as it doeth by their charter manifestly appeare. Notwithstanding at ye same time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foresaid marchants were constrained, in the ward of Dove-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other subsidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the saide marchants prosecuted the matter before the Councel of our soveraign lord the king, insomuch that they were released from paying afterward any such tallages, fifteenths, and subsidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gave unto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes sterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforesaide should not at any time after exact or demaund of the said marchants, or of their successors, any tallages, fifteenths, or subsidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foresaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foresaid ward of Dove-gate, constrained the marchants aforesaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other subsidies. And because the saide marchants murmured and refused to pay any such contributions, alleaging their privileges, the foresaid officers arrested the goods of those said marchants (which are as yet detained upon the arrest) notwithstanding that they were released before the councel of our soveraigne lord the king, & also that they gave unto the said gild-hall one hundreth marks to be released, as it is aforesaid. And also the foresaid marchants were constrained to pay 12.d. in the pound, and of late 6.d. and other subsidies, more then their ancient customes, to the great damage of those marchants.

The ancient customes of wools.

Item, the foresaid marchants are privileged as touching customs of wols by them bought within the realm of England, y^{t} they are not bound to pay, over & besides their ancient customs, but onely xl.d. more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now ye foresaid marchants are compelled to pay for every sack of wool (besides ye ancient custom & the 40.d. aforesaid) a certain imposition called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for every sack of wool 19.d. more then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great losse, & against the liberty of their charter.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foresaid marchants are privileged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3.d. for the worth of every pound of silver) credit is to be given unto them for the letters of their masters and of their companies, if they were able to shew them. And if so be they had no letters in this behalfe to shew, that then credite should bee given unto themselves, and that their othe, or the othe of their atturney should be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize so brought in, & that thereupon they should be bound to pay customs, namely the customes of 3.d. justly for that cause to be paid. But nowe the customers of our soveraigne lorde the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were woont to be: and heereupon they compell them to pay custome for their goods, at their pleasure, scanning about their fraight and expenses particularly disbursed in regard of the said goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the said marchants, and against the tenor of their charter.

The great charter of marchants. Item, the foresaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the saide great charter, graunted libertie unto them to pay the customes of certain clothes, namely of skarlet, and cloth [I. 172.] died in grayne, and of other clothes of assise, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, even as by their foresaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our soveraigne lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the saide charter, and being willing that they shoulde have more especiall favour shewed unto them) granted unto them by their Charter, that the said marchants should be exempted and freed from all custome and imposition of small clothes, as in pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of assise, and in such other clothes of like qualitie: yet of late the Customers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their saide speciall Charter so graunted unto the marchants aforesaid, do compel them to pay for straight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of assise, (together with other demands particularly & severally made) as great custome as if the clothes were full out of assise. Moreover also of late, the customers of the smal or pety custome & of the subsidie doe demand of them custome for kersey-clothes equal unto the custome of those clothes, that be of ful assise, whereas the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for those kerseys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of silver, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foresaid parties, and against the manifest graunt of our soveraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the said speciall Charter.

A speciall Charter.

The customers of the pety custome.

Item, the said marchants alleage, that they are priviledged by their Charter, if they pay custome and subsidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lord the king, at any port of England where those goods have arrived, and afterward would transport the saide goods or any part of them unto any other port within the realme aforesaid: that then they should be quite released from paying of any other custome for the same goods, if they bring a warrant that they have paide the saide custome, as is aforesaide. Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their societie named Nicholas Crossehaire, being a marchant of the lande of Prussia, immediatly after the concord was concluded betwene the English and the Prussians, brought unto the towne of Sandwich a shippe laden with bow-staves and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the custome of our lord the king for all his wares: and selling there part of the same goods, he afterward transported parcel thereof in a small barke unto London, there to be solde, and caried a warrant also with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the custome due unto our lord the king: & yet (the said warrant notwithstanding) the customers of the pety custome &

1405.

subsidy of London came & demanded custome of him at another time contrary to reason, & against the tenor of their charter: and the said Nicholas offred pledges unto them, yea, even ready money downe into their hands, until the question were discussed and determined, whether he should pay new custome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the said Nicholas brought a brief from our lord the king, to get himselfe discharged from paying the said custome: and for all that, the foresaid customers would not as yet have regard unto him, but kept the said goods within shipboord, upon the river of Thames, for the space of 15. dayes, until he had paid another custom, to the great losse of the said Nicholas, for that which he sold first at Sandwich to be delivered at London for seven nobles, he could not afterward have for it above foure nobles, and yet so was it solde, by reason of the harme which his wares had taken by lying so long upon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

Item, the said marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertson bought at Bristow certain clothes, & laded the same in a ship, to be transported for Prussia, for the which he truely paide at Bristow, the customs & subsidies due unto our soveraign lord the king: which ship with the foresaid goods arriving at London: the customers of the pety-custome and of the subsidie there would not permit the said ship with the goods to passe unto the parts aforesaid, until the said Peter had paid another custome for the same goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithstanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants alleage, that wheras every marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to have a schedule wherein his name was written, for a specification & certificat of the quantity of his goods in the said schedule to be found at the arrival of the ship, without paying therfore ought at all, of late the customers of the pety custome do compel them to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at ye arrival of their goods out of every ship wherin the said goods are found, what commodities & marchandize soever they be: whenas notwithstanding, if there be a chest or any other smal matter, there should not therfore be any custome due unto our lord the king, nor any received unto his Majesties use. In like maner do the customers of the subsidy deale. Wheras also the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conveyance & transportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written therein) more then 4.d. of late the customers of the pety custom do compel them to pay for every name contained in the same cocket, 4.d. and in like sort do the customers of the saide subsidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it self unto a great summe, to the unknown prejudice of our lord the king, more then any man could suppose, (for the [I. 173.] customers enjoy their fees and commodities from his Majestie that they may doe him faithfull service) and likewise to the great damage of the said marchants.

The customers of the subsidie.

Item, pitifully complaining the said marchants do alleage that they are constrained to pay for subsidy, sometime 12.d. and somtime 6.d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithstanding when their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the customers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take custome for their goods, in the which space other marchants sel their goods, the customers not regarding whether the goods aforesaid take wet or no; to the great damage aswel of our lord the king, as of the said marchants: because, if they had quicke dispatch, they might pay custome unto his Majestie oftner then they doe.

Item, the said marchants doe farther alleage, that the customers of the petie custome, and of the subsidie in the port of London have appointed among themselves certaine men to seale up the goods of the saide marchants, so soon as they are arrived at the port of safetie, until the said goods be customed. By meanes of the which sealing, the foresaide parties doe compell the marchants abovenamed, (upon an use and custome whereof themselves have bene the authors) to paye a certaine summe of money, to the great hinderance of the sayde marchants, and contrarie to justice and to their charter. Moreover, the saide customers have ordained betweene themselves, that the saide marchants shall put or make up no cloth into fardels, to transport out of the realme, unlesse certaine men appointed by them for the same purpose bee there present, to see what maner of clothes they bee, under paine of the forfeiture of the saide goods. Also of late, when the sayde marchants would have made up such fardels, the foresayde parties assigned to be overseers refused to come, unlesse they might have for their comming some certaine summe of money, delaying and procrastinating from day to day, so long as themselves listed, to the great losse and undoing of the foresaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: because the foresaide customers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therefore to bee paide unto them by the saide marchants: for that they doe enjoy from our soveraigne Lorde the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may serve him and every marchant justly and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be imposed anewe upon the sayde marchants, of custome.

Item, the said marchants doe alleage, that the customers & bailifs of the town of Southhampton do compel them to pay for every last of herrings, pitch, & sope ashes brought thither by them 2.s. more then the kings custome: and for ech hundreth of bowstaves & boords called Waghenscot, 2.d. for every hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4.d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foresaid marchants unto the same towne: which contributions they never paid at any time heeretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewish of Prussia, bringing divers goods & marchandizes unto Newcastle upon Tine, & there paying the usual custom of 3.d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailifs of the saide towne, against all reason, exacted 7. pound sterling at his hands more then the custome: whereupon the foresaide marchant got a briefe from the kings majesty, for the recovery of the said 7.li. according to equity & reason: howbeit, that at the comming of the said briefe the foresaid bailifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would have slaine their foresaid associate, contrary to their charter and priviledges.

William Esturmy knight, & John Kington canon of Lincolne, being by ye most mighty prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, sufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, & agree wᵗ the common society of ye marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redressing & reformation of unjust attempts happening between our said soveraign L. the king his liege people & subjects on the one part, & between the common society aforesaid, the cities, towns, & particular persons therof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our said sovraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to have al & singular ye things underwritten to come to the knowledge of the said common society) intimate, declare, & make known unto you (hono. sirs) Henr. Westhoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Joh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simon Clawsten clerk, sir John de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Rostok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wismar, being, as the procurators, messengers, & commissioners of the foresaid cities, assembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with ye forenamed Will. & John in regard of the foresaid redres & reformation: that, even as our said soveraign L. the king his meaning is not to disturb or hinder such priviledges as have bin heretofore granted & vouchsafed unto the common society of the marchants aforesaid, by the renoumed kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himself also under a certain form confirmed: even [I. 174.] so he is determined (without ye prejudice of forren lawes) upon just, mature and sober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withstand such priviledges, as by reason of the abuse thereof, have bene infinitely prejudiciall unto himselfe and his subjects.

Inprimis the said ambassadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and every the Marchants of the said company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions subject unto our soveraigne lord the king, admitted and suffered (according to the tenor of the forenamed priviledges granted unto them) freely, friendly and securely to traffique and converse with any of his Majesties liege people and subjects whatsoever, or with other people of whatsoever nation living in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforesaid: the said common society of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counsel did appoint & ordain, y^t no society in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any such society (there being no lawfull or reasonable cause why) shoulde in any wise admit any marchants of the realm of England resorting unto their cities or other places for marchandise, to enjoy intercourse of traffike: but that the saide English marchants should bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall conversation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grievous penalties of money as well upon cities as other places, and upon particular marchants also of the foresaid societie practising the contrary.

Item, that immediatly after, the foresaid parties enacting and ordaining published their sayde statute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, provinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the said societie were conversant.

Item, that after that publication, the statute and ordinance aforesaid by every of the marchants of the forenamed society were inviolably observed.

Item, that the said statute and ordinance hath bene so rigorously put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine English marchants with their ships, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foresaide societie, utterly destitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to sell their wollen clothes of England, onely to provide themselves of necessary victuals: yet the marchants of the saide citie, stoutely persisting in their statute and ordinance aforesaid, straightly prohibited the buying of such clothes, unchristianly denying meate and drinke unto the said English marchants.

Item, the foresaid society decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the saide company should in any place or countrey whatsoever, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by English men) or, having bought any, should, after the terme prefixed, sel them, imposing grievous pecuniary mulcts, besides the forfeiture of the clothes so bought or sold, upon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the said statute and ordinance, the foresaide societie decreed, that all marchants of the said companie, having among their wares and marchandise any woollen clothes made in England, should either sell the saide clothes, or within a short space then limited should, under penaltie of forfeiting the said clothes, utterly renounce the use and commoditie thereof: Notwithstanding a grievous penaltie of money being imposed upon the violaters of the same statute.

The Hans societie determineth the overthrow of English marchants.

Item, that the statutes and ordinances aforesaid might with more speed and celerity be put in execution, the said authors and publishers thereof imagining, according to their desire, that by this meanes an utter extirpation and overthrow of English marchants might, yea & of necessity must ensue: upon their serious & long premeditated deliberation, straitely commanded & injoyned, under pain of losing the benefit of all privileges, wheresoever, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magistrates of what Cities or townes soever vouchsafed unto the said common societie, that not only the aldermen of that society in al places throughout the realme of England, but also al other marchants of the said company, after the maner of marchants conversing in the saide Realme, should, without exception of persons, utterly abstein from all intercourse of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforesaid: yea, and that they shoulde depart out of the said kingdome within a very short space limited. For the dispatching of al which premisses without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually provided.

Statutes against English marchants in Norway and in Suedland.

Item, that the society aforesaid hath approved divers very unreasonable statutes & ordinances, made & published by the marchants of the same society residing in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great prejudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both covertly and expresly do approve the same, unjustly putting them in daily execution.

Item, wheras in the privileges & indulgences granted by ye renoumed princes somtimes kings of England, ye worthy progenitors of our sovereign lord the king y^t now is, unto the society aforesaid, it is provided, y^t the said marchants shal not avow any man which is not of their company, nor shal not colour his goods and marchandize under their company: whereas also in the [I. 175.] confirmation of the sayd priviledges made by our soveraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifestly provided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, under the colour of their priviledges in England, shall not upon paine of the perpetuall frustration and revocation of the foresayd priviledges, receive any stranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings custome may in any sort be withholden or diminished: & yet the contrary unto al these provisoes hath bin every yere, for these 20. yeres or thereabout notoriously practised and committed, as well joyntly by the generall counsell, and toleration of the foresayd society, as also severally by the advise and permission of divers particular cities of the foresayd Hans company to the great diminution of his majesties custome, the estimation whereof the foresayd ambassadors are not able at this present fully to declare. But that all occasions of the last above mentioned diminution may bee prevented for the time to come, the sayd ambassadors doe demand to have from the foresayd societie a declaration in writing, what and what maner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the sayd society challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enjoy the priviledges granted unto their marchants, as is above mentioned.

How many & which be the Hans townes.

Moreover, it is required by the foresaid ambassadors, if the societie aforesayd hath not decreed nor ordayned the things above written, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining such statutes & ordinances, may by the sayd common society either now or at some other times and places convenient for the same purpose, be expressed and set downe in writing.

A letter of Henry the fourth king of England &c. unto Frater Conradus de Jungingen the master generall of Prussia.

HEnrie &c. to the most noble and mighty personage of sacred religion Fr: Conradus de Jungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our most deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your messengers and ambassadors were of late personally present in Holland, and there expected the arrival of our ambassadors untill the first day of the moneth of November last expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie provided in regard of certaine injuries pretended to be offered, by both our subjects one against another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to have sent unto Dordract, at the foresaid daye, our welbeloved and faithfull knight William Sturmy, and our welbeloved clerke John Kington, upon our ambassage-affayres: having as yet in our desires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our foresayd ambassadors, by reason of the shortnes of time, or the finding out of some other remedie and happy conclusion of all and singular the foresaid attempts concerning the principall busines, could by no meanes at that instant attaine unto) that upon some other more convenient day (to the end your ambassadors might not returne home altogether frustrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conference & agreement with your foresayd ambassadors, even as by other letters of ours directed unto your sayd ambassadors the second day of the moneth of November aforesayd wee have delivered our mind unto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambassadors into their owne countrey, that no sufficient shipping could be found wherein our sayd ambassadors might have secure and safe passage unto Dordract, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they should get any passage at all, till the ships at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the more strongly wafted over. And so by reason of the departure of your ambassadours, all matters remaine in suspense till such time as the sayd ambassadors shall againe meete with ours to adde perfection unto the busines as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend unfainedly beloved) desiring from the bottome of our heart that the integritie of love, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your subjects, may in time to come also be kept inviolable, we have thought good once again to send one of our foresaid ambassadors, namely William Esturmy knight to Dordract, giving him charge thither to make haste, and there to stay, till some of your messengers, at your commandement doe in time convenient repayre unto that place, there (by Gods assistance) to bring the matter unto an happy conclusion. May it please you therefore of your unfayned friendship, without all inconvenience of delay, to returne, not unto us, but unto our forenamed knight an answere in writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it seeme strange unto you, that we have not at this present sent our forenamed John Kington clerke together with the sayd William: for the cause of his abode with us is, that he may in the meane season employ his care and diligence about those matters which must be preparatives for the finall conclusion of the foresayd busines. Honorable sir, and most deare friend, we doe most heartily wish increase of prosperity and joy unto your person. Given in our palace of Westminster the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare of our Lord 1407. 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir William Sturmy sent at this present by the most sovereigne King of England &c. as his ambassadour unto Dordract, his most sincere friend. [I. 176.]

HOnorable sir, our most entier friend, wee received the royall letters of the most mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, sent unto us under the date of the 14. day of February (which we received at our castle of Marienburgh the 11. of April) containing, amongst other matters, that his Majesties purpose was once againe to sende one of his ambassadors, namely your selfe our very sincere friend unto Dordract, giving you in charge that you would make haste thither & there stay, untill some of our subjects might at our commandement, in convenient time repaire unto the same place, there (by Gods assistance) to bring our matters unto a happy conclusion. And then he requested that wee should without delay write our determination unto you, as the conclusion of the said letter importeth. Howbeit (our most deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redresse or reformation of unjust attempts committed by the subjects of our sayd lord the king & our subjects, one against another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common societie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And so our commissioners upon our full and absolute commandement, shal, for the managing of these and of other affaires of the foresaid societie, many waies urgent and difficult, upon the feast of our Lords Ascension next to come, meet with the said societie at Lubec, there to give notice what they have determined to conclude in this present busines & in others for their owne behalfe. For we wil give our ambassadours which are there to appeare, streightly in charge that according to the kings request aforesayde they doe without delay procure an answere to be written unto your honour concerning the determination of the foresayd societie. Given at the place and upon the day above named, in the yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in Elbing, general vice-master and lieutenant in the roome of the Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Marie &c. of late deceased.

The letters of Henry the 4. king of England &c. unto Ulricus de Jungingen Master generall of Prussia, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the last agreement made at Hage in Holland.

HEnry &c. unto the honourable and religious personage Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare friend, greeting and dayly increase of our accustomed amity and friendship. We doe by these presents give your honour to understand, that our faithfull & welbeloved William Esturmy knight, and Master John Kington clerke, our ambassadors and messengers sent of late on our behalfe, unto the presence of your predecessour for the redressing of certaine grievances and damages being contrary to justice offered against us and our liege subjects by the people & subjects of your predecessors, & against them also by our subjects as it is aforesayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation unto us and to our counsell, that having conferred with your forenamed predecessour about the foresayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely first of all, that at a certaine day and place they should meete in Holland with his ambassadors and messengers, to hold a friendly conference between them about the redressing and reformation of the grievances and damages aforesayd: and that they should by the equall waight of diligent examination ponder, & in the balance of justice discusse & define al & singular the foresaid grievances & damages inflicted on both parts. Howbeit at length after sundry prorogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambassadors & messengers aforesaid upon the 28. of August last past, assembling themselves for our part at the towne of Hage in Holland, the hon. & discreete personages Arnold Heket burgomaster of the

A meeting at Hage the 28. of August 1407.

towne of Dantzik, & John Crolowe, for the behalf of your subjects of Prussia, and Tidman de Meule, & John Epenscheid for the behalfe of Livonia, being assembled as messengers and commissioners about the redresse and reformation aforesayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambassadours and messengers abovenamed 25034. nobles & half a noble, for the grievances & damages offered (as it was then said) to your subjects of Prussia, and 24082. nobles, 12.s. 8d. [I. 177.] in recompense of the damages offered unto those your subjects of Livonia. And when the substance of those articles about the grievances & losses aforesayd was by the sayd ambassadours and messengers throughly examined and discussed, by their generall consent it was finally agreed, that your subjects, in consideration of all and singular the foresayd grievances and damages offered unto them by our people, should within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at three equall payments receive from us, namely they of Prussia, 8957. nobles, and they of Livonia 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, and no more, so that we our selves thought good to condescend thereunto. Howbeit, forasmuch as certaine other articles of your subjects of Prussia, and also certaine articles in the behalfe of our subjects containing grievous complaints in them, being propounded before the ambassadors & messengers aforesaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grievances offered on both parts, could not as then, for the great obscurity of divers of the sayd articles, and also for want of sufficient proofe at the last meeting appointed and held by the foresayd ambassadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, sufficiently to be examined, discussed, and defined, it was agreed upon by the ambassadors and messengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then last expired unto the feast of Easter now next ensuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediatly following, the plaintifes of both parts should throughly declare before our

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chancelour of England for the time being, the foresayd obscurities concerning the substance of their articles, and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of justice at our sayd chancelours hands, peremptorily minister necessary probations, under paine of perpetuall exclusion from the petition of those things which are contayned in the articles above mentioned.

Provided alwayes, that if at the last it shall be by lawfull proofes made manifest concerning the summes above written or any part or parcell thereof, that due satisfaction hath beene made to him or them unto whom it was due, or that those goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your subjects have pertained or doe appertaine unto others, or any other just, true, and reasonable cause may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the foresayd summes or any of them ought not to be performed: that then so much only is to be cut off or deducted from the sayd summes as shall be found to be already payd or to pertaine unto others, or else upon some true, just, and reasonable cause (as is aforesayd) not to be due. We therefore considering that the sayd friendly conference, and the finall agreement ensuing thereupon are agreeable unto reason and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very same conference and agreement. And forasmuch as it hath bene alwayes our desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of love, which hath of olde time bene observed betweene our and your subjects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inviolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but also for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their woonted maner, assemble themselves and enjoy the faithfull and mutuall conversation one of another: we will cause in our citie of London, with the summe of 8957. nobles satisfaction to bee made unto the Prussians, and with the summe of 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompense to be performed unto the Livonians, in regard of the damages and injuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our consent) by our subjects offered unto them, as it is afore sayd, and within three yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing the sayd summes of money to bee payed at three payments, and by three equall portions. Conditionally that unto our subjects which be endamaged correspondent satisfaction be likewise on your part within the terme of the foresayd three yeeres performed, with paying the summes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and also with the payment of such summes as within one yeere immediately ensuing the feast of Easter aforesayd, shalbe found by sufficient declarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our subjects (as is aforesayd) to be due. Even as we in like maner will make satisfaction unto your subjects within our citie aforesayd. Now as touching the request of your ambassadors and of the Livonians, whereby we were required to procure some holesome remedy for the soules of certaine drowned persons, as conscience and religion seemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moved with compassion, and do for their sakes heartily condole their mishaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to understand, that after we shall be by your letters advertized of the number, state, and condition of the sayd parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayers and divers other holesome remedies profitable for the soules of the deceased and acceptable to God and men, religiously to be ordained and provided : upon condition, that for the soules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie provided by you. The almighty grant unto your selfe and unto your whole Order, that you may prosperously triumph over the enemies of Christ his crosse. Given under our privie seale at our palace of Westminster the 26. of March, in the yere of our Lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The letters of Fr: Ulricus Master of Prussia directed unto the king of England, signifying that he is contented with the agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage.

[I. 178.]

To the most renowmed prince and mighty lord L Henrie king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.

UNto your highnes pleasure at all assaies humbly recommending my voluntarie service &c. Most renowmed king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we received of late with great reverence as it becommeth us, by our welbeloved Arnold de Dassel the bearer of these presents, your Majesties letters of late directed unto us, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra. Conradus de Jungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendement of unjust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth August in the yeare immediately past, betweene your foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and John Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloved commissioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaster of our citie of Dantzik, and

John Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation unto us and unto our whole counsell, that associating unto themselves our messengers of Livonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and John Epensheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the above mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. With this speciall proviso, that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both unto other of our damnified subjects of Prussia, namely such whose goods or the true value thereof have bene finally adjudged by the judges or professors of our lawes, and unto such who having brought their articles of complaints unto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lorde, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes most soveraigne, were in conclusion to have the estimations of their goods to be adjudged by the sentence of the sayd lord, with the advise of two of his counsellers, and also unto other of our subjects who have brought in sufficient proofe of damages unjustly inflicted upon them by your subjects, over and besides the premisses. So that in like maner satisfaction be made unto the common societie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament set downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was above provided and enacted on their behalfe, namely if they will rest contented with our subjects in the courses and meanes then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere unto them in this behalfe. Afterward our messengers aforesayd, both they of Prussia and of Livonia demanded convenient, just, and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the summes above mentioned, due unto both parts (so farre foorth as equity and reason would yeeld unto, for the recompense of the parties injuried and endamaged on both sides) to be made within one whole

Here relation is had unto ye king of the Romans.

yere accompting from the feast of Easter now last expired unto the very same feast next to come in the yere immediatly following, & that in three several termes of payment, by three portions of the said summes equally to be divided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stoode upon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendement of all unjust attempts committed on both parts ought to bee performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwise your ambassadors aforesayd decreed that the sayd satisfaction should be performed unto the parties injuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter last past. And when your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent unto that course which was thought convenient by your ambassadors, the honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Hans being there at that time present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last past, often before mentioned: yet under a certaine protestation, namely if both parties should agree unto [I. 179.] that forme of satisfaction, and if they should thinke good finally and conclusively to yeeld their consent unto it. Which kind of satisfaction also conceived by the messengers, your sayd ambassadours without giving notice therof unto your royall Majestie, refused finally to approve; being rather desirous to make a true & faithfull report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last above mentioned unto your kingly highnesse, and that in such sorte, that (as they hoped) effectuall satisfaction and payment of all and singuler the summes due and to bee due on both partes should more conveniently and speedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and convenient appointments of termes, for the sayd satisfaction friendly on both parts to be performed in, would have proceeded from your bountifull and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it was never the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so far foorth as these affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd busines so many and such long distances of time, and that for divers respects, both because restitution unto the parties robbed consisted herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satisfactions are to be made unto poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miserable creatures, diversly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moved with hearty & fervent zeale and speciall affection unto your royall crowne of England, and having due regard and consideration of your most excellent Majestie, upon the advise of our honourable brethren our counsellers, doe thankfully receive, & by the tenour of these presents totally ratifie and approve such satisfactions of the foresayd summes howsoever due unto our subjects both Prussians and Livonians, in friendly sorte to be performed at such times and seasons limited and prefixed by your highnes as are expressed in your majesties letters, and also of other summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due unto them. Conditionally that without inconvenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premisses. In like maner also we our selves within the termes of payment above mentioned will procure satisfaction to be without fayle perfourmed unto your subjects endamaged, with the summe of 766. nobles, being in regard of their losses, of the which they have given up sufficient informations, due unto them: and with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before our treasurer at our citie of Dantzik. The almighty vouchsafe prosperously and long time to preserve your majesties royal person. Given at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408. *Sept.* 27. 1408.

Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Jerusalem.

The letters of king Henry the 4. sent unto Fr. Ulricus master general of Prussia, wherein he doth absolutely approve the foresaid conference holden at Hage, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene England and Prussia.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, unto the noble & mighty personage of sacred religion Ulricus de Jungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Jerusalem, our entirely beloved friend, greeting and increase of unfained friendship. After divers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas, betweene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selfe also, on the one parte, and betweene our especiall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & restitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed unto our subjects of both parts, in regard of manifold injuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of us both at the towne of Hage in Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of finall conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended unto, because they durst not proceede unto the same conclusion without our privitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before us and our counsel: we returned unto your honour an answere in writing by our letters under our privie seale, of our full purpose and intention (unto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selves, as if they were here againe expresly written) what we thought good to have done in this behalfe: so that wee also might by your friendly letters be certaynly informed of your will and expresse consent, being likewise conformable unto your foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that [I. 180.] time we have of late received the certaintie of the matter by your letters written unto us from your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past, contayning in effect amongst other matters, that you being mooved with a fervent zeale and speciall affection (as you write) unto the royall crowne of our realme, and having due regard and consideration of our royall majestie, upon the advise of your honourable brethren your counsellers, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours totally approve the concord of a certaine satisfaction to be performed with the payment of certaine summes of money howsoever due unto your subjects as well of Prussia as of Livonia, expressed in our former letters, within the termes prefixed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of other summes which within one whole yeare immediatly following the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes on their part to bee made before our chauncelour at our citie of London, shall be found due unto them: conditionally, that without inconvenience of delay and impediments, the premisses be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will without fayle, upon the termes appoynted for the said payments, procure satisfaction to be made accordingly unto our endamaged subjects with the summes due unto them by reason of their losses, whereof they have sufficient information. Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters, and your courteous answere returned by them unto us, as is aforesaid, wee doe yeelde unto you right unfained thanks. But because it will undoubtedly be most acceptable and pleasing both unto us and unto our people, and unto you and your subjects, that the zeale and fervencie of love which hath from auncient times growen and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subjects, and your predecessors and their subjects, and which by the insolencie of certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene us and you and mutually betweene the subjects of us both, may be put in perpetuall ure and obtaine full strength in time to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that unspeakeable commodity and quiet will redound unto both parts: may it seeme good unto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient unto us, that some messengers of yours sufficiently authorised to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendship, may with all convenient speede be sent unto our presence. At whose arrivall, not onely in this busines so profitable and behoovefull, but also in certaine other affaires concerning the former treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessitie must greatly avayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloved friend) even as upon confidence of the premisses we have thought good to grant unto the marchants and subjects of our realme full authority to resort unto your dominions, so we doe in like maner graunt unto your marchants and subjects free licence and liberty with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home. Moreover, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters

A motion for a perpetuall league.

A.D. 1408.

unto us, shal thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by serious consideration and deliberate consulting with our comissioners more conveniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the more speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ. Given under our privie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seventh of March, in the yere of our lord 1408. according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

A new concord concluded between king Henry the 4. and Ulricus de Jungingen Master generall of Prussia, in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

BY this indenture or letters indented be it evidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) unto all faithfull Christians, that the noble & honourable personages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of London, Master John Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soveraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaster of Elbing, and John Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commissioners, deputies and messengers of the right noble and religious personage Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Jerusalem, having in the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts committed unto them, sufficient authority, have appointed and with one consent agreed upon all and singular the things underwritten.

Imprimis for the conservation of mutuall love and 1. wonted amitie, and for the tranquilitie of sweete amiable [I. 181.] peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and singular the liege people & subjects of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territories & dominions of the said Realme and all other persons of what state or condition soever, shall and may safely and securely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutually converse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique aswell with the Prussians as with others, of what nation or qualitie soever, there also make their abode, and thence unto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart unto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatsoever; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights & customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserved alwaies unto the said Master and his successours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made in the articles following.

Item it is ordained, that all and singular the subjects 2. of the said Master generall and of his order, of what state and condition soever, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories and dominions thereof, and there mutually converse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English people as with others of what nation or qualitie soever, and there also make their abode, and thence returne unto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will and as oft as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatsoever: truely paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserved alwayes unto the said soveraigne king, his heires and successours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted unto them in certaine obligations, by the commissioners and procurators of the said Master generall above-named, and in the name of the said Master generall.

3. Item it is with one consent agreed upon, promised, and graunted that for all and singular damages, grievances, and robberies howsoever done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresaid soveraigne Prince and his subjects whatsoever, and all others which at the time of the grievances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said soveraigne king his subjects; there are due to be payed unto the said king or his successours by the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages, grievances, and robberies above-written, certaine summes of English money: even as in the letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procurators, and messengers above-named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and delivered unto the forenamed procurators and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expressed more at large.

4. Item it is covenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subject of the said Master generall or of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, shall, by the said soveraigne king or his successours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any other person whatsoever who in regard of the foresaid losses, grievances and robberies hath bene molested and damnified, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, imprisoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successors, or of any of them, shalbe laid hold on, arrested, or detained.

5. Item it is covenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and subjects of the sayde Master generall or of his successors shall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next above-written, chance to be molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid soveraigne

Lord the King and his successors the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for all such losses as the subjects of the said Master generall or of his successours or any of them shall for that cause have unjustly sustained, unto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foresaide soveraigne Prince, or his successours in the Realme of England, being conveniently requested by the letters of the said Master generall or of his successours, shall refuse to doe, that then after the terme of sixe moneths immediatly following the said deniall or refusall, it shalbe right lawfull for the Master generall that now is and for any of his successors in time to come (having first made convenient proofe that the foresaid request was by him or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the foresaid king his subjects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoever unjustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the said goods under arrestes, untill condigne satisfaction and amends be made unto the party or parties molested.

Item by the commissioners and procuratours often above-named it is covenanted, promised, and graunted, that for all and singular the damages, molestations, and robberies by the foresayde soveraigne king his liege people & subjects howsoever before the date of these presents committed and offred against the said Master general or against any of his subjects whether Prussians or Livonians, and against all others who at the time of the damages, grievances & robberies aforesaid were, or at this present are the subjects of the Master generall aforesaid (except notwithstanding certaine damages & grievances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also some provisoes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before ye date of these presents by ye said soveraigne king his liege people and subjects inflicted upon certaine subjects of the foresaid general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named) 6. [I. 182.]

there are certaine summes of money due to be payed unto the said Master generall or unto his successors by the said soveraigne Prince or his successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations and robberies inflicted upon the Prussians and Livonians, and the others above mentioned, even as in the leters obligatorie of the said soveraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being given and delivered unto the said Master generall his procuratours and messengers, it is declared more at large.

7. Item, it is covenanted, graunted and promised, that none of the liege people or subjects of the foresaid soveraigne prince or of his heires shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, by the sayd Master generall or his successours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said damages, grievances and robberies above mentioned, hath beene molested or damnified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites, shalbe attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained; nor that any goods of the subjects of the said soveraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserved alwayes unto the forenamed Master generall and his subjects all right and remedie any way requisite or competent unto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid.

8. Item it is covenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or subjects of the sayde soveraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next above-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master generall and his successours, for all losses and hinderances which the liege people and subjects the foresayde soveraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall by that meanes have unjustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction unto the partie endamaged. Which if the Master generall aforesaid or his successours being conveniently requested by the letters of the sayde

soveraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed soveraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time shall be (convenient proofe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conveniently beene exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master generall his subjects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons unjustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods under safe custodie, untill condigne satisfaction and amends be made unto the partie or parties aggrieved.

Item it is covenanted, that besides the summes due unto the sayde Master generall and his successours in the behalfe of his subjects both of Prussia and of Livonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed unto the sayde Master generall and his successours, for sundry other damages, grievances, and robberies against himselfe and divers other of his subjects of Prussia, namely Matthewe Ludekensson, Arnold Ashen, Henri Culeman, John Unkeltop, John Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde soveraigne king his liege people and subjects underwritten, even before the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages, grievances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tutburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due unto ye foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the sonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due unto the foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one John Jolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due unto Henrie Culeman aforesayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (Whose Capitaine was 9.

one Pideville) 125. nobles which are due unto the said John Unkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due unto the foresayde John Halewater, in respect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe same parties, being due unto the sayde John Halewater by reason that they detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresayde time five and fourtie servants maintained at the expenses of the sayde John Halewater. Item that Sir William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the sea, must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the sayd Sir William with his servants expelled the said John Halewater out of his ship for the space of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the good and victuals of the said John to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the said summe of 114. nobles unto John Halewater aforesaid: which if hee shall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the first of April next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to pay unto the foresaid John the said 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due unto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the saide soveraigne king hath given them in charge by the said Michael Scot and the rest concerning the payment of the summe aforesaid. Item by John Bilis neere unto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due unto Nicholas Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authoritie bee levied at the hands of his subjects abovementioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee delivered and payed unto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull procurator, or unto his successours or their lawfull pro-

A ship of the burthen of 300. Tonnes.

[I. 183.]

curatours, at the Citie of London, upon the feast aforesaid.

Item it is covenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the said soveraigne prince, there are due to be paied unto one John Marion of Wersingham lately deceased being in his life-time the liege subject of the foresaid soveraigne prince 200. nobles of English money in regard of certaine injuries and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresayde John, by one Eghard Scoff subject unto the said Master generall, for the full satisfaction of the saide damages and robberies to bee made unto the said deceased John, his wife, children, heires or executors by the said Egghard, his heires, or by the administrators of his goods at the time and place above-mentioned.

10. Item it is covenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the injuries and robberies done and committed against one John Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time subject unto the sayd Master generall, by the liege people and subjects of the said soveraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full recompense of all such injuries and robberies, there must bee payed unto one John Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, upon the feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitive sentence condemned unto the said John in the summe of 800. nobles by reason of the injuries and robberies aforesaid. Except the lawful expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time for the issue. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe, more expresly contained) must in the meane season by the kings authoritie be compelled and constrained really and actually to obey the foresaid sentence, namely by delivering and paying unto John Gruk the summe of 800.

nobles at the time and place above mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserved.

Item it is covenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie de Percy the yonger after they shall come unto lawfull age, and shall have attained unto the possessions and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by the kings authoritie (justice going before) to make satisfaction unto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foresaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and received of the said great procuratour, for the use of the castle of Zutberwik. In testimonie and confirmation of all the which premisses, the said Tedericus, Lefardus, and John Crolow, of their certaine knowledges have put their seales unto these present letters indented, in the presence of the above-named Richard Merlow, John Kington, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England. Given at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

|| 1404. [I. 184.]

Carta Henrici quarti Anno || quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Angliæ in partibus Prussiæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Swethiæ, & Germaniæ, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo.

HEnricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum, ut accepimus, ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diversa damna, dissensiones, gravamina, & angustiæ inter mercatores Regni nostri Angliæ in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hansæ, & Swethiæ commorantes sæpius ante hæc tempora mota fuissent & perpetrata, ac majora exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus verisimiliter evenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuò habenda manus nostras adjutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte

A.D. 1404.

imminentibus præcavere, & eosdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes prædictas venturos juste & fideliter regi & pertractari intime desiderantes, volumus & tenore præsentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, ubi sibi placuerit, se congregare & unire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes ulterius & concedentes hujusmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores sic eligendis, quantum in nobis est, potestatem & authoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero venientes & declinantes per se vel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis vel movendis plenam & celerem justiciam faciendi & quascunque quæstiones, contentiones, discordias, & debatas inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas seu movendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque transgressiones, damna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, & injurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparationes, restaurationes & emendationes de ipsis mercatoribus partium prædictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi, & omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicui statutorum, ordinationum, & consuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes juxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia justa & rationabilia statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma prædicta facienda & stabilienda, nec non omnes justas & rationabiles ordinationes per ‖ nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorundem mercatorum pro hujusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus prædictis juxta privilegia & authoritates sibi per magistrum Pruciæ seu alios dominos partium prædictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, seu per prædictos gubernatores nunc ut præmittitur eligendos juxta privilegia prædicta, seu alia privilegia eisdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magistrum & dominos in posterum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inviolabiliter observari. Damus autem universis & singulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernatoribus sic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmissis omnibus & singulis ac aliis gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes sint, consulentes, obedientes & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterii sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio sexto die Junii Anno regni nostri quinto.

‖ *Nota.*

[I. 185.] A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chusing of Governours among themselves.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom these present letters shall come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discreete rule and governement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs oftentimes here-

tofore have bene moved and committed among the Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, unlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better governement to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to prevent the perrils and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall travaile out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may justly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and whensoever they please in some convenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselves certaine sufficient and fit persons for their governours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we give and graunt to the said Governours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in us lieth, speciall power and authoritie to rule and governe all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts aforesaid by themselves or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister unto them and every of them in their causes and quarels whatsoever, which are sprung up or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie justice, and to reforme all maner of questions, contentious discords, and debates moved or to be moved betweene the English Marchants remayning in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences, and injuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receive the like restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better governement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid governours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreover we doe ratifie, confirme, and approove, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoved, wee command firmely and inviolably there to be observed all just, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said governors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all just and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late governours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their governement in the parts aforesayd, according to the privileges and authorities now granted unto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the aforesayd governours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid privileges heretofore graunted, or other privileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents wee straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, advise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde governours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and governement. Given in our Palace at Westminster under the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day of June in the fift yeere of our reigne.

A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

EOdem Anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Navibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Angliæ misit fratrem suum Johannem Ducem Bedfordiæ & Andegaviæ, qui pugnavit cum eis & vicit, [I. 186.] & Naves cepit, & quasdam submersit: cæteri fugerunt cum Hispanis navibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum devicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naves fecit Rex fieri naves quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

Naves maximæ Henrici quinti.

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arvo
Gallos, Hispanos, Janos, devicit, & Urget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Navali bello bis devicti quoque Jani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the trade to Norwey, Sweveland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

ITem because that the kings most deare Uncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweveland, as the same our soveraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath understood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which have late happened aswell to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subjects of our said soveraigne Lord the king of his Realme of England, by ye going in, entring & passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norwey & other

A.D. 1430.

dominions, streits, territories, jurisdictions & places subdued and subject to him, specially into his Iles of Fynmarke, and elswhere, aswell in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soveraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statuted, that all and singular strangers, aswell Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norwey and other dominions, streits, territories, jurisdictions, Isles & places aforesaid with their ships, to the intent to get or have fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises: granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there injoy in and by all things the same favour, privileges and prerogatives which they of the Hans did enjoy. Therefore our said soveraigne Lord the king willing the love, affinitie and amities to be firmely observed, which betwixt his said Uncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, jurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soveraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subjects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our said soveraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discords might be broken: by the advise of the Lords spirituall & temporall & of the commons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordained, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subjects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, territories, jurisdictions & places of the said king of

A.D. 1432.

Denmarke against ye ordinance, prohibition & interdiction of ye same his Uncle above remembred, & in contempt of the same, upon paine of forfeiture of all their moveable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

ITem because that our soveraigne Lord the king at the grievous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impoverished, undone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soveraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithful subjects their goods, so that they have taken of marchants of York and Kingston upon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v.M.li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of ye Realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx.M.li. wherof they have no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them commeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing have in the same Realme of England, & that ye goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to provide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if ye goods of any of ye said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the privie seale for ye time being, shall have power to make to ye partie grieved letters of request under the privie seale, w^tout any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of ye goods so taken & to be taken. And if restitution be not made by [I. 187.]

such letters, the king our soveraigne lord by the advise of his counsel shal provide to the partie grieved his covenable remedy, according as ye case requireth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all English-men.

Incipit liber de custodia Maris præsertim arcti inter Doveram & Galisiam.

THe true processe of English policie
Of utterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Masters of the narrowe see.

Sigismond died 1438. He was here 1416.

Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter cæteras Angliæ scilicet Calisiam & Dovercam, ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos oculos, ait regi: Frater, custodite istas duas villas sicut duos vestros oculos.

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour,
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortalitie,
And ever well kept round about the see.

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceived two Townes Caleis and Dover)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come over
To werre outwards and your regne to recover:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Majestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe?
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre?
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe?
For needs hem must take trewes every foe:

Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shewe at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.
For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become?
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe?
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will ever thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop us, take us, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours?
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

regni 18.
Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglica, quæ dicitur Nobile: scilicet Rex, Navis, gladius, & Mare: Quæ designant potestatem Anglicorum super Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenses & alii dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile navem & imponite ovem. Intendentes, quod sicut quondam à tempore Edwardi tertii Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare observandum velut oves.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders.
The first Chapter.

KNowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,
And Licoris, Sivill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickesilver, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges as to her staple fayre:

[I. 188.]
Figges, Raisins, Wine Bastard, Dates, Lycoras, Civil Oyle, Graynes,

White Pastel Sope, Waxe, Iron, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell, Saffron, Quickesilver.

The Haven of Scluse hir Haven for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.
But these Marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Dover and Caleis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bring about?

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Curtrike, fine cloth of all colours,
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.

Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should have peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well live without other:
They may not liven to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:

The necessarie conjunction of Spaine and Flanders.

Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I understand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with us have peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will never ythee:

For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be costed and menged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,
And ever hath bee, that men have minde of this:
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy [I. 189.]
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,
It is of little value, trust unto mee,
With English wooll but if it menged bee.
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
If these two lands comen not together:
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
That in the narrowe see it be not brought
Into the Rochelle to fetch the fumose wine,
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe.
For the little land of Flanders is
But a staple to other lands ywis:
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:
By Drapering of our wooll in substance
Liven her commons, this is her governance,
Without wich they may not live at ease.
Thus must hem sterve, or with us must have peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal. The second Chapter.

THe Marchandy also of Portugal
By divers lands turne into sale.
Portugalers with us have trouth in hand:
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.
They ben our friends, with their commodities,
And wee English passen into their countrees.

Wine, Osey, Waxe, Graine, Figs, Reisens, Hony, Cordeweyne, Dates, Salt, Hides.

Her land hath wine, Osey, Waxe, and Graine,
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
For supporting of our cruell enemies,
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
For changeable they are in little while. *Note well.*
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
What so enemies, and so supporting
Passe for by us in time of werring,
Seth our friends will not ben in cause
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to us sought,
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine, with her Rovers on the sea. The third Chapter.

Furthermore to write I am faine
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canvas. [I. 190.]
And the land of Flaunders sickerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Wich Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.
And of this Britaine, who so trueth lovis,
Are the greatest rovers and the greatest theevis,
That have bene in the sea many one yeere:
That our Marchants have bought full dere.
For they have tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:
Wich to their Duke none obeysance will bere:

The Britons great Rovers and Theeves.

With such colours wee have bee hindred sore.
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.
Thus they have bene in divers coasts many
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and brent and slaine by many a rowte:
And they have also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of bost have run her sowne:
Wich hath bin ruth unto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

HEre bring I in a storie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke unto mee well written in a scrowe:
That I have commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many yeeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the thrid
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loved them hartily.
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might have prosperitee.
That for Harflew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were undertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:
Upon the wich made with convencion
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Wening hem friends they went foorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,
And wee spedde never the better for truce sake.

Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra deprædatores marinos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos & subjugandum Britannos minores.

They lost her good, her navy and spending:
But their complaint came unto the king.
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By convention and peace made so refused:
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,
[I. 191.] And Sainct Malo would never a dell
Be subject unto his governance,
Nor be under his obeysance:
And so they did withouten him that deede.
But when the king anon had taken heede:
Hee in his herte set a judgement,
Without calling of any Parliament,
Or greate tarry to take long advise
To fortifie anon he did devise
Of English Townes three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:
And gave hem helpe and notable puisance
With insistence set them in governance
Upon pety Bretayne for to werre.
Those good sea men would no more differre,
But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.
And efte the Duke, an ensample wise,
Wrote to the king as he first did devise,
Him excusing: But our men wood
With great power passed over the floode
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,
And had ny destroyed free and bond.
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three
Should have lost all his native Countrie,
He undertooke by suretie true not false,
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.
The Duke hymselfe for all did undertake:
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:

So that in all the life time of the king,
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
That they should in noe wise take on hande
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.
This good king by witte of such appreiffe
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Statutum Regis Edwardi tertii pro Lombardis.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The fourth Chapiter.

Moreover of Scotland the commodities
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.
And all these must passe by us away
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
And all her woolle was draped for to sell
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell;
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire
For her falshed set upon a fire.
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
Could never drape her wooll for any thing,
But if they had English woll withall.
Our goodly wooll which is so generall
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
And other costes, this sentence is not false:
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it upon you,
I have this learned ye wot well where and howe: [I. 192.]
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
Thus most rude ware are in her chevesance.
So they may not forbeare this Flemish land.
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,

Anno Domini 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,
Wee should right soone have peace for all her bosts,
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe foorth to the commodities,
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
For two maner people have such use,
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
Yee have heard that two Flemings togider
Will undertake or they goe any whither,
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.
Under the board they pissen as they sit:
This commeth of covenant of a worthie wit.
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,
And brent and slowe as he had take on hand:
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,
Rebuked sore for ever so shamefully,
Unto her utter everlasting villanie.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought
Into Flanders, as loved and farre ysought;
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staves, Steele, and Wexe,
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe:

Pitch, Tarre, Board, Flexe, Colleinthreed, Fustian, Canvas, Cardes, Bokeram, Silver-plate, Wedges of Silver and Mettall.

And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canvas,
Card, Bukeram : of olde time thus it was.
But the Flemings among these things dere,
In common loven best Bakon and Beere.
Also Pruse men maken her adventure
Of Plate of silver of wedges good and sure
In great plentie which they bring and bye,
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie :
Which is increase full great unto their land,
And they bene laden, I understand,
With wollen cloth all maner of colours [I. 193.]
By dyers crafted full divers, that ben ours.
And they adventure full greatly unto the Bay,
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.
Thus if they would not our friends bee,
We might lightly stoppe hem in the see :
They should not passe our streemes withouten leve,
It would not be, but if we should hem greve.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

THe Genuois comen in sundry wises
Into this land with divers marchandises
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
They bring with them, and of ‖ crood great plentee,
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
And they adventure, as ofte it doth befall,
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
That is their chefe staple sekerly :
And if they would be our full enemies,
They should not passe our stremes with marchandise.

‖ *Or, Woad.*

[The

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their Gallees.

Chap. 7.

THe great Galees of Venice and Florence
Be well laden with things of complacence,
All spicery and of grossers ware:
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,
Apes, and Japes, and marmusets tayled,
Nifles and trifles that little have avayled:
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:
With things not induring that we bye.
For much of this chaffare that is wastable
Might be forborne for dere and deceivable.
And that I wene as for infirmities
In our England are such commodities
Withouten helpe of any other lond
Which by witte and practise both yfound:
That all humors might be voyded sure,
Which that we gleder with our English cure:
That we should have no neede of Scamonie,
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagredie,
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
But I know things al so speedefull,
That growen here, as those things sayd.
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
But that a man may voyde infirmitie
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.
And yef they should except be any thing
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
Let him better search experience.
In this matter I will not ferther prease,
Who so not beleeveth, let him leave and cease.
[I. 194.] Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
And eating ware, bare hence our best chaffare:
Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,

For ech other land of necessitie
Have great neede to buy some of them three:
And we receive of hem into this coste
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.
And would Jesus, that our Lordis wold
Consider this well both yong and old:
Namely old that have experience,
That might the yonge exhort to prudence;
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
Is done to us, unto our great grievance,
Of such lands, and of such nations:
As experte men know by probations,
By writings as discovered our counsailes,
And false colour alwaies the countertailes
Of our enimies; that doth us hindering
Unto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:
As wise men have shewed well at eye;
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example of deceite.

ALso they bere the gold out of this land,
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
So minisheth our commoditee.
Now wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold
Her woll good as for yere and yere.
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:
And in her galies ship this marchandie:
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.
Then utterne there the chaffare by the peise,
And lightly als there they make her reise.
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
Then to carie her change they this money have,
They will it profer, their subtiltie to save,
To English marchants to yeve it out by eschange
To be payed againe they make not strange,

At the receiving and sight of a letter,
Here in England, seeming for the better,
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
That is twelve pence in the golden pound.
And if wee wol have of payment
A full moneth, than must him needes assent
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
In the English pound; as eft soone againe,
For two moneths twelve pence must he pay.
In the English pound what is that to say,
But shillings three? So that in pound fell
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
And when English marchants have content
This eschange in England of assent,
That these sayd Venecians have in woone
And Florentines to bere her gold soone
Over the see into Flanders againe:
And thus they live in Flanders, sooth to saine,
And in London with such chevisance,
That men call usury, to our losse and hinderance.

[I. 195.]

Another example of deceite.

NOw lesten well how they made us a valeys
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
For yere and yere they should make payment.
And sometime als two yere and two yeare.
‖*Or, lone.* This was fayre ‖ love: but yet will ye heare,
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond
In a thousand pound, and live thereby
Till the day of payment easily,
Come againe in exchange: making
Full like usury, as men make undertaking.
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound
Was well content, they should have chaffare sound

If they wold fro the Staple full,
Receive againe three thousand pound in woll.
In Cotteswold also they ride about,
And all England, and buy withouten doubte
What them list with freedome and franchise,
More then we English may gitten many wise.
But would God that without lenger delayes
These galees were unfraught in fortie dayes,
And in fortie dayes charged againe,
And that they might be put to certaine
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.
It were expedient that they did right soe,
As we doe there. If the king would it:
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?
What profite also to our marchandie
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?
For I would witte, why now our navie fayleth,
When manie a foe us at our doore assayleth.
Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,
What navie should we have it is to drede.
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours:
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,
To poverty they fell, thus were they noyed:
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day.
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne
Of marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;
That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:
What hath by him our England of honour,
And what profite hath bin of his riches,
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?

Note diligently.

A woful complaint of lacke of navie if need come.

A storie of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants.

The prayse of Richard of Whittingdon marchant.

That pen and paper may not me suffice
Him to describe: so high he was of price
[I. 196.] Above marchants, that set him one of the best:
I can no more, but God have him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

WHat reason is it that we should goe to oste
In their countries, & in this English coste
They should not so? but have more liberty
Then we our selves now also motte I thee.
I would to gifts men should take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede.
For this we see well every day at eye,
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee:
But ever we have the worse in this countree.
Therefore let hem unto oste go here,
Or be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them unto oste, and yee shall see
Moch avantage, and moch profite arise,
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

COnceive wel here, that Englishmen at martes
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:
To which marts, that English men call fayres,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:

English, and French, Lombards, Jennoyes,
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy
In common use then done all other nations:
This have I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
For they byemore, and fro purse put out
More marchandie then all the other rowte.
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:
And so those marts wold full evill thee,
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried by land to the martes. Cap. 8.

YEt marchandy of Brabant and Zeland
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen
In the marts, that noe man may denien,
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,
But al by land, by carts, and from France,
Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in substance,
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
As though we sent into the land of France
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,

Mader, Woad.

[I. 197.]

Garlicke, Onions, saltfish.

To werre unto her hindring multifarie,
So ben our English marchants necessarie.
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
Of men experte, by whom I have this written.
For sayd is that this carted marchandy
Draweth in value as much verily,
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,
But Englishmen thider dresse her way.

What our marchants bye in that coste more then all other.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

THan I conclude, if never so much by land
Were by carres brought unto their hand,
If well the sea were kept in governance
They should by sea have no deliverance.
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.
And so we should of our cruell enimies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse
And also brittle, not thought never abiding;
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding;
We will it not receive in any wise:
That maken lust, envie, and covetise:
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
Then shuld worship unto our Noble bee
In feate and forme to lord and Majestie:
Liche as the seale the greatest of this land
On the one side hath, as I understand,
A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,
In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,
Betokening good rule and punishing
In very deede of England by the king.

And it is so, God blessed mought he bee.
So in likewise I would were on the see
By the Noble, that swerde should have power,
And the ships on the sea about us here.
What needeth a garland which is made of Ivie
Shewe a taverne winelesse, also thrive I?
If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming [I. 198.]
Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.

Of Haukin lions.

Then Hankin lyons shuld not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Unto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to shend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of covetise;
With false colours cast beforn our eyes?
That if good men called werriours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea unto our great avayle,
And winne hem goods, and have up the sayle,
And on our enimies their lives to impart,
So that they might their prises well departe,

Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land, although there were none other cause.
False colouring of goods by Lombards.
Alas for bribes & gift of good, feasts & other means, that stoppen our policie.
This is the very state of our time.

As reson wold, justice and equitie;
To make this land have lordship of the sea.
Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Make their chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And chalenge al. Looke if this be amisse.
For thus may al that men have bought to sore,
Ben soone excused, and saved by false colour.
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand
That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?
But if we had very experience
That they take meede with privie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,
Whereby stopped should be good governance:

And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that have her lives put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,
And lose her costes, and brought to poverty,
That they shall never have lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods.

It is a marveilous thing that so great a sicknes and hurt of ye land may have no remedie of so many as take themselves wise men of governance.

FOr this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full ofte,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enimies be knowe,
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:
The remedy of hem must be declared.
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We have the strokes, and enemies have the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.
We live in lust and bide in covetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee have on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

[I. 199.]

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I Cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,

And marterns goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of * Venerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.
So that if Ireland helpe us to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hyberniæ,
Old possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men have cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend,
That no enemie should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne us: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they have havens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,
At Waterford, and costes many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better havens, ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?
For all so much as I can understand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and marvailous.
For of silver and golde there is the oore,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Juellere,
Which brought from thence golde oore to us here,
Whereof was fyned mettal goode and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As yee will answere at last judgement,

Mynes of silver and gold in Ireland.

* *Or, hunting.*

That for slought and for racheshede
Yee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.
For it is a boterasse and a post,
Under England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due unto the king.
But I have pittie in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with avisement:
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from us,
But if thou helpe, thou Jesu gracious,
And give us grace al slought to leve beside.
[I. 200.] For much thing in my herte is hide,
Which in another treatise I caste to write
Made al onely for that soile and site,
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
After her conqueste for our last puissance,
And hinder us by other lands alliance.
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,
That wild Irish so much of ground have-gotten
There upon us, as likenesse may be
Like as England to sheeris two or three
Of this our land is made comparable:
So wild Irish have wonne on us unable
Yet to defend, and of none power,
That our ground is there a litle corner,
To all Ireland in true comparison.
It needeth no more this matter to expon.
Which if it bee lost, as Christ Jesu forbed,
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,
For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
And so have enemies environ round about.
I beseech God, that some prayers devout

This is now to be greatly feared.

Mutt let the said apparance probable
Thus disposed without feyned fable.
But all onely for perill that I see
Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee.
And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
And, as men say, in all Christendome,
Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,
So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
That to this worde Dominus doe long.
Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,
To get the lande: and it were piteous
To us to lese this high name Dominus.
And all this word Dominus of name
Shuld have the ground obeysant wilde and tame.
That name and people togidre might accord
Al the ground subject to the Lord.
And that it is possible to bee subject,
Unto the king wel shal it bee detect,
In the litle booke that I of spake.
I trowe reson al this wol undertake.
And I knowe wel howe it stante,
Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,
Or ellis grace, that deade is governance.
For so minisheth parties of our puissance,
In that land that wee lese every yere,
More ground and more, as well as yee may here.
I herd a man speake to mee full late.
Which was a lord of full great estate;
Than expense of one yere done in France
Werred on men well willed of puissance
This said ground of Ireland to conquere.
And yet because England might not forbere
These said expenses gadred in one yeere,
But in three yeeres or foure gadred up here,
Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
In one sole yeere to set us all at reste.
And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:
Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:

This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this matter, that he would undertake it, in pain of losse of al his livelihood. But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo male. [I. 201.]

I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
But covetise, and singularitie
Of owne profite, envie, crueltie,
Hath doon us harme, and doe us every day,
And musters made that shame is to say:
Our money spent al to litle availe,
And our enimies so greatly doone prevaile,
That what harme may fall and overthwerte
I may unneth write more for sore of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Christ Jesu mutt us keepe,
That it make not our childers childe to weepe,
Ne us also, so if it goe his way,
By unwarenes: seth that many a day
Men have bee ferde of her rebellion,
By great tokens and ostentation:
Seche the meanes with a discrete avise,
And helpe that they rudely not arise
For to rebell, that Christ it forbede.
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee have neede,
Unfainingly, unfeyning and unfeynt,
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:
Kepe well that grounde, for harme that may ben used,
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island, and keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

The trade of Bristow to Island.

OF Island to write is litle nede,
Save of Stock-fish: Yet forsooth in deed
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men have practised by nedle and by stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelve yere, and without perill

Gon and come, as men were wont of old
Of Scarborough unto the costes cold.
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
That moch losse for unfreyght they bare:
Island might not make hem to bee fraught
Unto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
Then here I ende of the commoditees
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
Betweene Dover and Caleis: and as thus
that foes passe none without good will of us:
And they abide our danger in the length,
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

AND for the love of God, and of his blisse
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
But that redressed it bee for any thing:
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.
For litle wenith the foole who so might chese
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
What wo it were for all this English ground.
Which wel conceived the Emperour Sigismound,
That of all joyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleis was subject unto English coste.
Him thought it was a jewel most of all,
And so the same in Latine did it call.
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
I cast to write within a litle scrowe,
Like as I have done before by and by
In other parteis of our policie.
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.

[I. 202.]

The joy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.

For if wee lese it with shame of face
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.
Howe was Harflew cried upon, and Rone,
That they were likely for shought to be gone;
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
I make record with this pen in my hand.
It was warened plainely in Normandie,
And in England, and I thereon did crie.
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.
Farewell *Harflew: lewdly it was a go.
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

Harflew was lost in the yere 1449. in the 27. of Henry the sixth.

After the Chapitles of commodities of divers lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea environ, by a storie of King Edgar and two incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.

NOwe see we well then that this round see
To our Noble by pariformitee
Under the ship shewed there the sayle,
And our king with royal apparayle,
With swerd drawen bright and extent
For to chastise enimies violent;
Should be lord of the sea about,
To keepe enimies from within and without;
To behold through Christianitee
Master and lord environ of the see:
All living men such a prince to dreed,
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.
Thus prove I well that it was thus of old;
Which by a *Chronicle anon shalbe told,
Right curious: but I will interprete
It into English, as I did it gete:
Of king Edgar: O most marveilous
Prince living, wittie, and chevalerous:

**Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarus cunctis prædecessoribus suis fælicior, nulli*

So good that none of his predecessours
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.
Hee was fortunate and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious:
He was beneth no man in holines:
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.
Of English kings was none so commendable:
To English men no lesse memorable,
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
And as great Charles was to them of France,
And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthines
For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
But to my matter I him exemplifie,
Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
And another in the see without;
That in time of Winter and of werre,
When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
Within his land about by all provinces
Hee passed through, perceiving his princes,
Lords, and others of the commontee,
Who was oppressour, and who to povertee
Was drawen and brought, and who was clene in life,
And was by mischiefe and by strife
With over leding and extortion:
And good and badde of eche condition
Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
Howe the right and lawes of the land
Were execute, and who durst take in hand
To disobey his statutes and decrees,
If they were well kept in all countrees:
Of these he made subtile investigation
Of his owne espie, and other mens relation.
Among other was his great busines,
Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,

sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suavitate præstantior fuerit. Luxit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Carolus Francis Romulus verò Romanis.

[I. 203.]

And men of might in citie nor in towne
Should to the poore doe non oppression.
Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
On such enforchise busily to abide.
This was his labour for the publike thing,
Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King.
Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
He had redie shippes made before
Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:
Full three thousand and sixe hundred also
Stately inough on our sea to goe.
The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:
Such things long to kings victorious.
In Sommer tide would hee have in wonne
And in custome to be ful redie soone,
With multitude of men of good array
And instruments of werre of best assay.
Who could hem well in any wise descrive?
It were not light for eny man alive.
Thus he and his would enter shippes great
Habiliments having and the fleete
Of See werres, that joyfull was to see
[I. 204.] Such a navie and Lord of Majestee,
There present in person hem among
To saile and rowe environ all along,
So regal liche about the English isle;
To all strangers terrours and perile.
Whose fame went about in all the world stout,
Unto great fere of all that be without,
And exercise to Knights and his meynee
To him longing of his natall cuntree.
For courage of nede must have exercise,
Thus occupied for esshewin of vice.
This knew the king that policie espied;
Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by authoritee
Of Chronike, that environ the see

Dicit Chronica, præparaverat naves robustissimas numero tria millia sexcenta: in quibus redeunte æstate omnem insulam ad terrorem extraneorum, & ad suorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnavigare consueverat.

Should bene our subjects unto the King,
And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
For great worship and for profite also
To defend his land fro every foo.
That worthy king I leve, Edgar by name,
And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
A worde of mighty strength till that I say,
That graunted him God such worship here,
For his merites, hee was without pere,
That sometime at his great festivitee
Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
And princes fele were there present,
And many Lords came thider by assent,
To his worship: but in a certaine day
Hee bad shippes to bee redie of aray:
For to visit Saint Johns Church hee list
Rowing unto the good holie Baptist,
Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
Many ships right goodly to sights:
And for himselfe and eight kings moo
Subject to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
A good shippe, and entrede into it
With eight kings, and downe did they sit;
And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,
At ore hales, as I understand,
And he himselfe at the shippe behinde
As steris man it became of kinde.
Such another rowing I dare well say,
Was not seene of Princes many a day.
Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
In lande, in see, that I may not suffice
To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
That king Edgar had upon the see.

Dicit Chronica &c. ut non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum mercedem donaverit: cum aliquando ad maximam ejus festivitatem, reges, comites, multarúmque provinciarum protectores convenissent, &c.

[An

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

OF king Edward I passe and his prowes
On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter
Round about by land, and by the water,

Caleis way yeelded to ye English 1347. [I. 205.]

Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:
Howe it was closed environ about,
Olde men sawe it, which liven, this is no doubt.
Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyn,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
Of ship on see made no besieging there,
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.
It was nothing besieged by the see:
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
This maner carping have knights ferre in age,
Expert through age of this maner language.
But king Edward made a siege royall,

King Edward had 700. *English ships, and* 14151. *English mariners before Caleis.*

And wanne the towne: and in especiall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;
In whose time was no navie on the see
That might withstand his majestie.

The battell of Scluse by sea.

Battell of Scluse yee may rede every day,
Howe it was done I leve and goe my way:
It was so late done that yee it knowe,
In comparison within a litle throwe:
For which to God give we honour and glorie;
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marveilous werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great shippes.

ANd if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.
What hope ye was the kings great intent
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?
It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee
Lorde round about environ of the see.
And when Harflew had her siege about,
There came caracks horrible great and stoute
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe us there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.
This was after the king Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the kings chamberlaine
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell otherwise then I:
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily.
What had this king of his magnificence,
Of great courage, of wisedome, and prudence?
Provision, forewitte, audacitee,
Of fortitude, justice, and agilitee,
Discretion, subtile avisednesse,
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
Science, prowesse, devotion, equitie,
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie

The great ships of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.

Great caracks of Genua taken by the Duke of Bedford.

1416.

The French navie thus overthrowen was of five hundred saile.

[I. 206.]

Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,
As much of both liche hem as in regard.
Where was on live a man more victorious,
And in so short time prince so marveilous?
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
To speake of him I stony in my witte.
Thus here I leave the king with his noblesse,
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe
Of this true booke of pure policie
Of sea keeping, entending victorie
I leave endly: for about in the see
No Prince was of better strenuitee.
And if he had to this time lived here,
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:
His great ships should have ben put in preefe,
Unto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,
For doubt it not but that he would have bee
Lord and master about the round see:
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
And wonne us good, and wisely brought it thence:
That no passage should be without danger,
And his licence on see to move and sterre.

The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost.

Of unitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

NOw than for love of Christ, and of his joy,
Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
Take heart and witte, and set a governance,
Set many wits withouten variance,
To one accord and unanimitee.
Put to good will for to keepe the see,
First for worship and profite also,
And to rebuke of eche evill willed foe.
Thus shall worship and riches to us long.
Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,
To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,
To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:

Exhortatio generalis in custodiam totius Angliæ, per diligentiam custodiæ circuitus maris circa littora ejusdem: quæ debet esse per *unanimitatæ Consiliariorum regis, & hominum bonæ voluntatis.*

For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,
Or ellis their thrift to standen, and to waste.
As this processe hath proved by and by
All by reason and expert policy;
And by stories which proved well this parte:
Or ellis I will my life put in jeoparte,
But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
The see wel kept: it must bee doo for drede.
Thus must Flanders for nede have unitee
And peace with us: it will non other bee,
Within short while: and ambassadours
Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.

Tres sunt causæ prædictæ custodiæ: scilicet, honor, commodum regni, & opprobrium inimicis.

This unitee is to God pleasance:
And peace after the werres variance.
The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
And power causeth peace finally.
Kept than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall environ were the see.

[I. 207.]

Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for any thing that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt,
And thus should every lond one with another
Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
And live togither werrelesse in unitie,
Without rancour in very charitie,
In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
Without strife, debate and variance.
Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.
The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
Bee yee busie for to keepe unitee
Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.
The Prophet biddeth us peace for to enquire
To pursue it, this is holy desire.

Ephes.4. Solliciti sitis servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.

Our Lord Jesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
Matth. 5. *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.*
For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.
God give us grace, the weyes for to keepe
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo
Might be to us convers, and turned so.
Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis ejus inimicos ad pacem convertet.
For in the Proverbs is a text to this purpose
Plaine inough without any glose:
When mens weyes please unto our Lord,
It shall convert and bring to accord
Mans enemies unto peace verray,
In unitie, to live to Goddis pay,
With unitie, peace, rest and charitie.
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
That came from heaven, and styed up with our nature,
Or hee ascended, he yave to us cure,
And left with us peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
Mote give us peace, so well irradicate
Here in this world: that after all this feste
Wee may have peace in the land of beheste,
Urbs beata Jerusalem dicta pacis visio.
Jerusalem, which of peace is the sight,
With his brightnes of eternall light,
There glorified in rest with his tuition,
The Deitie to see with full fruition:
Hee second person in divinenesse is,
Who us assume, and bring us to the blis. Amen.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea environ: shewing what profit and salvation, with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

GOe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
Appearing ever with humble countenance:
And pray my Lords to take in grace,

[I. 208.]

In opposaile and cherishing the advance.
To hardines if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,
That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee overseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all over in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.

The wise lord of Hungerfords judgement of this booke.

Explicit libellus de Politia conservativa maris.

A large Charter granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherland, for their chusing of a master and governor among themselves, which governement was first appointed unto one William Obray: with expresse mention, what authoritie he should have.

EDward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that whereas we have understood, as well by the report of our loving and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentions, & damages, have heretofore bene done, moved, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our subjects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordships of Ireland and Wales, & of other our dominions, seigneuries, 1462.

and territories, because that good discretion and authority hath not bin observed among our saide subjects, which abide, frequent, converse, remain, inhabit, & passe, aswel by sea as by land, into ye parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and divers other countreis & seigneuries belonging aswell to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and loving cousin ye Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendship, alliance, & good wil with us: and that it is to be doubted that through the saide inconvenience and occasion, many discommodities may ensue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) unles we should provide convenient remedie in this behalfe for our subjects aforesaid: wherefore we desiring most effectually and heartily to avoide the mischiefe of the saide inconveniences & to provide convenient remedy for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subjects of our said realms & dominions, which at this present & hereafter shal haunt and frequent ye said countreis, may be justly & lawfully ruled, governed, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforesaid, and that equity, reason, & justice may be ministred unto them and every of them, according as the cases shal require, we being wel assured and having ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulnes, wisdome, experience, & good diligence of our most deare & welbeloved subject Will. Obray our servant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable services, which he hath done us in our realm & among our subjects in times past, & hoping that he wil do also hereafter, we have made, ordained, constituted, committed, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, ful power, & authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (during our pleasure) to be governor, judge, warden of justice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we have or may have over our said common subjects the marchants travailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreis beyond the sea, as is aforesaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accustomed, & as the said Will. Obray at other times hath had and received of our said subjects, when he had, used, and exercised the said office of governor, and also with other such rights and profits, as hereafter shal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we have given him, and by these presents do give him, as much as in us lieth, during our pleasure, ful power, authority, and special commandement, to governe, rule, and cause to be governed and ruled with good justice by himselfe, or by his sufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and every our foresaid subjects the common marchants & mariners comming, remaining, frequenting, passing, & repairing from henceforth into the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other [I. 209.] countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for us and in our place, the said office of governour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull governour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subjects, and of every of them, and of their causes and quarels moved, or hereafter to be moved in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & borders therof, and to doe them full & speedy justice. And to reforme, cause reformation, governe, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subjects moved, or to be moved: and to right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences and injuries committed, or to be committed: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receive, restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subjects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the countreis aforesaid. And that, whensoever and as often as it shal please the said governor or his deputies, they may in some convenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name jurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and umpires, to judge, to make decrees, and to minister justice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subjects to sweare and take all kind of oathes, which order of justice and custome require and affoorde, and to enjoy our authoritie, and to use, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and justice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and justice; and to ordain, appoint, & establish sixe sergeants or under, to doe the executions & arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said governour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their advise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good unto him, as often and whensoever as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoever need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging unto us and to our said subjects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for us and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreover wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee give and graunt unto the saide governour, and to our saide subjects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoever it please them, they may meet and assemble in some honest and convenient place, and by the consent of the saide governour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelve or under, which we wil have to be named Justicers, unto the which Justicers so elected by the saide governour and our saide subjects, as it is said, and to everie of them, we give and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said governour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subjects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoever moved or to be moved unto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide governour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, upon the causes brought before them and by the parties uttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and advise the saide governour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, judge and determine, and ende the same justly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all just and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said governour, and of the saie Justicers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better government of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subjects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approved; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approve them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inviolably observed, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther favour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said governour, our said subjects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better government and estate, such just and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we command to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approved, available, and established. Provided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing prejudicial to this present power and authoritie given and graunted by us to the saide governour, in any poynt [I. 210.] or article heerein comprised, by any meanes or way whatsoever: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and utterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and utterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we have and doe give full and absolute power, & speciall authority to our said servant William Obray, & to his said lieutenants. And likewise, to the end that ye course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of justice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subjects and marchants, we have ordained and do ordaine, have consented & doe consent, and by these presents have given & do give ful power & especiall authority to our said servant Will. Obray governour aforesaid, that at al time and times when he shal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and servitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal think necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, & set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, unto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our said subjects and others with whom they shal have to do or to deale in the foresaid countreis: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure al kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the yard: and also as many weighers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence & preservation of their marchandize. Al which ministers, officers, and servitors, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide governour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances upon the said marchants, according to the custome of the said countreis, and as they have bene accustomed to take of the said marchants before these presents by us given and graunted. And hereupon we have given and doe give expresse charge and commandement by us and in our names to all our said subjects common marchants and mariners, and to every of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countreis sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoever, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soever they be, without he hath some of the said brokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said governor or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging unto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without having some deputy present thereat: nor to take or cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide governor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is said, under paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to have passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canterburie by our saide subjects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zeland; the other fourth part to us, & our use; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which shall discover, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subjects shall unlade or cause to be unladen, under any colour nor otherwise, nor unpacke, in the countreis abovesaide, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandises whatsoever, which they shall bring or cause to bee brought into the countreyes aforesaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeysance, without first and beforehand they make the governour or his deputies acquainted with their arrivall, and crave leave, and deliver, shewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the saide goods and marchandises have truly and lawfully payde unto us our rights and customes, and not to unpacke them but in the presence of the saide governour, his lieuetenants or deputies, upon paine of forfaiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide governor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoever be arrived and discharged in the countreis aforesaid, belonging to our saide subjectes, not lawfully customed and acquited towarde us of our right and [I. 211.] custome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is metioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd governour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze upon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that every one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countreis, shall not be laden upon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by us and given by the sayd governour, upon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to us and into our hand, if they be found unsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for every piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd governour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to use the labour, travels, nor service of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great travels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profit of us and our selves, as for the holesome, perfect, & good government of our sayd subjects: we by the good advise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our privie counsell, have granted and given, and as before, doe grant and give, of our sayd grace, to the sayd William Obray our sayd servant and governour abovenamed, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liver of grosse money of Flanders, upon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subjects frequenting the sayd countreis, to be levyed, gathered, received, and payed unto the sayd William Obray or to his deputies, upon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging unto our sayd subjects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys abovesaid, aswell of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countries, as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee caried and conveyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoever. And to cause the same to be gathered, received, leavied and payed, we have given, and by these presents doe give full power and speciall authoritie unto the sayd William Obray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leavy, gather, and cause to bee leavied and received the sayd money, in forme and maner above mentioned, to his profite and use, during our pleasure: and to enjoy and use the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subjects, their sayd goods, and every of them, by way of law and justice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, upon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure, and so will we have it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd William Obray, over and above that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receive of our sayd subjects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and received of our sayd subjects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of governour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done unto him, of our grace and favour: and that hee shall gather, take, and receive the same in such forme and manner, as the other money above mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William Obray may have and take possession, season, and enterance of the said office of governour in our name we have and doe place him, by the delivery of these presents, in possession, season, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and moneis aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of governour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William Obray to hold and exercise, practise and use the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites above mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subjects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said governour so ordayned by us, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd justicers so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, offices, gifts, and grants abovesayd, let them grievously be punished by the sayd governour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, commaund, straitly and expresly enjoine by these presents all and every our saide subjects, that unto the sayd governour so by us ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneis, or deputies, and also to the said justicers, officers, and ministers, in all and everie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their government and rule, the circumstances and dependances theron that they [I. 212.] give their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoever: but rather if any thing bee done unto them contrary and to the prejudice of these presents, they shall remove and cause the same to be remooved, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliverance, upon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee have it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our subjects, the common marchants and mariners, so behave your selves, that you may receive commendation of us for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to have done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our frie[illegible] allies, and well-willers, aswell princes and potentates, as their justicers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subjects, and every of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to give, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd governour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, justicers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may have occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selves beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selves at Westminster, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.

A declaration of the Indies and lands discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour, and the king of Portingal: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discovered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Sivil in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

Experience prooveth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marveiled, to see them every day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marvelled, if there be any prince content to live quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes have bene so fervent to obtaine their purpose, that they have adventured and prooved things to mans conjecture impossible, the which they have made possible, and also things difficult have made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, have in maner turned up and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest regions of the Occident have pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in likewise those people of the said parts of the Orient have had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase have not ceased untill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarsely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath provided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limites, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason therof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages have beene most commonly like unto others: and with marveilous great labours, costes and perils, they have traveiled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countries, and so have woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victory and glory. And also now of late your Grace having like courage and desire, and not without just cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of [I. 213.] the French king, which at that present he restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your adversary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truely to pay tribute then due, & fulfill your request in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiving that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your subjects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is *A secrete.* my bounden duety to manifest this secret unto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid:

which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discovered divers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subjectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discovered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they have compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discovered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discovered the sayd North parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also for that you have ‖ already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, & found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now provided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, & followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, shippes, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto. By reason wherof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses,

The discovery of the North.

‖By Sebastian Cabot and sir Thomas Pett in the eight yere of his reigne. And this is the voyage spoken of by Gonsalvo Oveido, that came to S. Domingo.

truely the danger & way is shorter to us, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by evident reasons appereth.

Note. And now to declare something of the commodity and utilitie of this Navigation and discoverie: it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be navigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and have in them perpetuall clerenesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the navigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of every foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darkenesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiveth this more plainely, then it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shal your Graces subjects have also by this light to discover the strange lands, countries, and coastes? For if they that be discovered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discovered be daungerous to travell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers or darkenesse hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to discover many unknowen Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subjects may have the same light) it will seeme your Graces subjects to be without activity or courage, in leaving to doe this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this litle way which they named so dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence foorth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will sayle by the coastes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

Navigation under the Pole.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall injoy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their navigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discovered by your Graces subjects, untill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and under the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countries, and may returne the same way.

Tartaria.

China.

[I. 214.]

New found land discovered by ye English.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great advantage of the riches, but also your subjects shall not travell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforesayd.

[The

The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527. in Sivil, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discovered by him and the king of Portingal: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

Right noble and reverend in &c. I have received your letters, and have procured and sent to know of your servant, who, your Lordship wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and shipt. I cannot judge but that of some contagious sicknesse hee died, so that the owner of the house for defaming his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowen of it. For such things have often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write unto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Islands are fertile of Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the said Islands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamondes, Balasses, Granates, Jacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are under and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giveth any thing, she is no nigard. For as with us and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, so theirs be Gold, Silver, and Copper. And as our fruits and graines bee Apples, Nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloves, and other Spices. And as we have Jeat, Amber, Cristall, Jasper, and other like stones, so have they Rubies, Diamonds, Balasses, Saphyres, Jacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kind of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantity is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruits or stones above rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth under the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the sayd Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantity, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more quantity of the sayd mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnes of these things is measured after the distance that is between us, and the things that we have appetite unto. For in this navigation of the Spicerie was discovered, that these Islands nothing set by golde, but set more by a knife and a nayle of iron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessary for mans service. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our corne and seedes, if they might have them, as to us their spices: & likewise the pieces of glasse that here we have counterfeited are as precious to them, as to us their stones: which by experience is seene daylie by them that have trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordship wrote, whether it may bee profitable to the Emperor or no? it may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a merchant, and provide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Islands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many every yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and jewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides

[I. 215.]

this hee putteth in every flote a certaine quantitie of money, of which hee enjoyeth of the gaines pound and pounds like as other adventurers doe. In a fleete of three shippes and a Caravel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener have one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two English men, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the navigation of those seas, and there to have informations of many other things, and advise that I desire to knowe especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much unlike ours, that they should procure to have the said cards, and learne how they understand them, and especially to know what navigation they have for those Islands Northwards, and Northeastward.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discovered the river of Plate, 1526.

Note.

For if from the sayd Islands the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to saile from the North point to the Northeast poynt one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to the New found Islands that we discovered, and so we should be neerer to the sayd Spicerie by almost two thousand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingal are. And to advise your Lordship whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portingal or the Emperours is neerer, and also of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to give any declaration of it) I have caused that your Lordship shall receive herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordship to more labour to understand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so litle roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired

The Newe found Islands discovered by the English.

A Mappe of the world.

to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is necessary to declare to your Lordship my intent, with which I trust you shall perceive in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intent, with my declaration I doe not make it more obscure.

First, your Lordship knoweth that the Cosmographers have divided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, under the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being divided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to every quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right under the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the sayd line Equinoctiall to the South starre be other ninety degrees. And as much more is also from either of the sayd starres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to bee round, is soone perceived thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: so that this latitude is the measure of the worlde from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

To know the latitudes.

The sayd latitude your Lordship may see marked and divided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compasse, and set the one foot of the same in the Equinoctial line right against the said region, & apply the other foote of the compasse to the said region or coast, & then set the sayd compasse at the end of the Card, where the degrees are divided. And the one foote of the compasse standing in the line Equinoctial, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I have set out in the nether part of the Card, conteining also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Cosmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is over against a little crosse made in the part Occidental, where the division of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo Verde.

To know the longitudes. Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordship must take a ruler or a compasse, and set the one foot of the compasse upon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compasse to the next part of one of the transversall lines in the Orientall or Occidental part: which done, set the one foot of the compasse in the said transversal line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot sheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordship must understand that this Card, though little, conteineth the universall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular upon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transversall lines, is onely to shew how the Orientall part is joined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is set without the line in the Oriental part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidentall part, is the same that is set within the line in the Orientall [I. 216.] part, to shew that though this figure of the world in plaine or flatte seemeth to have an end, yet one imagining that this sayd Card were set upon a round thing, where the endes should touch by the lines, it would plainely appeare howe the Orient part joyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured.

And for more declaration of the said Card, your Lordship shall understand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Islands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward, and finisheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

Now called the straight of Magelane.

The sayd coast from the sayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straight Sea, called Estrecho de todos Santos: by which straight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare more at large: the which straight Sea is right against three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The first land from the sayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Islands of the Canaries, and Islandes of Capo verde. But the first maine land next to the line Equinoctial is the sayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the straight of this sea of Italie. And so followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest parte toward the North. And over against Flanders are our Islands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I have set out onely the Regions, dividing them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation everie region is, and of what highnesse, and with what regions it is joyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Affrica I could not so wel make the sayd divisions: for that they be not so wel knowen, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines & strikes, that your Lordship should understand wherefore they doe serve. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speransa: which is right over against the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the

Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordship may see in the headland over against the 130. degree. From the sayd Cape of Buona speransa the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and passing forth entreth the red sea, & returning out, entreth again into the gulfe of Persia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforesayd, and from thence the coast making a gulfe, where is the river of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and over against this last gulfe and coast be many Islands, which be Islandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note. The sayd coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainely knowen, I may joine to the New found lande found by us, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesayd. Well I know I should also have declared how the coasts within the straights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is playne that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the sayd gulfe is Sclavonia, and next Grecia, then the streits of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the sayd streights: and comming out of the sayd streights, followeth Turcia major (though now on both sides it is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and over against the sayd Turcia are the

Islands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And over against Italie are the Islands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And over against Spaine is Majorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulfe of Syria is Judea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Affrike and Barbarie. Also your Lordship shall understand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the world, I have coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Islands: and all without the line so coloured to bee Sea: whereby it is easie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather have made it obscure then cleere. And the sayd coasts of the Sea are all set justly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the navigation approveth them throughout all the Card, save onely the coastes and Isles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from over against the 160. to the 215. degrees of longitude, For these coastes and situations of the Islands, every of the Cosmographers and pilots of Portingal & Spayne do set after [I. 217.] their purpose. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they should fal within their jurisdiction. So that the pilots and navigants thither, which in such cases should declare the truth, by their industrie do set them falsly every one to favour his prince. And for this cause can be no certaine situation of that coast and Islands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpose of your Lordships demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to understand it better, I must declare the beginning of this discoverie. Though peradventure your Lordship may say that in that I have written ought of purpose, I fall in the proverbe, A gemino ovo bellum: But your Lordship commanded me to be large,

Doctor Leys demand.

and I take licence to be prolixious, and shalbe peradventure tedious, but your Lordship knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verbosius.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Carvels to discover this Spicerie. Then forasmuch as he feared that being discovered, every other prince woulde sende and trade thither, so that the cost and perill of discovering should be his, and the profite common: wherefore first hee gave knowledge of this his minde to all princes Christened, saying that hee would seeke amongst the infidels newe possessions of regions, and therefore would make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the cost of the sayd armie, he should enjoy his part of the profite or honour that should come of it. And as then this discovering was holden for a strange thing and uncertaine. Nowe they say, that all the Princes of Christendome answered, that they would be no part of such an armie, nor yet of the profit that might come of it. After the which he gave knowledge to the Pope of his purpose, and of the answere of all the Princes, desiring him that seeing that none would helpe in the costes, that he would judge all that should bee found and discovered to be of his jurisdiction, and commannd that none other princes should intermeddle therewith. The Pope sayd not as Christ saith, Quis me constituit judicem inter vos? He did not refuse, but making himselfe as Lord and Judge of all, not onely granted that all that should be discovered from Orient to Occident, should be the kings of Portingal, but also, that upon great censures no other Prince should discover but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497 were discovered the Islands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the spice he hath.

The Pope reprehended.

After this in the yere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to discover lands toward the Occident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Carvels, and then discovered this

India Occidentall, especially two Islands of the sayd India, that in this Card I set forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to give him the sayd Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discovered was his, and that hee should not proceede further in the discoverie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castil into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Jewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and silver. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingal asked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would give him the sayd Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the sayde kings, that none should receive the others subjects fugitives, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Jewes had caryed out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so doing he would give these Islands, and desist from any more discovering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not give these Islands, but procure to discover more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his ease pay this money. And so not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to discover : so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discovering they should divide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that should be discovered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the sayd scale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finisheth in this Card right over against a litle crosse made at the said 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the said Crosse towarde the Occident, untill it joyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land over against the said hundreth & eighty degrees untill it finish in the three hundred and sixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the jurisdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they divided the world betweene them.

[I. 218.] Now for that these Islands of Spicery fall neere the terme and limites betweene these princes (for as by the sayd Card you may see they begin from one hundred and sixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it seemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, should be of Portingal: and all the rest of Spaine. And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the situation of the sayde Islandes (for the Portingals set them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without:) and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or what other that ever have bene cannot give certaine order to measure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no starre fixed from East to West, as are the starres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooveth with the mooving divine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee measured, but by conjectures, as the Navigants have esteemed the way they have gone. But it is manifest that Spaine had the situation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of ye Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they never hitherto set the saide Islands within their limitation of the sayd 180 degrees, (though they knewe very well of the Islands,) till now that the Spaniards discovered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to these Islands afore, but would never suffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for so much as he knew that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there

The longitudes hard to be found out.

might come some knowledge of those other Islands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloves of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would have cost, if he had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes secret. And now that it is discovered he sendes and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the division of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already discovered certaine Islandes that lie over against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he fette Brasill, and called it the land of Brasil. So for that all should come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and seventie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right over against the 340 degrees, where I have made a little compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160 degree, where also I have made another little marke. And after this computation without any controversie, the Islands of the spicery fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the sayde Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more toward the Orient, and so to touch those Islandes of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two crosses made in this Card, that then the Islands of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasil that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the sayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the said Cape Verde, to include in it the said Islands and lands of Brasil, then plainely appeareth the said 180 degrees should finish long before they come to these Islands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordship may see. For their limits should begin at the 340 degrees of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I have made two little markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainely it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leave these Islands of Cape Verde and land of Brasil, if they would have part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding these, they have no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for that it may extende so much more toward the Orient, and touch these Islandes of the Emperours: and would winne these Islandes of Cape Verde and land of Brasil neverthelesse, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed, Quare sub Judice lis est.

But without doubt (by all conjectures of reason) the sayd Islands fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, save those which they have falsified of late purposely.

New found land discovered by the Englishmen.

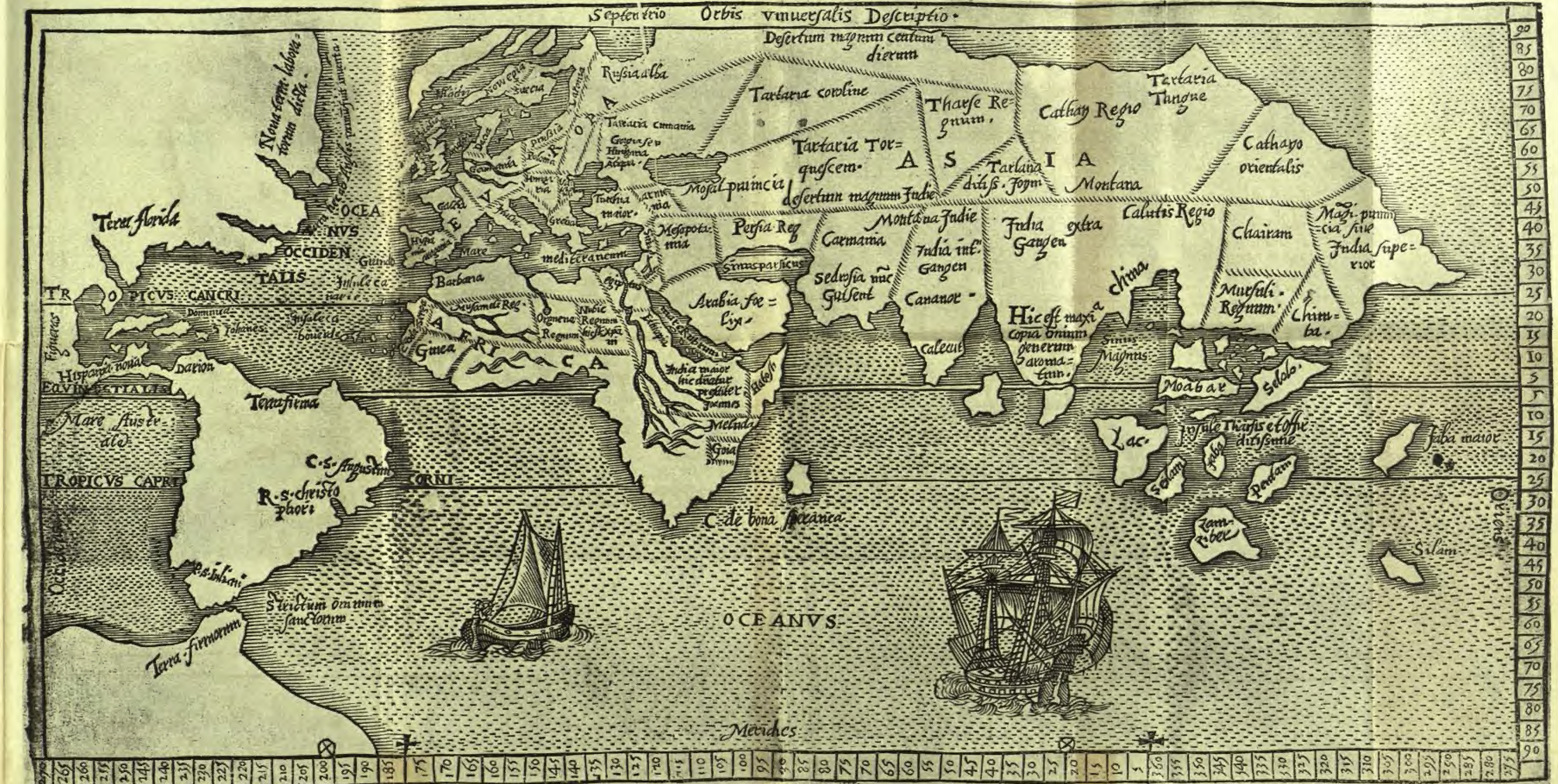
But now touching that your Lordship wrote, whether that which we discovered toucheth any thing the foresayd coastes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newefound land that we discovered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the said New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward up till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues.

Note. [I. 219.]

So that to the Indias it should seeme that we have some title, at least that for our discovering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

To saile by the Pole.

Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be navigable, there is no doubt, but sayling Northward and


Septentrio
Orbis vniuersalis Descriptio
Desertum magnum centum dierum
Nova terra laboratorum dicta
Russia alba
Tartaria cowline
Tharse Regnum
Cathay Regio
Tartaria Tingue
Tartaria Torquescem
A S I A
Cathayo orientalis
Tartaria diuiss. Jopm
Montana
Mosal prouincia
desertum magnum Indie
E V R O P A
Norwegia
Suecia
Prussia
Polonia
Germania
Gallia
Hispania
Grecia
Turchia maior
Tartaria Cumania
Mare mediterraneum
OCEANVS OCCIDENTALIS
Terra florida
TROPICVS CANCRI
Dominica
S. Johannes
Insule canarie
Insule capo verde
Barbaria
Mesopotamia
Persia Reg
Sinus persicus
Carmania
Montana Indie
India extra Gangem
India intra Gangem
Calutis Regio
Chairam
Magi prouincia sive India superior
Arabia foelix
Sedrosia nunc Gusent
Cananor
Hic est maxima copia omnium generum aromatum
china
Mursuli Regnum
Chimba
Sinus Magnus
Calecut
A F R I C A
Guinea
Nubie Regnum
Ethiopia
India maior hic dicitur presbiter Joannes
Melinda
Goia
Moabar
Selolo
Insule Tharsis et Offir ditissime
Jaba maior
Lac.
Seilam
Pentam
Zamziber
Silam
Hispania noua
Darion
EQVINOCTIALIS
Terra firma
Mare Australe
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
C. S. Augustini
R. S. christophori
R. S. Juliani
Streictum omnium sanctorum
Terra firmorum
C. de bona speranca
OCEANVS
Meridies
Occidens
Oriens
90 85 80 75 70 65 60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90
270 265 260 255 250 245 240 235 230 225 220 215 210 205 200 195 190 185 175 170 165 160 155 150 145 140 135 130 125 120 115 110 105 100 95 90 85 80 75 70 65 60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 360 355 350 345 340 335 330 325 320 315 310 305 300 295 290 285 280 275

GRadus 180. demercationis Portugalenſũ a terris iſto ⊗ oppoſitis incipiunt, ac terminãtur in gradus 160. huius cartæ verſus orientem, ſecũdum computationem Hiſpanorum. Et ſic inſulæ Tharſis & Offir ditiſſimæ videntur extra illorum demercationem cadere, Portugalenſes verò ſuam eleuationem a terris iſto ſigno ✠ oppoſitis incipere aiunt, & terminare in gradus 180. huius cartę, vt videantur prędictas inſulas vtcũq; attingere, & gradus 180. demercationis Hiſpanorum a priore ſigno ⊗ ſecundum Hiſpanorum cõputationem. Vel incipiunt a poſteriore ſecundum Portugalenſes verſus occidentem, & terminantur in gradus 160. ſecundum Hiſpanos, vel 180, ſecundum Portugalenſes. Et ſic, licet inſulæ Tharſis & Ophir videntur attingere Portugalenſes, tamen inſulę Capo verde dictæ, quæ intra ſupradicta ſigna ⊗ ✠ cadunt, vidẽtur omittere. Et ſic dum inſulas Capoverde retinere volunt Portugalenſes, illas Tharſis & Offir non poſſunt attingere.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THis is the forme of a Mappe ſent 1527. from Siuill in Spayne by maiſter Robert Thorne marchaunt, to Doctor Ley Embaſſadour for king Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour. And although the ſame in this preſent time may ſeeme rude, yet I haue ſet it out, becauſe his booke coulde not well be vnderſtood without the ſame. The imperfection of which Mappe may be excuſed by that tyme: the knowledge of Coſmographie not then beyng entred among our Marchauntes, as nowe it is.

passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands, and it should be a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals have. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489. and miles 7440: Where we should find these Islands. And the Navigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the Islandes of Canarie, and from these Islandes they runne over the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from this Cape Southwards to the straites of Todos Santos, in the which navigation to the said straites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from these Straites being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Islands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues.

Or the straites of Magelane.

The navigation of the Portingals to the said Islandes is departing from Portingall Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctial called Capo de bona speransa, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Islands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this navigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is sayd,) if between our New found lands or Norway, or Island, the seas toward the North be navigable, we should goe to these Islands a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

Note.

And though we went not to the sayd Islandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, wee shoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are under the sayd line Equinoctiall: and also should, if we may passe under the North, enjoy the navigation of all Tartarie. Which should be no lesse

Benefite to England.

profitable to our commodities of cloth, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal.

Objection.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seventh clime, the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that under the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was unhabitable.

Answere.

A true opinion.

A voyage of discovery by the Pole. M. Thorne and M. Eliot discoverers of New found land.

The cause why the West Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Cabot writeth in an Epistle to Baptista Ramusius.

Yet since (by experience is proved) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same should be found under the North, if it were experimented. For as all judge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I judge, there is no land unhabitable, nor Sea innavigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this unto me, I should be too prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I should have no great interest, yet I have had and still have no litle mind of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I woulde understand, even to attempt, if our Seas Northward be navigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sickenesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discoverie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then have bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is aforesayd.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall understand it is set for Cape or headland, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for River. Also in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, save onely in these Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is sayd) every one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should have, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Rivers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might have set, but not in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that setting onely the names almost of every Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Islands are also left out, for the said lack of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roses of the windes or points of the compasse : For that this is not for Pilots to sayle by, but a summary declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot wel perceive the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marveile, by reason of the rude composition of it, [I. 220.] will it please your Lordship to advise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam perveniens. Also I know, to set the forme Sphericall of the world in Plano after the true rule of Cosmographie, it would have bene made otherwise then this is : howbeit the demonstration should not have bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should have bin set along by the line Equinoctiall, & so then must be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them a long the Equinoctial, it would have made obscure a great part of the map. Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lack leasure and time. I trust your Lordship

A.D. 1527.

correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships service. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Jesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALso this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be shewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it prejudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peradventure it would not sound well to them, that a stranger should know or discover their secretes: and would appeare worst of all, if they understand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peradventure of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is unpossible, and I thinke never will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor else where is it to be spoken of. For to move it amongst wise men, it should bee had in derision. And therefore to none I would have written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordship, to whom boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my self. But if it please God that into England I may come with your Lordship, I will shew some conjectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordship let it be put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to send our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to have beene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the sayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone understand it better then I, or any other that could have made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinum natare. But for that I have made it after my rude maner, it is necessary that I be the declarer or gloser of mine own worke, or [illegible] your Lordship should have had much labour to understand it, which now with it also cannot be excused, [illegible] is so grossely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and hold me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they crave pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, asking pardon that at this present I write so largely. Jesus preserve your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your servant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia Templariorum Londini.

ROBERTUS jacet hîc Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria divitiis.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,
Dulce huic consilio quósque juvare fuit. [I. 221.]
Qui pius exaudis miserorum voto precésque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

[A briefe

A briefe Treatise of the great Duke of Moscovia his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscovites manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke.

It hath almost ever bene the custome of nations, in searching out the infancie and first beginnings of their estate, to ascribe the same unto such authors as lived among men in great honour and endued mankinde with some one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred desire of all nations to blaze and set foorth their owne petigree hath so much prevayled with the greater part, that leaving the undoubted trueth, they have betaken themselves unto meere fables and fictions. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in divers and sundrie ages doe testifie the same. Even so the Grecians boasted that they were either Autocthones, that is earthbredde, or els lineally descended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father unto their first founder Romulus. Right well therefore and judicially sayth Titus Livius: Neither meane I to avouch (quoth he) ne to disable or confute those thinges which before the building and foundation of the Citie have beene reported, being more adorned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and sacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is it to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in joyning together matters historicall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to seeme the more honourable. For sith antiquity it selfe is accompted such a notable argument of true nobility, even private men in all ages have contended thereabout. Wherefore citizens of Rome being desirous to make demonstration of their Gentrie, use to have their auncestours armes painted along the walles of their houses: in which regarde they were so puffed up, that oftentimes they would arrogantly disdaine those men, which by their owne vertue had attained unto honour. In like sorte Poets, when the originall of their worthines and brave champion was either utterly unknowen or somewhat obscure, would ofte referre it unto their Gods themselves. So in these our dayes (to lette passe others) the Turkish Emperour with great presumption boasteth himselfe to bee descended of the Trojan blood. Likewise the great duke of Moscovie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seeme the more sovereigne, deriveth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea even from Augustus Cæsar. Albeit therefore no man is so fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscovites have written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleeve it who listeth) had certaine brethren or kinsfolkes which were appoynted governours over divers provinces. Amongst the rest one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of government assigned unto him upon the shore of the eastern or Baltick sea, and upon the famous river of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truvor, who likewise inhabited in the very same places. Whereas therefore at the very same time the Russians or the Moscovites without any civill regiment possessed large and spacious territories towards the north, the foresayd three brethren, upon the perswasion of one Gostomislius the chiefe citizen of Novogrod, in the yeare since the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Lord 572, were sent for, to beare rule. And so joyning their kinsman Olechus unto them, and dividing these huge countreys among themselves, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and savage people unto a civill kinde of life.

Russia became civill in ye yere of our Lord 572.

Sinaus and Truvor deceasing without issue, Rurek succeeded and lefte a sonne behinde him named Igor;

who not being of sufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed unto the protection of his kinsman Olechus. The sayde Igor begate of Olha daughter unto a citizen of Plesco (who, after her husbande was slaine by his enemies, taking her journey to Constantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a sonne called Stoslaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoslaus was slayne by his foe, who making a drinking cup of his skull, engraved therupon in golden letters this sentence: Seeking after other mens, he lost his owne. He left [I. 222.] behind him three sonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir having slaine his two brethren, became sole governour of Russia, or (as the Moscovites call it) Rosseia, his owne selfe. This man beginning at length to loath and mislike the ethnik religon, and the multitude of false gods, applyed his minde unto the religion of Christ, and having taken to wife Anna sister unto Basilius and Constantinus Emperours of Constantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Christ 988. baptized, and imbraced the Christian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Basilius.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Basilius Emperour of Constantinople sent a bishop unto the Russians, by whose meanes they were converted unto the Christian faith. He reporteth moreover that they would not be perswaded unlesse they might see a miracle: whereupon the said bishop having made his prayers unto almighty God, threwe the booke of the Evangelists into the fire, which remained there unconsumed. And that by this miracle they were mooved to give credite unto the doctrine of Christ, and to conforme themselves thereunto.

The sonnes of Vulodimir were Vuiseslaus, Isoslaus, Jaroslaus, Suatopolcus, Borissus, Glebus, Stoslaus, Vulzevolodus, Stanislaus, Sudislaus, and Podius who died in his childhood. Amongst the residue all Russia was divided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but invading each other, were most of them slaine by their mutuall contentions. Borissus and Glebus in regard of their holy conversation were registred for Saints, whose feasts are every yeere celebrated with great solemnitie upon the twelfth of November.

At length Jaroslaus only got the Sovereigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure sonnes, Vulodimir, Isoslauus, Weceslauus, and Vuszevolodus.

Kiow.

The foresaid Vulodimir sonne of Jaroslaus kept his residence at the ancient citie of Kiow standing upon the river of Boristhenes, and after divers conflicts with his kinsmen, having subdued all the provinces unto himselfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champoin. This man (for I thinke it not amisse to report those things which their owne Manuscript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre against Constantine the Emperour of Constantinople, and when he had wasted & overrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich spoyles, and making preparation for new wars, Constantine sent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Ephesus and two Bishops, with the governour of Antiochia, and Eustaphius the Abbat of Jerusalem, to present rich and magnificent gifts unto him; as namely, part of the crosse of our Saviour Christ, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiously made of Sardonyx stone, a cloake set all over with precious stones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to salute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooved by many arguments, signifieth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a most inviolable league of amity and friendship with him.

The foresayd Vulodimir begate Vuszevolodus the second. This Vuszevolodus lefte eight sonnes behind him, Miscislaus, Isoslaus, Stoslaus, Teropolcus, Weceslaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The sonnes of George were Roseslaus, Andrew, Basilius, and Demetrius.

1237. Demetrius begat George, who in the yere 1237. was slaine by one Bathy, a Tartarian duke, which Bathy wasted Moscovia, and subdued the same unto himselfe. Since which time the Russians were tributary to the Tartars, and were governed by such dukes as they pleased to set over them. Howbeit the Tartars so greatly abused that authoritie, that when they sent their ambassadours unto the prince of Moscovie, he was constrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbortus Fulstinius in his Polonian historie reporteth) to offer them a bason full of mares milk, and if they had spilt any whit thereof upon their horses maines, to licke it off with his toung, and having conducted them into his princely court, to stand bareheaded before them while they sate downe, and with all reverence to give eare and attendance unto them. But by what meanes they shooke off at the length this yoake of servitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the same time almost all Polonia, and the dukedome of Silesia were overrun by the Tartars with fire and sword. Who having burnt Presla the chiefe citie of Silesia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a most cruel and bloody field, wherin was slain duke Henrie himselfe being sonne unto the most holy and devout lady Hedvice, with many others, whose monuments and graves be as yet extant in sundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common souldiers, insomuch that the Tartars filled nine great sackes with the eares of them which they had slaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, presented unto the view of our souldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique upon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being shaken and mooved up and downe breathed foorth a most loathsome stench, & strooke such a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were astonished with the snaky visage of Medusa, they were utterly daunted and dismayed.

[I. 223.] From thence Bathy and his company with the same bloodthirstie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almost slaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his sonne escaping by flight did scarcely ridde themselves out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almost was exceedingly terrified at the cruell invasions of this most barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth sending ambassadours unto Bathy obtained peace for five yeeres: but to forsake his heathenish superstitions and to become a Christian, hee would by no meanes bee perswaded. For he was by the instigation of the Saracens infected with devilish opinions of Mahomet, as being more agreeable unto his barbarous rudenes, which even unto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes also.

These ambassadours were Johan. de Plano Carpini & Frier Benedict a Polonian.

This Bathy had a sonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moscovites call Temirkutla, who likewise, as it is recorded in histories, attained unto great renoume. For he caried about with him in a cage Bajazet the Turkish Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing stocke unto all men.

Let us now returne unto the Russians. George being slaine, Jaroslaus his brother succeeded in his roome, and left behinde him three sonnes, Theodorus, Alexander and Andreas. Daniel the sonne of Alexander first established his royall seate in the citie of Mosco, and magnificently building the castle which before time had bene obscure, he tooke upon him the title of the great Duke of Russia. He had five sonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Borissus, Ophonias, and John. This John succeeded his father, and because he continually caried a scrippe about with him to bestow almes, he was sirnamed Kaleta, which word signifieth a scrippe. His sonnes were, Simeon, John, and Andrew. He gave unto his sonne Simeon the provinces of Vulodimiria and Moscovia: which Simeon deceasing without issue his brother John succeeded, who begate a sonne called Demetrius. This Demetrius had seven sonnes, namely

The citie of Mosco first made the seate of the great Duke.

Daniel, Basilius, George, Andrew, Peter, John, & Constantine. Basilius reigned after his fathers death. This man dishinheriting his sonne which was called after his owne name, because he suspected his mother of adulterie, at his death surrendred his Dukedome unto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in prison. Howbeit at his death, though himselfe had two sonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being stricken perhaps with remorse of conscience, he bestowed the Dukedome upon his nephew Basilius. Against whom his two cousins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length having taken him by a wyly stratageme they put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the Boiarens (for so the Moscovites call their nobles) continued their duetifull alleageance unto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindnes they called Cziemnox, that is to say, darke or darkened. He left a sonne behinde him called Ivan Vasilowich who brought the Russian common wealth, being before his time but obscure, unto great excellencie and renowme. Who that he might the better get all the superiority into his owne hands put to death so many sonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take upon him the title of the great Duke of Vulodimiria, Moscovia, and Novogardia, and to call himselfe the Monarch or Czar of all Russia. He brought under his subjection two principall cities, namely Plesco being the only walled citie in all Moscovie, and Novogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike most riche and flourishing cities, and having bin subject unto the Lithuanians for the space of 50. yeeres before. The treasure of Novogrod was so exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to have carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and silver.

Ivan Vasilowich.

The name of the Moscovites first advanced.

He also was the first man that waged warre against the Polonians and the Livonians: against Polonia he pretended a quarell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married unto Alexander the great

Duke of Lithuania, which was afterward king of Polonia) was evil intreated, and was withdrawen from the Greekish religion unto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But against the Livonians for none other cause, but onely for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulsive causes of litle or no moment happened in the mean season, we will in another place more plainely declare. Notwithstanding he was very often and in divers battels vanquished by Plettebergius the great master of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpose to stand any longer upon this discourse.

He was married first unto Marie the Duke of Tyversky his daughter, and of her hee begate John, unto whom in his life time he surrendred his Dukedome, and married him unto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldavia: which John, after he had begotten his sonne Demetrius, deceased before his father.

Afterward Ivan Vasilowich aforesaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter unto Thomas Palælogus, which is reported to have had her dowry out of the Popes treasury, because the Moscovite had promised to conforme himselfe unto the Romish Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aspiring minde, and often complaining that she was married unto the Tartars vassal, at length by her instant intreatie and [I. 224.] continual perswasions, and by a notable stratageme she cast off that slavish yoke very much unbeseeming so mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Moscovites court, who dwelt in their owne houses built within the very castle of Mosco, and were eye witnesses of all affaires which were there performed: Sophia said she was admonished from heaven to builde a Temple in the selfe same place where the Tartars house stoode, and to consecrate it unto Saint Nicholas. Being therfore delivered of a sonne she invited the Tartarian Duke unto the solemne baptizing of him, and beeing come, shee requested him to give her his house, and obtained it at

The yoke of the Tartars shaken off.

his hands. Which house being razed and those Tartarian espials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaved and utterly dispossessed of their authoritie which they had exercised over the Russians for many yeres, and could never yet recover it; albeit they have given sundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate sixe children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & five sonnes, that is to say, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The Dukedome of right appertayned unto Demetrius the sonne of John, which was the sonne of Vasilowich by his first marriage. Howbeit Sophia prevailed so with her husband, that neglecting his graund-childe Demetrius, hee bestowed his Dukedome upon Gabriel his sonne.

Andrew the younger had a sonne called Vulodimir, of whom Mary was borne, which in the yeere of Christ 1573. was maried unto Magnus the Duke of Holst.

Basilius.

Gabriel having obtained the great dukedome of Russia, changed his name calling himselfe Basilius, and applied his minde to the atchieving of high and great enterprises. For hee reduced a great part of the dukedome of Moscovie, which Vitoldus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in possession, under his owne jurisdiction, and wonne upon the river of Boristhenes (which the Russians call Neiper) many cities and especially Smolensco, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. Having divorced his first wife, hee begate of Helena daughter unto Duke Glinskie, Ivan Vasilowich, which now this present 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was borne in the yeere of our Lorde 1528. the 25. of August, sixe houres after the rising of the sonne. The great dukedome of Russia fell unto the said Ivan Vasilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, having his uncle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a strong body and of a couragious mind he subdued the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan upon the river of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captivitie.

Ivan Vasilowich.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercession of the most sacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the space of fifty yeeres, was expired) having renewed warres against Livonia, hee brought that most flourishing province into extreame miserie, using for the same purpose a new pretense, and alleadging that it belonged unto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large historie, which perhaps in time and place convenient some more learned then my selfe will take upon them to addresse.

He is exceedingly addicted unto piety and devotion, and doth oftentimes observe very strict fastings and abstinence with his monks: and wheras the Russes in doing reverence & adoration unto God doe beate their foreheads against the ground, this Ivan Vasilowich with performing of the same ceremonie causeth his forehead to be ful of boines and swellings, and sometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & spareth no cost for that purpose. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cause) by reason of his subjects malice & treacherie, he be so addicted unto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, especially sithens he hath not an illiberal or mishapen countenance, as Attila is reported to have had. Of his first wife which was sister unto Mikita Romanowich, beeing nowe great steward of his houshold, he begate two sonnes, namely Ivan and Theodore. And albeit he was five times married, yet had he not one childe more. *Theodore.*

Whereas this Ivan Vasilowich upon certaine frivolous reasons calleth himselfe the naturall lord of Livonia, I thought it not amisse to adde an Epistle hereunto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the same matter.

S. All wee which inhabite this Province with all seemely reverence and submission of mind, do offer most humble thanks unto the Emperors most sacred and peerelesse majesty our most gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Christendome, and for the good & commodity of this our distressed and afflicted countrey, which these many yeres hath bin in stead of a bulwarke against the invasion of barbarous nations, he hath sent his ambassadors unto the great duke of Moscovia. In regard of which his fatherly love and great benefite vouchsafed on us, wee are ready when occasion shall serve, to adventure our lives and goods: praying in the meane season unto Almightie God, [I. 225.] who is the onely establisher and confounder of common wealths, to bring this excellent woorke, the foundation whereof is already laide unto a prosperous conclusion. But as touching the title which the Moscovite maketh to this province, to say the very trueth, we greatly wondred and were astonished at the declaration thereof. For it is most apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible histories, but even from the experience and state of these regions, that the said title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names soever they bee called (whereof there are divers extant among us) it cannot be proved by any mention, nor yet by any likelihoode or conjecture, that those things which the Moscovite affirmeth concerning the people which were governors of these regions in times past, and concerning the right and title of his ancestors unto this province, are grounded upon truth.

The commodities of traffike and of navigation.

For it is not unknowen by what meanes this province, partly through the industry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of navigation, was first discovered: neither is it unknowen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted unto heathenish superstitions and idolatrie, were by the croised knights (who drew other knights professing the same order in Prussia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterprise) and that with great labour and difficultie, converted unto the Christian faith: when as at the same time the Livonians had no knowledge at all of the jurisdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moscovie:

who had not onely no conversation nor dealings with the Moscovites, but were estranged also from all other nations whatsoever: for leading a miserable, poore, barbarous, and heathenish life, in savage maner among wilde beastes, and in the desert and solitary woods, they were utterly ignorant of God and destitute of civil magistrates. Howbeit this kind of government was peculiar unto them, namely that all of one familie and society used a kinde of reverence unto their elders more then to any other, whom also, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families consisted of a 100. persons) they obeyed them in al respects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal service. At the very same time the Moscovites had received the religion, and the Ecclesiasticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Easterne Church, which religion they published and dispersed throughout all provinces subject to their dominion, using their owne proper letters and characters for the same purpose. Of all which things the Livonians which very barbarously inhabited a lande beeing environed with Russia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Prussia, and the Balthic sea, never heard any report at all. It is moreover to be noted that never at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Livonia, there have bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Russes: which verily must needs have come to passe, if the Moscovites, Russes, or any other nations which use the foresaid particulars, had borne rule and authority over the Livonians: yea there had beene left some remainder and token, either of their religion and divine worship, or of their lawes and customes, or at the least of their maners, language, and letters. This indeed we can in no wise deny, that even in Livonia it selfe, there have bin in times past and at this present are many and divers languages spoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moscovian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moscovite pretendeth that there hath bin usually paide a pension or tribute unto himselfe and his predecessours out of the whole province, it is as incredible as the former.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moscovite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition under some faire pretense, amongst other of his demaunds, made mention also of a tribute which should be due unto him out of the bishop of Dorpat his jurisdiction, whereof notwithstanding hee could neither bring any just account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man living to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any such tribute was ever paid unto the Moscovite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation unto the master of the Livonian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could therof from the men of Dorpat, & urged the tribute, saying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was found recorded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Plesco contained nothing but woods and forrests for wilde beastes, that the pesaunts of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enjoyed Beehives in the said woods, and paid every yeere in lieu thereof unto the Russian governours, sixe shillings of Livonian coine. But so soone as the Russians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the saide pension ceased together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the saide sixe shillings were never since that time either demanded by the Russes or paid by the Livonians. These things which I knew concerning the causes of the Livonian warres I thought good to signifie unto you. Given the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

[I. 226.]

Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, governour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soveraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.

First the Captaine general, with the pilot major, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and accorded in unitie, love, conformitie, and obedience in every degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath overthrown many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as every person hath given an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subjects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Majestie, his heires and successors, and for the observation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preservation of his most excellent Majestie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serve his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to give up, intermit, or leave off the said voyage and enterprise untill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and life of

man may serve or extend: Therfore it behoveth every person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore every mariner or passenger in his ship hath given like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to every Captaine and master in his ship, for the observation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsailers in this present book named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preservation of the fleete, and atchieving of the voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honesty, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed & executed, in advancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therfore it is convenient that this present booke shall once every weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that every man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, every person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil (as farre forth as him shall complie) all, and every such act and acts, deede and deeds, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enjoyned (during the voyage) by the Captain generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Navigation and voyage, as also in discovering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Navigation to be set and kept, by the advice of the Captaine, Pilot major, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers and the most number of them, and in voyces uniformely agreeing in one to prevaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies have a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete shal keep together, and not separate themselves asunder, as much as by winde &

weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to have just cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Navigation of every day and night, with the points, and observation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of every ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once every weeke (if winde and weather shal serve) to conferre all the observations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and upon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remain of record for the company: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discovering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined advisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of giftes, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person or by such other, as he by common assent shall [I. 227.] appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cooke of every ship, and their associats, to give and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftner) if it shall seeme requisite, a just or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as wel flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or

vineger, and all other kinde of victualling under their charge, and they, and every of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or unprofitable excesse be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shalbe, shalbe tried untrue, remisse, negligent, or unprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to use him selfe in his charge accordingly, then every such officer to be punished or removed at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so removed not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remove, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned unto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred unto him moderately, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore used and observed.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee unshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Majesties realme & dominion, and one other person more able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the partie dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably the value of that he shall have deserved to the time of his dismission or discharge, & he to give order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the overplus of that he shall have received, which he shall not have deserved, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, and he to have the furniture of al such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be used in any ship, nor communication of

ribaldrie, filthy tales, or ungodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other divelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely povertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the utter destruction of the parties, and provoking of Gods most just wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to bee eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

A minister in the voyage.

13 Item, that morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the kings Majestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in every ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Navigants accordingly.

14 Item, that every officer is to be charged by Inventorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the same together with modest & temperate dispending of powder, shot, and use of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserved for the necessary defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Navigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to bee brought up according to the laudable order and use of the Sea, as well in learning of Navigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liveries in apparel given to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be worne,

but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the advancement and honour of the voyage, and the liveries to bee redelivered to the keeping of the marchants, untill it shal be thought convenient for every person to have the ful use of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shal have neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conservation of his health, the same shall bee delivered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value therof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted off the parties wages, that so shal receive, and weare the same.

[I. 228.] 18 Item the sicke, diseased, weake, and visited person within boord, to be tendred, relieved, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and every maner of person, without respect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuse such labour as shall be put to him, for the most benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterprise, to be atchieved exactly.

19 Item if any person shal fortune to die, or miscary in the voyage, such apparell, and other goods, as he shall have at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Master of the shippe, and an inventorie to be made of it, and conserved to the use of his wife, and children, or otherwise according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he shall have deserved to his death, and what shall rest due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this present voyage, shall not make any shew or sale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein princes, or any of their subjects, without the consent, privitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Mar-

chants and the assistants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Major, and cape marchant to be three, and every of the pettie marchants to shewe his reckoning to the cape marchant, when they, or any of them shall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie marchants, without the assent abovesaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or given to the companie, by way of marchandise, trucke, or any other respect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conserved in one masse entirely, and not to be broken or altered, until the shippes shall returne to the right discharges, and inventorie of al goods, wares, and marchandises so trucked, bought, or otherwise dispended, to be presented to the Governor, Consuls, and Assistants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Majestie may be truly answered of that which to his grace by his grant of corporation is limited, according to our most bound dueties, and the whole companie also to have that which by right unto them appertaineth, and no embezelment shall be used, but the truth of the whole voyage to bee opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and mysterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

King Edwards corporation.

21 Item, no particular person, to hinder or prejudicate the common stocke of the company, in sale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchase to be employed to any severall profite, untill the common stocke of the companie shall be furnished, and no person to hinder the common benefite in such purchases or contingents, as shal fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, industrie, or chance, nor no contention to rise in that behalfe, by any occasion of jewel, stone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it shall chance the same to rise, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or given: but every person to be bounden in such case, and upon such occasion, by order, and

direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell shall establish and determine, to whose order and discretion the same is left: for that of things uncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be given.

22 Item not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it over in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arrive.

23 Item for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare unto them strange and wonderous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be used, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ships, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie.

24 Item the person so taken, to be well entertained, used, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shal know the secrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not passe further into a lande, then that they may be able to recover their pinnesses, or ships, & not to credit the faire words of the strange people, which be many times tried subtile, and false, nor to be drawen into perill of losse, for the desire of golde, silver, or riches, and esteeme your owne commodities above al other, and in countenance shew not much to desire the forren commodities: neverthelesse take them as for friendship, or by way of permutation.

26 Item every nation and region is to be considered advisedly, & not to provoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to use them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes, and curtesie, and not to tary long in one place, untill you shall have

attained the most worthy place y^t may be found, in such sort, as you may returne w^t victuals sufficient prosperously.

27 Item the names of the people of every Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same, and what things they are most desirous of, & what commodities they wil most willingly depart with, & what mettals they have in hils, mountaines, streames, or rivers, in, or under the earth. [I. 229.]

28 Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnesses may drawe nigh, marking what things they gather, using or playing upon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29 Item if you shall be invited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30 Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, having long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31 Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, havens, & rivers, naked, having bowes and shafts, coveting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they covet for meate: if you resist them, they dive, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Islands.

32 Item if occasion shal serve, that you may give advertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and

likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors & writers, have ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which have caused wavering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselves from the adventure of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie wherof, when you shall have tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth, which you shall have experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie : which sending is not to be done, but upon urgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being advertised of your estates and proceedings, may further provide, foresee, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same : either providing before hand such things, as shall bee requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serve : in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be used, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Majestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsel, this whole companie, as also your wives, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends and familiars, be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeed to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias have to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subjects industries, and travailes by sea, have inriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both unknowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed unhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

Reason voide of experience.

33 Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, untrue reports, which be the very seedes, and fruits of contention, discord, & confusion, by evill tongues to be suffered, but the same, & all other ungodlines to be chastened charitably with brotherly love, and alwaies obedience to be used and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, under whose mercifull hand navigants above all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies having present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subjects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and upon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the advancement of you the travailers therein, your wives, and children, and so to endevour your selves as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges, and expenses, have so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was never in any realme seene, used, or knowen requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be atchieved, and brought to good effect, if every person in his vocation shall endevour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the living God, to give you his grace, to accomplish your charge to his glorie, whose merciful hand shal prosper your voyage, and preserve you from all dangers. [I. 230.]

In witnes whereof I Sebastian Cabota, Governour aforesaide, to these present ordinances, have subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere above written.

The names of the twelve Counsellors appointed in this voyage.

1 Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape marchant.
4 Master Richard Stafford Minister.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 James Dalabere Gentleman.
7 William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Borrough Master of the Edward Bonaventure.
9 Cornelius Durfurth Master of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilson.
11 John Buckland. } Masters mates.
12 Richard Ingram.

Exemplar Epistolæ seu literarum Missivarum, quas illustrissimus Princeps Eduardus ejus nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, misit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes juxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni sui anno septimo, & ultimo.

Eduardus sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Judicibus terræ, & Ducibus ejus, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub universo cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus vestris quæ imperio vestro subjacent, cuique vestrum quemadmodum convenit ei. Proptereà quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis aliis viventibus, cor & desiderium tale, ut appetat quisque cum aliis societatem inire, amare, & vicissim amari, beneficiis afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideò cuique pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficiis fovere & conservare convenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc desiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter ejus rei gratia ingressi sunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum majorúmque nostrorum exempla invitant, qui semper humanissimè susceperunt & benignissimè tractaverunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum se protectioni commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certè mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet, qui per universum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes & aridam, ut res bonas & utiles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inveniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde vicissim referant, quòd suæ regioni utile ibi repeterint: ut & populi ad quos eunt, non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè consulens, noluit ut omnia in quavis regione invenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita stabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, singulique omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac stabiliendæ amicitiæ desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones instituerunt, ut inter nostros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, nosque rogaverunt ut id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & aliis qui cum eo sunt servis nostris fidis & charis, ut pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis priùs incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, sitque amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indissolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, [I. 231.] quibus superabundant in regnis suis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, ut viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris invitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipsi sunt. Et si qua re carverint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis ut nos, & subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga servos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, perque vitam nostram, & tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum, nos pari benignitate servos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benignè tractabuntur, ut rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogavimus, ut humanitate & beneficentia omni prosequamini servos nostros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, ut vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ civitas est primaria regni nostri, Anno 5515. à creato mundo, mense Iair, 14. die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri.

The copie of the letters missive, which the right noble Prince Edward the sixt sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ 1553. and the seventh and last yeere of his raigne.

EDward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governours of the earth, and all other having any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places under the universall heaven: peace, tranquillitie, and honour be unto you, and your lands and regions, which are under your dominions, and to every of you, as is convenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath given unto mankinde, above all other living creatures, such an heart and desire, that every man desireth to joine friendship with other, to love, and be loved, also to give and receive mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in every man, with well deserving to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as being moved with this desire, come unto them from farre countreis. For how much the longer voyage they have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe invite us hereunto, forasmuch as they have ever gently and lovingly intreated such as of friendly mind came to them, aswell from Countries neare hand, as farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be right and equity to shew such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countries, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they find there commodious for their owne Countries: both aswell that the people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heaven and earth greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should have neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and every one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which universall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooved heereunto by the said desire, have instituted and taken upon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreis, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may bee opened to bring in, and cary out marchandises, desiring us to further their enterprise. Who assenting to their petition, have licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trusty and faithfull servants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to countreis to them heeretofore unknowen, aswell to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to cary unto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and us, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene us both, [I. 232.] while they permit us to take of their things, such whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therfore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit unto these our servants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours unwilling unto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiving againe of them such things as they shall bee able to give you in recompense. Shew your selves so towards them, as you would that we and our subjects should shewe ourselves towards your servants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heaven, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your servants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the favour and benignitie which you have shewed to our men. Thus after we have desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and favour, to entertaine our welbeloved servants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which never shall have ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seventh yeere of our reigne.

Iiar. I would reade Mair, that is, in the Sarasen language, mixt of Turkish and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea.

This letter was written also in Greeke, and divers other languages.

[The

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

The voiage intended for the discoverie of Cathay, and divers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places unknowen, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Governour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Adventurers of the citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seventh yeere of our most dread Soveraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Major, Masters of the ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The first ship. The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, having with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the fleete.

William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.

Roger Wilson, his Mate.

William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, John Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and use of the Seas,

John Brook, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.

John Web, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Davison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

William White, James Smith, Thomas Painter, John Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert Gwinne, Purser.

Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.

Richard Morgan, Cooke.

Thomas Nashe, his Mate.

William Light, John Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, John Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.

Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Discharged at Harwich, by reason of sicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony. [I. 233.]

For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and so discharged Thomas Nash.

The second ship.

The Edward Bonaventure, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot major of the fleete.

Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship.

John Buckland, his Mate.

George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.

John Stafford Minister.

John Stafford, Minister.

James Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, John Segswike, Thomas Francis, John Hasse, Richard Johnson, William Kempe.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome and use of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.

John Walker, his Mate.

James Long, John Cocks, Gunners.

Thomas Walter, Surgeon.

Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.

Richard Strowde, his Mate.

John Robinson, John Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Lishbie, quarter Masters.

John Austen, Steward: Patricke Stevens, his Mate.
Austen Jacks, Cooke.
William Every, Cowper.
Griffin Wagham, Carpenter.

M. William Burrough nowe comptroller of her Majesties navie.

Thomas Stelston, Thomas Townes, John Robinson, John White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, John Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, John Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, John Williams.

The third ship.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, having with her a pinnesse, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Kever, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the use and custome of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateswaine.
John Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, John Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.
John Reyne, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.

Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, John Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, John Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, John Duriforth.

The Juramentum, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOu shall sweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal subject in all points, and duties, that to a subject appertaineth, to our soveraigne Lord the kings Majestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truely to the uttermost of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, serve this present voiage, committed to your charge, and not to give up, nor sooner intermit the same, until you shall have atchieved the same, so farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleete: you shall give good, true, and faithful counsell to the said societie, and to such as shal have the charge with or under you, and not to disclose the secrets, or privities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the prejudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shal minister justice to all men under your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might move you to decline from the true ministration of justice. And further, you shal observe, and cause to be observed, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, provisions hitherto made, or heereafter to be made for the preservation or safeconduct of the fleete and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conserve the same whole and entire, without diminishment, untill you shall have delivered, or cause to be delivered the [I. 234.] same, to the use of the companie. And finally you shal use your selfe in all points, sorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

[The

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.

YOu shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according and to the uttermost of your knowledge, and good understanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the N. &c. whereof you nowe are Maister under God, both unto and from the portes of your discoverie, and so use your indevour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and profite of this right woorshipfull fellowship: and you shall not privately bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatsoever (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the private lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoever. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoever, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, marchandizes, or things for private account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for privat account, you shal give knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shal not receive nor take, nor suffer to be received or taken into your said ship during this vòyage any maner person or persons whatsoever, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serve in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their pinnesses and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and other things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed unto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwich, saluting the kings Majesty then being there, shooting off our ordinance, & so valed unto Blackwall, and there remained until the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night unto Heyreth.

The 18. day from Heyreth unto Gravesend, and there remained until the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Gravesend unto Tilberie Hope, remaining there untill the two and twentieth day.

May.

The 22. day from Tilbery Hope to Hollie haven.

The 23. day from Hollie Haven, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to us.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast over the Spits, untill we came against S. Osyth, about sixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward unto the Nase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at five of the clock in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed over the Nase, the winde being at the Southwest, untill wee came to Orwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there untill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Walsursye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discoverie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at five of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

June. The first of June the winde being at North contrary to us, wee came backe againe to Orwell, and remained there untill the 15. day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

[I. 235.] The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sayled untill we came athwart Alburrough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about five of the clocke before noone we went backe unto Orfordnesse, and there remained untill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of June the wind being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course sixe leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North, continuing in the same unto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seven of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shotland: then the wind veared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sayled North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, & Northnorthwest, then Southeast, with divers other courses, traversing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundry and manifolde contrary windes, untill the 14 day of July: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discovered land Eastward of us, unto the which we sayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on shore with our Pinnesse, & found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we judged, for feare of us.

July.

The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordnesse North and by East, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed us. In which place were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Isles of Rost, being under the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable sort of foules of divers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

In this land dwellt Octher as it seemeth.

Rost Islands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Rost, sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea untill the 27 day, and then we drew neere unto the land, which was still East of us: then went foorth our Pinnesse to seeke harborow, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Islands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also under the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from

Stanfew harbor.

Lofoot.

the maine land: and we remained there until the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about 30 leagues Northnortheast.

The 30 day of July about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islands Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight untill the second day of August: then hailing in close aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a skiffe of the Island aboord of us, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed unto us, that the Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seventy degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also under the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandise there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe unto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might have a pilot to bring us unto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should have a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring us to Finmarke, unto the wardhouse, which is the strongest holde in Finmarke, and most resorted to by report. But when wee would have entred into an harbour, the land being very high on every side, there came such flawes of winde and terrible whirlewinds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea agayne, our Pinnesse being unshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to beare any saile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the end to let the storme over passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickenesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our pinnesse, which was a discomfort unto us. Assoone as it was day, and the fogge overpast, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our shippes to Leeward of us: then we spred an hullocke of our foresaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoysed up our sailes the fourth day, sayling Northeast and by

August.

Seynam in 70 degrees.

[I. 236.]

North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part company. Thus running Northeast and by North, and Northeast fiftie leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceived that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherfore we changed our course the sixt day, and sailed Southeast and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

The eight day much winde rising at the Westnorthwest, we not knowing how the coast lay, strook our sayles, and lay a drift, where we sounded and found 160 fadomes as afore.

The ninth day, the wind vearing to the South Southeast, we sailed Northeast 25 leagues.

The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the Northeast, we ran Southeast about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we sounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire sand.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our saile East, and East and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with all, hoising out our boat to discover what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam East and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willoughbie his land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeast, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, we thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then we bare roome the 18 day Southsoutheast, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we sounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we sounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, so shoalder and shoalder water, and yet could see no land, where we marveiled greatly: to avoide this danger, we bare roomer into the sea all that night Northwest and by West.

The next day we sounded, and had 20. fadoms, then shaped our course, and ran West Southwest untill the 23. day: then we descried Low land, unto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared unto us unhabitable. Then wee plyed Westward along by that lande, which lyeth West Southwest, and East Northeast, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the sea North and by East 30. leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeast, we sailed West Northwest: after that, the winde bearing to the Northwest, we lay with our sailes West southwest, about 14. leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it, being the 28. day, finding shoale water, and bare it till we came to 3. fadome, then perceiving it to be shoale water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe Northeast along that land until we came to the point therof. That land turning to the Westwarde, we ran along 16. leagues Northwest: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was unhabited, but yet it appeared unto us that the people had bin there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

September. The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eight day we descried land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about 30. leagues, we gat the sight of land againe, and bare in with it untill night: then perceiving it to be a lee shore, we gat us into the sea, to the end to have sea roome.

The 12. of September we hailed to shoareward againe, having then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere unto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, wee came to an anker in 30. fadoms water.

The 13. day we came along the coast, which lay Northwest and by West and Southeast and by East.

The 14. day we came to an anker within two leagues of the shoare, having 60. fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, & found two or three good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast untill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary unto us, we thought it best to returne unto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the haven, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This haven runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, & other great fishes, and upon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with divers strange beasts, as ‖ guloines, and such other which were to us unknowen, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, & also very evill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could find people, who went three dayes journey, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

In this haven they died.

‖ *Or, Ellons.*

[I. 237.]

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following were written upon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonaventure.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere unto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were alive in January 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Moscovia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging: drawen by Richard Chancelour.

Forasmuch as it is meete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the travell into farre or strange countreys, to endevour themselves not onely to understande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting foorth of the same, whereby it may incourage others to the like travaile: therefore have I nowe thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my travaile in Russia and Moscovia, and other countreys thereunto adjoyning; because it was my chaunce to fall with the North partes of Russia before I came towards Moscovia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also welthy for such commodities as they have. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Coddes: they have much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof is made ‖ *Duyna.* by a river called ‖ Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They have also a great trade in seething of salte water. To the North parte of that countrey are the places where they have their Furres, as Sables, marterns, greese Bevers, Foxes white, blacke, and redde, Minkes, Ermines, Miniver, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a *Note.* Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called

Postesora, which bring them upon Hartes to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carie them to a place called Colmogro, where the hie market is holden on Saint Nicholas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanove, in our language Novogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much waxe and honie. The Dutch marchants have a Staplehouse there. There is also great store of hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that towne is from Colmogro 120 miles.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanove. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a river called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro serveth Gratanowe, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and saltfish. From Vologda to Jeraslave is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and tallowe, and corne in great plenty, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Jeraslave two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very wel replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with corne which they carie to the citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seven or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carrie corne, and some carie fish. You shall have some that carie corne to the Mosco, and some that fetch corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off; and all their cariage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North partes of the Dukes dominions, where the cold will suffer no corne to grow, it is so extreme. [I. 238.] They bring thither fishes, furres, and beastes skinnes. In those partes they have but small store of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foote thicke, but I doe not beleeve it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainely know it: for no stranger may come to viewe it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a river called Moscua which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it joyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine fayre Churches, and therin are religious men. Also there is a Metropolitane with divers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we have better in all points in England. They be well furnished with ordinance of all sortes.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I have seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming before his Majestie: After I had remained twelve daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of strangers did send for me, advertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to have me to come before his Ma. with the kings my masters letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gave mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpretour came for me into the utter chamber, where sate one hundred or moe gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne upon his head, and a staffe of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour stoode up with the Secretary before the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter delivered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour presented my present unto his Grace bareheaded (for before they were all covered) and when his Grace had received my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed unto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe unto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I have seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Majesties of England, and the table was covered with a tablecloth; and the Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupborde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of silver, with a crowne emperiall upon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stoode a table or cupbord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marveilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and silver: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupborde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and precious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his service at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich service: for all were served in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of us, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were served in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they served him with their caps on their heads. Before the service came in, the Duke sent to every man a great shiver of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, John Basilivich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Moscovia doth reward thee with bread: then must all men stand up, and doe at all times when those wordes are spoken. And then last of all he giveth the Marshall [I. 239.] bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reverence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes service of the Swannes all in pieces, and every one in a severall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer sayth the same wordes as he sayd before. And as I sayd before, the service of his meate is in no order, but commeth in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is tolde. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three severall crownes upon his head in one day. And thus when his service was all come in hee gave to every one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I have heard, that every man shall know perfectly his servants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare howe he could name them, having so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leave this, and speake no more of him nor his houshold: but I will somewhat declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreis, & his power is marveilous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he never goeth into the field himselfe with under two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnisheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaveth on the borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and upon the borders of Letto 60 thousand men, and towarde the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee never take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he useth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes have, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are covered with velvet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I have heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I have seene it, or else I would scarcely have beleeved it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired above all measure: his pavilion is covered either with cloth of gold or silver, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I have seene the Kings Majesties of England and the French Kings pavilions, which are fayre, yet not like unto his. And when they bee sent into farre or strange countreys, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgious. Els the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled over other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest five hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was above measure, not onely in themselves, but also in their horses, as velvet, cloth of golde, and cloth of silver set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say? I never heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no dayly guise, for when they have not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without al order in the field. For they runne hurling on heapes, and for the most part they never give battell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stelth. But I beleeve they be such men for hard living as are not under the sun: for no cold wil hurt them. Yea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freese more then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither tent nor any thing else over his head: the most defence they have against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when Snowe commeth hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which have other provision of their owne. Their lying in the fielde is not so strange as is their hardnes: for every man must carie & make provision for himselfe & his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderful. For he himselfe shal live upon water & otemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horse shal eat green wood, & such like baggage, & shal stand open in the cold field without covert, & yet wil he labour & serve him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriors how many should we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no such region about us that beareth that name for man & beast. Now what might be made of these men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of civill wars? If this Prince had within his countreys such men as could make them to understand ye things aforesaid, I do beleeve that 2 of the best or greatest princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, considering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & straite living both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giveth no wages, except to strangers. They have a yerely stipend & not much. As for his own countrey men every one serveth of his owne proper costes and charges, saving that he giveth to his Harcubusiers certaine allowance for powder & shot: or else no man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. [I. 240.] But if any man hath done very good service he giveth him a ferme or a piece of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoynt: who considereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and so many shall he bee bound to furnish at all and every such time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of living, but hee is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for either souldier or labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Also, if any gentleman or man of living do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithstanding he have never so many daughters, and peradventure giveth it foorthwith to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of living, which is striken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke service, some other gentleman that is not able to live and more able to doe service, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is unmeete to doe service to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke living, and we that lacke are well able to doe good service, your Grace might doe well to looke upon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proved, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd unto him, friend, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your prince, lesse will serve you, and the rest will serve other men that are more able to serve. whereupon immediately his living shal be taken away from him, saving a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere he will say, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as we the common people in England say, if wee have any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must give and grant his goods which he hath bene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in the like subjection to knowe their duety towarde their Princes. They may not say as some snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serve in my place, or make his friends tarrie at home if money have the upper hand. No, no, it is not so in this countrey: for hee shall make humble sute to serve the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the warres he thinketh he is most in his favour: and yet as I before have sayde, he giveth no wages. If they knewe their strength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them should have any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horse that knoweth not his strength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians and the Nagaians.

I will stand no longer in the rehearsall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punishments, and the execution of justice. And first I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen have rule on: And that is, that every gentleman hath rule and justice upon his owne tenants. And if it so fall out that two gentlemens servants or tenaunts doe disagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and have the parties before them, and soe give the sentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controversie, but either of the gentlemen must bring his servant or tenant before the high judge or justice of that countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The plaintife sayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arresteth the party defendant, and useth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, untill such time as he findeth suerties to answere the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme punishments till he come to his answere: And the Justice demaundeth if it be for debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such debt? He will perhaps say nay. Then sayth the Judge: art thou able to denie it? Let us heare how? By othe sayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leave beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They have no man of Lawe to pleade their causes in any court: but every man pleadeth his owne cause, and giveth bill and answere in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a supplication, & made to the Dukes Grace, and delivered him into his owne hand, requiring to have justice as in his complaint is alleaged.

[I. 241.] The duke giveth sentence himselfe upon all matters in the Law. Which is very commendable, that such a Prince wil take paines to see ministration of justice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceived. But if it fall out that the officers be espied in cloking the trueth, they have most condigne punishment. And if the plaintife can nothing proove, then the defendant must take his oth upon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintife be any thing able further to make proofe: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to proove it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare upon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they use in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & seldome the parties themselves do fight, except they be Gentlemen, for they stand much upon their reputation, for they wil not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselves. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted unto them, and no champion is to serve in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes upon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common champions have none other living. And assoone as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully used till he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintife may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be poore, he shalbe set under the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintife must sweare over his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and useth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hier to any such as neede him, untill such time as his friends make provision for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselves to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bond-men, to have during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to have a piece of mony. yea and some will sell their wives and children to bee bawdes and drudges to the byer. Also they have a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine untill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behaviour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee have very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to have him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally given to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them. They be naturally given to hard living aswell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier living in prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they have meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and live most miserably: for I have seene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people under the sunne for their hardnesse of living. Well, I will leave them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe observe the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They have no graven images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they use such idolatrie, that the like was never heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) have pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, Looke how the Painter or Carver hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we observe not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselves more holy then us. They have none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their countrey among them. All their service in Churches is in their mother tongue. They have the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they have such tricks in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at service no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their [I. 242.] prayers they have but little skill, but use to say As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord have mercy upon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they wil say they were given to Moses in the law, which Christ hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, (say they) we observe little or none thereof. And I doe beleeve them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They have the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then wee have. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church upon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule pense, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare. They have foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleeve there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkennesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters even. If they should breake that fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at heaven gates. And when any of them die, they have a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heaven gates it may deliver the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeven. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Eeven: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greatest Saints in that countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straitely kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they observe truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh.

Furthermore they have a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no flesh throughout the yeere, but fish, milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quass. They have service daily in their Churches; and use to goe to service two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to dinner: and after that to service againe: and then to supper. You shall understand that at every dinner and supper they have declared the exposition of the Gospel that day: but howe they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whoredome and drunkennesse there be none such living: and for extortion, they be the most abhominable under the sunne. Nowe judge of their holinesse. They have twise as much land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet he is reasonable eeven with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houses dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moveable and unmoveable: so that the successour buieth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, trusting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worshipfull and my singular good Uncle, Master Christopher Frothingham, give these.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, concerning the Booke following.

AND whereas (saith he) I have before made mention howe Moscovie was in our time discovered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not neede here to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he received it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot major of the voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams. [I. 243.]

Upon what occasions, and by whom this voyage was set out, and of the discoverie of Moscovie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about us, and neere unto us, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine grave Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselves, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the avoyding of so great an inconvenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discoverie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marveilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolved upon a newe and strange Navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discoverie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travaile to newe and unknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furnished for the discoverie.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choyse of certaine grave and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which should lay their heads together, and give their judgements, and provide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publiquely bee collected to serve for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any private man should bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that every man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and five pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of sixe thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they provided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with daily travaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious invention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the rest to bee imployed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they cover a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and having thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the provision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to have the East part of the world sayled unto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northren tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolved to victuall the ships for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the world, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them sixe moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Provision of victuals for 18. moneths.

Nowe this provision being made and caried aboord, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and governours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselves, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed unto him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the services of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage,

Choise of Captaines and Pilots.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

[I. 244.] and appoynted to him the Admirall with authoritie and commaund over all the rest. And for the governement of other ships although divers men seemed willing, and made offers of themselves thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great estimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this businesse rested. This man was brought up by one Master Henry Sidney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloved of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent speech or Oration, and spake to them after this maner following.

Master Henry Sidney his Oration.

My very worshipfull friends, I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and vertuous intention, in the serious enterprising (for the singular love you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will proove profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours wee also of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing so deare and precious unto us, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I rejoyce in my selfe, that I have nourished and maintained that witte, which is like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite and steede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not have you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chanceler, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable unto mee, but that you might conceive and understand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this businesse, and that the authoritie and estimation which hee deserveth may be given him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by speech and companie, but I by the daily triall of his life have a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember, into howe many perils for your sakes, and his countreys love, he is nowe to runne: whereof it is requisite that wee be not unmindefull, if it please God to send him good successe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: He commits his life (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the uncertainties of many dangers. We shall here live and rest at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and unruly Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares shall hee trouble and vexe himselfe? with how many troubles shall he breake himselfe? and howe many disquietings shall hee bee forced to sustaine? We shall keepe our owne coastes and countrey: Hee shall seeke strange and unknowen kingdomes. He shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to favour and love the man thus departing from us: and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had delivered this or some such like speech, much more eloquently then I can possiblie report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke upon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whom the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowen) began secretly to rejoyce with themselves, and to conceive a speciall hope, that the man would proove in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and shining to the world would growe to the great honour and advancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest gravity amongst them, to inquire, search and seeke what might be learned & knowen, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were sent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answere nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly said) to tosse pottes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grewe at last to this issue, to set downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the shippes: because divers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yeere was already spent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would bee stopt and bard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping, and depart from Radcliffe upon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They having saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and having wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or skie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay) presently upon the newes therof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare: the privie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne up to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an Eccho, and

They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

[I. 245.]

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the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best maner hee could. Another walkes upon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands upon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde should drawe them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hoysed up saile, and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native Countrey, which they knewe not whether they should ever returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what uncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

Amongst the rest, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, was not a little grieved with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked, and were not stanch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphanes if he spedde not well: the estate also of his companie mooved him to care, being in the former respects after a sort unhappie, and were to abide with himselfe every good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of sorowes and cares, after many dayes sayling, they kenned land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Crosse of Islands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and providence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the governement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, every shippe should indevour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a haven or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arrived there first in safetie should stay and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outragious, that the ships could not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driven one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdest voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requested him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the said Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was caried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the third ship also with the same storme and like rage was dispersed and lost us.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was overwhelmed in the sight and viewe of the Mariners of the Bonaventure: and as for them that are already returned and arrived, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them.

They returne the next yeere not knowing what was become of the other 2. ships.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap have overtaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea have devoured those good men, or if as yet they live, and wander up and downe in strange Countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be living, let us wish them safetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian grave and Sepulchre.

[I. 246.]

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his shippe and company being thus left alone, and become very pensive, heavie, and sorowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrivall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and having stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who having understanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to disswade him from the further prosecution of the discoverie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose. But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reprochfull, as inconstancie and levitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour coulde not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to avoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remaining stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chanceler in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chanceler, that they were resolute, and prepared under his direction and government, to make proofe and triall of all adventures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed up with like good will and love towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arrivall of the rest of the shippes to be every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea againe, and Master Chanceler held on his course towards that unknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely upon the huge and mightie Sea. And having the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout over. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast ancre, and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certaine fisher boate, which Master Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of living they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had never seene the like) beganne presently to avoyde and to flee: but hee still following them at last overtooke them, and being come to them,

They arrive in the Bay of Saint Nicholas.

they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those dueties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much favour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arrivall of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious use and custome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

The discoverie of Russia.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscovie, and that Ivan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and governed farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answere was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, having from him in commandement certaine things to deliver to their King, and seeking nothing els but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subjects of both kingdomes.

[I. 247.]

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meane time Master Chanceler intreated victuals for his money of the governour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his company. To whom the Governours answered, that they knewe not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Nowe while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger unto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arrivall of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome unto him, insomuch that voluntarily hee invited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a journey, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his subjects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste horses. In the meane time the governours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending divers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the governours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their answere: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, untill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chanceler, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscovites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chanceler beganne his journey, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein hee had the use of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themselves upon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause wherof is the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they having passed the greater part of their journey, mette at last with the Sleddeman (of whom I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Justices or governours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship. But having long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by delivered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most loving maner that could be: wherein expresse commandement was given, that post horses should bee gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their journey so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striving and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledde: so that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie journey, (for they had travailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) Master Chanceler came at last to Mosco the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of Moscovie, wee will speake immediatly more at large in this discourse.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chanceler.

Of Moscovie, which is also called Russia.

MOscovie, which hath the name also of Russia the white, is a very large and spacious Countrey, every way bounded with divers nations. Towards the South and the East, it is compassed with Tartaria: the Northren side of it stretcheth to the Scytian Ocean: upon the West part border the Lappians, a rude and savage nation, living in woods, whose language is not knowen to any other people: next unto these, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Livonia, and last of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moscovie, hath also very many and great rivers in it, and is marish ground in many places: and as for the rivers, the greatest and [I. 248.] most famous amongst all the rest, is that, which the Russes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next unto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of these, to wit, Rha, and Boristhenes yssuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiving many other pleasant rivers into it, & running from the very head or spring of it towards the East, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth it selfe, and all the other waters and rivers that fall into it by divers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountaine of great name in those partes, and growing great neere to his head, spreds it selfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth so runne for certaine miles, untill it fall into another lake, which they call Ivan: and therehence fetching a very crooked course, comes very neere to the river Volga: but disdaining as it were the company of any other river, doth there turne it selfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at last into the Lake of Mœotis. Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as wee sayde before) carieth both it selfe, and other waters that are neere unto it, towards the South, not refusing the mixture of other small rivers: and running by many great and large Countreys fals at last into Pontus Euxinus. Besides these rivers, are also in Moscovie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fish by the celestiall influence: and amongst them all, the chiefest and most principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a

The mightie lake of Bealozera.

very strong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moscovie reserve and repose their treasure in all time of warre and danger.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the snow lieth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the river did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and invented of olde, were there to be seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither sawe them, nor yet have brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscovie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large & spacious woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beastes bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolves, and another kinde of beast unknowen to us, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring foorth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burden, which otherwise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part a horsebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diversitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same firebrand, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more & more increase by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde slake, untill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going up

The sharpnes of the winter in Moscovie. onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eftsoones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more temperate.

Of Mosco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

IT remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Mosco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince also, as before we have promised. The Empire and government of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefest of al the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignesse it is as great as the Citie of London, with the suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenesse, nothing comparable to ours. *Their manner of building.* There are many Townes and Villages also, but built out of order, and with no hansomnesse: their streetes and wayes are not paved with stone as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the roofes for the most part are covered with shingle boords. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is joyned directly towards the North, with a [I. 249.] bricke wall: the walles also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickenesse eighteene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a drie ditch, on the other side the river Moscua, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the East doth admit into it the companie of the river Occa.

In the Castle aforesaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether unhansome, which are used and kept by certaine religious men, over whom there is after a sort, a Patriarke, or Governour, and with him other reverend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the kings

Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houses of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettisses admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there: they build and joyne to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all private mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelve dayes in the Citie, there was then a Messenger sent unto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and therehence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men beganne to wonder at the Majestie of the Emperour: his seate was aloft, in a very royall throne, having on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garnished, and beset with precious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Majestie in his countenance proportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sate the Counsel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like sort arayed, and of great state. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Majestie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well have amazed our men, and have dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding Master Chanceler being therewithall nothing dismaied saluted, and did his duetie to the Emperour, *King Edwards letters delivered.*

after the maner of England, and withall, delivered unto him the letters of our king, Edward the sixt. The Emperour having taken, & read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretary, which at the delivery of it, put of his hat, being before all the time covered: and so the Emperour having invited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, & having stayed there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour sitting upon an high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of silver, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed over against him, sit downe: in the middes of the roome stoode a mightie Cupboord upon a square foote, whereupon stoode also a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and every steppe rose up more narrowe then another. Upon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignesse, which did adorne the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least five foote long. There were also upon this Cupbord certaine silver caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reserved the Emperours drinke: on each side of the Hall stood foure Tables, each of them layde and covered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees:

all which were filled with the assemblie present: the ghests were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe upon his forehead: they that are in speciall favour with the Emperour sit upon the same bench with him, but somewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscovy, doth first bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his ghests, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscovie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, John Basiliwich (& then the officer nameth the ghest) doth give thee bread. Whereupon al the ghests rise up, [I. 250.] and by & by sit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Usher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of servants, carying the dishes, and having done his reverence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter upon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, delivering it to the Carver, and seven other of his fellowes, to be cut up: which being perfourmed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Usher receives his bread, and tasteth to the Emperour, and afterward, having done his reverence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the use of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand upon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. servitors arayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thrise their habit and apparell, which servitors are in like sort served with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in such sort, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes tolde our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houshold: and withal, that such as are under his displeasure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the discipline of warre among the Russes.

WHensoever the injures of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, hee never armeth a lesse number against the enemie, then 300. thousand soldiers, 100. thousand whereof hee carieth out into the field with him, and leaveth the rest in garison in some fit places, for the better safetie of his Empire. He presseth no husbandman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe provide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile w^t^out is gilded, or els adorned with silke, although it pertaine to a common soldier: they have a great pride in shewing their wealth: they use bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the maner of the Turks: They are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of cold, above all others. For when the ground is covered with snowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs up his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe drives, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serves him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drinke is colde water of the river, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and so sitteth downe by his fire, and upon the hard ground, rosteth as it were his wearie sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. How justly may this barbarous, and rude Russe condemne the daintinesse and nicenesse of our Captaines, who living in a soile & aire much more temperate, yet commonly use furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees come into the field a little better provided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then above all other times, most notable. The coverings of his tent for the most part, are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workemanship of plumasiers. As often as they are to skirmish with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie divisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set upon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede upon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable maner of living, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behave himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth upon him in recompense of his service, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may live upon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be never so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peradventure the Emperour of his good-

[I. 251.] nesse, give some portion of the land amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoever he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreover, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is unfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the unhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, deprived of all his riches, which with great paines and travell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then give that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour having taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: and oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more the favour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe upon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscovie.

THe Moscovite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we have spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and silver, and very curiously embrodered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to use them at such times, as any wearinesse came upon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscovites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Novogorode.

NExt unto Mosco, the Citie of Novogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Majestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the cheifest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscovie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the river, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they used the like ill dealing there, which they did with us, they lost their privileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arrivall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rovers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceived feare, that they should never have returned home. But the Emperour beleeving rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, used no ill intreatie towards them.

The knavery of the Flemings against our men.

[Yeraslave

Yeraslave.

YEraslave also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee solde, although other places have greater store: this Yeraslave is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such store of corne, that in convaying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a forenoone, a man shall see seven hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then cary it away upon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it spring up, it never comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are saltfish, skinnes, and hides.

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Vologda.

VOlogda being from Mosco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of Hempe and Flaxe also: although the greatest store of Flaxe is solde at Novogrode.

Plesco.

THe Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of Honie and Waxe that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THe North parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women and Ladies: it hath also Martins skinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Bevers, Minxes, and Minivers. The sea adjoyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Mors, which seeketh his foode upon the rockes, climing up with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes use to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they cary upon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serves all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The Russians also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call traine, which they make in a river called ‖ Una, although it be also made elsewhere: and here they use to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt. *Or, Dwina*

Of controversies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAving hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscovits doe use, as farre foorth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controversie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Judges in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintif craveth of the said Magistrate, that he may have leave to enter law against his adversarie: and having obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Judge. The Judge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then saith the Judge, How canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, By an othe: thereupon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, untill the matter be further tried. They have no Lawyers, but every man is his owne Advocate, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answere of the defendant, are in maner of petition delivered to the Emperour, intreating justice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth every great controversie, and upon the hearing of it, giveth judgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthy of speciall commendation, in the Majestie of a Prince. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully pervert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most severely. Now at the last, when ech partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Judge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth, that in fight betwixt themselves the matter may be ended: which being graunted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them seeme unfit for that kinde of triall, then they have publike Champions to be hired, which live by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with yron axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is overcome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, untill he agree with his adversarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Judge granteth it: in which case they may not use publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and wil not fight with him. If a poore man happen to grow in debt, his Creditor takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh up. And there are some among them, that use willingly to make themselves, their [I. 253.] wives, and children, bondslaves unto rich men, to have a little money at the first into their hands, and so for ever after content themselves with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments upon theeves.

IF any man be taken upon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with us: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be avoyded.

Of their religion.

THey maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no graven images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they have in great abundance, which they do adore and offer unto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water upon them, without other honour. They say that our images which are set up in Churches, and carved, have no divinitie in them. In their private houses they have images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: hee that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beateth his browe upon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is received and held amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whom then chastitie for ever is commanded. Their divine service is all done and said in their owne language, that every man may understand it: they receive the Lords Supper with leavened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiving and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They use both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselves that doe reade, understand not what themselves doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie given by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the service they use very great silence and reverence and behave themselves very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords praier, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they utterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Every yeere they celebrate foure severall fastes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and last begins upon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent upon Wednesday, so they begin theirs upon the Sunday. Upon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoever any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they live altogether upon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours every where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall love and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seven dayes are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselves at home, and use often prayer: and for that sevennight they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that sevennights fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but upon every Wednesday and Friday, in every weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.

[I. 254.] There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great livings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes doe at the least possesse the third part of the livings, throughout the whole Moscovite Empire. To those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fish at all: onely they live with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their use and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do every day say service, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such observation begin their service, that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they have so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner *Note.* they goe againe to service, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel used.

Whensoever any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his housholde stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, silver, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are covered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they usually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set up their bels, wherein sometimes they have but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one use and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scroule, & in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, having received the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiving it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heaven, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselves to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselves onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Babarians.

Of the Moscovites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

Aurea vetula, or Zelotibaba.

THere is a certaine part of Moscovie bordering upon the countreys of the Tartars, wherin those Moscovites that dwell are very great idolaters: they have one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife: & they have a custome that whensoever any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idol, which they do after this maner: they fall down prostrate before the idol, & pray unto it, & put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: & about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: upon their cymball they place a silver tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoever of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the devill, or idole, he is againe restored to life, & then doth reveale and deliver the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are delivered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their private houses, and of the apparell of the people.

THe common houses of the countrey are every where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames doe so receive the round holownesse of the uppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is joined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme & fashion of their houses in al places is foure square, with streit and narrow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or covered with skinne like to parchment, they receive the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boords covered without with ye barke of trees : [I. 255.] within their houses they have benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe upon, for the common people knowe not the use of beds : they have stooves wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like unto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe upward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie : for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reverence is given them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Marie.

THese are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subjects newly returned from Russia have brought home concerning the state of that countrey : wherfore if your majestie shall be favourable, and grant a continuance of the travell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the verie creation have had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.

Ivan Vasilivich, that is to say, John the sonne of Basilius.

THe Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Ivan Vasilivich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperor of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Novograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslavely, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England, &c. according to our most hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, & according to our holy Christian faith, & great governance, & being in the light of great understanding, our answere by this our honourable writing unto your kingly governance, at the request of your faithfull servant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our governance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes arrived a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and sayd, that hee was desirous to come into our dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Majestie, and ‖ our eyes: and hath declared unto us your Majesties desire, as that we should grant unto your subjects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subjects, to frequent free Marts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and upon

‖ That is, come into our presence.

the same to have wares for their returne. And they have also delivered us your letters, which declare the same request. And hereupon we have given order, that wheresoever your faithful servant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arrived, as your servant Richard can declare.

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnes, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commandement will not leave it undone: and are furthermore willing that you send unto us your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may have passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmelesse. And if you send one of your majesties counsel to treate with us whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they shall have their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we have commaunded to be under sealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060, the second moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moscovian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper upon waxe. This seale was much like ye broad seale of England, having on the one side the image of a man on horseback in complete harnesse fighting with a dragon. Under this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscovian letters. These letters were sent the next yere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and measures used in Russia, written by John Hasse, in the yere, 1554.

[I. 256.]

Forasmuch as it is most necessary for al marchants which seeke to have traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselves with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to joyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their paiments, as also what their common weights and measures be: for these causes I have thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new adventure, may the better understand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

No coines of gold in Russia, but all of silver.

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then silver in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serveth for the reliefe of the poore in Mosco, & no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the silver coines, 18. But I will not stand upon this, because it is no currant money among merchants.

Of silver coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfepenie, penie, and twopence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forrein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfpenie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, six Dengaes to an Altine, and 23 Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The weights in Russia.

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sorts of pounds in use amongst them, the one great, ye other small: the great pound is just two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of Beasemar, and the smal they call the Skalla weight: with this smal weight they weigh their silver coines, of the which the Emperor hath commanded to put to every small pound three Rubbles of silver, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost al other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the Pode, as hops, salt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with divers others, notwithstanding they use to weigh batrie more often by the small weight then by the great.

Whensoever you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the small. Also they divide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe use to retaile by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they cal the Beasemar, they sel by pode, or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the smal 80: there goe 10. podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but above 12 I thinke it be. But for your just proofe, weigh 6 Rubbles of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh: for 6 Rubbles of Russia is by the Emperors standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the just waight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

There is another weight needfull to be knowen, which is the weight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their drie fish by weight, which weight is the Beasemar, as they of Russia doe use, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be understood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the weie is 3 great pound, and 8 weie is a shippound. *The weight of Wardhouse.*

Now concerning their measures. As they have two sortes of weights, so they have also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and wollen: they cal the one an Areshine, and the other a Locut: the Areshine I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Areshine they may mete all such sorts of clothes as come into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themselves. And whereas we use to give yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do give nothing but bare measure. *The Russia measures.*

They have also a measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Osmine: this Setforth I take to bee three bushels of London measure. And as for their drinke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I never saw any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell. [I. 257.] *The measure of Wardhouse in cloth, is the measure of Danske.*

Concerning the tolles & customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscovia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land, and above that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which ye buyer or *The Turkes and Armenians pay custome.* *The Emperors beame.*

seller must make report to of the Master of the beame: they also pay a certaine horse toll, which is in divers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Dutch nation lost their priviledges, & renued them with a great summe.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priviledges which they have recovered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Justice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpte and Revel have yeelded themselves under the government of the Emperour of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priviledges.

The commodities of Russia.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be understood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resorte all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfish, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they have great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Novogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockefish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their drie fish they carrie to Novogrode, and sell it there to the Lieflanders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beavers, Minkes, Armine, Lettis, Graies, Woolverings, and white Foxes, with Deere skinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted savage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres doe use to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, & such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Novogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, & sell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the standing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon : there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko.

Vologda and the state thereof.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our marchants, because it lieth amongest all the best towns of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but trades with it : also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselves in Mosco or Novogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda : for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will thinke ye Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be woorse : for the charge there would be so great by cravers and expenses, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will bee saved. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may bee there in the Winter to serve the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of waxe and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their hands : as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moscovia, besides those above rehearsed : if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage over land.

The Emperor of Moscovie is a marchant himselfe.

Our marchants may doe well to provide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serve them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeve, they shal serve better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Revel: for it is no smal adventure to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not litle to cary them over lande to Novogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

[I. 258.] This Novogrode is a place wel furnished with flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundles, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Novogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Novogrode, and when they heare of the utterance which they may have with our nation, they wil as willingly come to them as goe to other.

Two sorts of flaxe.

They have in Russia two sorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundels then the small: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a shippound, there goeth not of the greater sort above 22. or 24 at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

The letters of king Philip and Queene Marie to Ivan Vasilivich the Emperour of Russia written the first of April 1555 and in the second voyage.

PHilip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right Mightie, and right excellent Prince, garnished with all gifts of nature, by Gods grace John Vasilivich

Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tueria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Novogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskay, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the consent and licence of our most deare and entirely beloved late brother, King Edward the sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subjects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper costs and adventure furnish three shippes to discover, serch, and find lands, Islands, regions, and territories before this adventure not knowen, ne commonly haunted and frequented by seas. The one of the which three shippes, named the Edward Bonaventure, (whereof our right welbeloved Richard Chancelour was then governour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arrive and winter in the North part of your Empire of Russia. Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our trustie and welbeloved subject, that your Majestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall presence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, & partly by request of the sayd Richard Chancelour, have by your letters patents under your seale among other things granted: That all such marchants as shall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil travel or occupie within your dominions, The same marchants with their marchandises in al your lordship may freely, & at their libertie travaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of losse: And of your farther ample goodnesse have promised that our ambassadours, if wee send any, shall with free good will passe to and from you without any hinderance or losse, with such message as shall come unto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely favour and goodnesse, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subjects marchants: Even so these are to pray and request you to continue the same benevolence toward them, and other our marchants and subjects, which doe or heereafter shall resorte to your countrey: And for the more assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subjects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorise such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloved subjects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters: who are by us authorised [I. 259.] for that purpose: and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priviledges unto the Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communaltie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good government, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your saide dominions; And this with such your clemencie and expedition, as wee, upon the next arrivall of the saide Richard Chancelour may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answere. Which your benevolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subjects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost have you in his blessed keeping.

Given under our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1555. and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes.

Articles conceived and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this company resiant in Russia, and at the Warhouse, for the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

FIrst, the Governour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, jointly and severally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturneis generall and speciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and every kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden & shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonaventure, appointed for Russia, the same to utter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and advantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion & benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or provide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade them homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to John Brooke for the Wardhouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as above, to the said Agents, to binde & charge the said company by debt for wares upon credit, as good opportunitie and occasion shal serve, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors, for the paiments of such things as

shalbe taken up for credite, and the said Agents to be relieved ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the said first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the king and Queenes Majesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to give and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of ye Emperour such further grants and priviledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subjects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe devised and delivered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend upon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee delivered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behaviours of the people of the countreis where they shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as fewe debtes as possiblie may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positive bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister under them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe with quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arrive or traffique.

5 Item, that provision bee made in Mosco or elswhere, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and com-

panie to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soever he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be given, and that every inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the orders, rules and [I. 260.] governments of the said Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall be found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehaviour, at the discretion of the said Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6 Item, if any person of the said ministers shall be of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the saide Agents to displace every such person from the place or roume to him heere committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the saide Agents by their discretions shal seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall bee found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the said Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee delivered to the Justice of the countrey, to receive such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the saide Agents and factours shall daily one houre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most convenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee provided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or devise, but to observe the same exactly, upon such reasonable paine as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the said Agents shall in the ende of everie weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Casshers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also

shall receive and take weekly the account of every other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and also of the state of the houshold expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to bee firmed by the saide Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take upon him to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, marchandises or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agents under their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11 Item, that every inferiour minister, that is to understand, all Clerks and yong merchants, being at the order of the saide Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and travaile to all such place, and places, as they or hee shall be appointed unto by the saide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truely to the most benefite of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, even as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at every moneths end, all accounts and reckonings shalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the privileges, and copies of letters, may and shall be well and truely written by the secretarie, in such forme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be sent home with the said ship at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and observe all kinde of wares, as wel naturals as forrein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be sold for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of these West partes bee most vendible in those Realmes with profite, giving a perfect advise of all such things requisite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole masse of your stock, and will have the trade of it to utter to his owne subjects, then debating

the matter prudently among your selves, set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selves to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, having in your mindes the notable charges that the companie have diffrayed in advancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which must bee requited by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetual president for ever: and therefore all circumspection is to be used, and foreseene in this first enterprise, which God blesse and prosper under you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Majestie, and the Lords of the Councell have conceived great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated.

Note.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you use all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well travailed persons, either naturall or forrein, such as have travailed from the North to the South.

Inquirie for the way to Cathaya.

16 Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said first ships be arrived in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate & condition, to visite, refresh, relieve, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as oure deare and welbeloved brethren of this our societie, to their rejoycing and comfort, advertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, no lesse then if they had bene present.

[I. 261.]

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shal arrive at this going foorth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with John Buckland master of the Edward, John Howlet master, and John Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to consider whether they may bargaine with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantity of fish, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in hanting the place, if profit wil so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receive at the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount unto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude & accord certainely among themselves upon their arrivall, that the certaintie may (upon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them.

The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that John Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good advise of the rest of our Agents, how to use himselfe in al affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains advisedly, not crediting the people untill their natures, dispositions & fidelities shal be well tried, make

Note.

no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most advantage, what kindes and diversities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske. *Note.*

19 Item, he to have a diligent eye & circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require advise, counsel, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our houswife, as our speciall trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, absteine from all excesse of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to use and behave themselves as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conveniently & profitably provided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole advertisements of the marchants, with such further advise for the next yeeres provision, as they shall give.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inviolably to be observed, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any Haven or Port of England, otherwise then wind and weather shall serve, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened,

chest, fardell, trusse, barrel, fat, or whatsoever thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, untill the companie shall give order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take viewe, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall give order for the breaking up of the saide bulke, or give licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that every officer shall shewe the invoise of his charge to him first committed, [I. 262.] and to examine the wastes and losses, and to deliver the remainder to the use and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, skafemasters, and all other *Note.* officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust dayly to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, given, & delivered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscovia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, maners, customes, uses, tolles, cariages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be rejected and utterly abandoned, to the intent that every man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premisses, that by ignorance, no losse or prejudice may grow or chance to the company: assuring themselves, that forasmuch as the company hath travelled and laboured so in these their instructions to them given, that every man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretense or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or just cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light upon the negligent offending person, especially upon such as of their owne heads, or

temeritie, will take upon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby prejudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents as above is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commissions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloved Agents and factors to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, upon good advised deliberations shalbe thought good and beneficiall. Provided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserved and preserved: which to confirme we beseech the living Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praises.

Finally for the service, and due accomplishment of all the premisses, every Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely given a corporall othe upon the Evangelists to observe, and cause to be observed, this commission, and every part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also have bounde themselves and their friendes to the companie in severall summes of money, expressed in the actes and records of this societie, for the trueth and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifester testification of the trueth, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they have to this Commission subscribed particularly their severall hands, and the company also in confirmation of the same, have set their seale. Yeven the day, moneth, and yeeres first above mentioned.

The othe ministred to the servants of the fellowship.

YE sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shal wel, faithfully and truely, and uprightly, and with all your indevour, serve this right worshipfull company in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee unto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faithfull to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and uprightly according to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time given and to be given, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or covertly doe, exercise or use any trade or feate of marchandizes for your owne private account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any other person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in writing. And if you shall know or understand any other person or persons to use, exercise or doe any trade, traffike or feat of marchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall truely and plainly disclose, open, utter and reveale, and shew the same unto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, covin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first Agent in Moscovie, touching their interteinement in their second voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of November in Mosco.

[I. 263.]

Right worshipfull, my duetie considered, &c. It may please your worship to understand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, save onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the river out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares up, and sold very litle: but one marchant would have given us 12. robles for a broad cloth, & he said he would have had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he was the first, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, trusting to have more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day until Easter ten robles. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selves that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Christopher Hudson, John Segewicke, Richard Johnson, and Richard Judde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours suger, with part of all sort of wares to have had to the Mosco with us, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leave it stil at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, & the charge of every horse being stil ten in number, comes to 10.s. 7.d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And wee came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day

Queene Maries letters to the Emperour of Russia.

we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade us welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to have them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seventh day the secretary sent for us againe, & then he shewed us that we should have a better house, for it was the Emperour his will, that we should have all things that we did lacke, and did send us meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and every two dayes to receive eight hens, seven altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, & to doe that wherunto we would set him. And wee had given many rewards before, which you shal perceive by other, and so we gave the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make us readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent us, that wee might deliver them our selves, & we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of silver, I meane, like washing bowles, all parsel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one unto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid us goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all served with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not moved: and divers times in the dinner time his grace sent us meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went up to his grace, and received a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to us with divers sortes of wine and mede, to whome wee gave a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by divers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priviledges that we would desire to have, for feare it should not be written in the Russie tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for us a breviat to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger privilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliver it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed us to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee have no answere: but we have byn required of his Secretary, and of the under Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to have, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperor therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talk with us. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the under Chancelor, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperors marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed us to bethinke us, where we would desire to have a house or houses,

The Italians counsell to our people.

[I. 264.]

that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for us, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we coulde make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would give them justly, till we did knowe as well their just weights as their measures: for in all places where we did come, al weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretary (who had made promise unto us before) saide, that we should have all the just measures under seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreover, that if it so happen that any of our marchants do promise by covenant at any time to deliver you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be written, according as the bargain is, before a justice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe covenant & promise in all points, according to his covenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could justly prove that we have therby, he should make it good if he be worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, save onely if it were to come over the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the English marchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then ye Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to have your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles from

The diversitie of weights & measures in Russia.

the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shal come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shal neverthelesse, if we lust, have a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Novogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: But the three & twentieth of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we moved, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary stil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not have their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for us: then saide hee againe to us, that the marchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find wares there sufficient to serve them, that then they should be at great loss and hinderance, they leaving their other trades to fal to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should never come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would have at the least for a thousand robles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall have neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee shalbe sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

Colmogro.

Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to save our selves best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for us to buy, save onely waxe, which we cannot have under seven pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I have bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I have bought more, five hundred weight of yarne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if wee had received any store of money, and were dispatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shalbe shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we have made sale, I doe intend to goe to Novogrode, and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe commeth, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God send us health, desiring you to prepare fully for one ship to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coast of England.

Novogrode.

[I. 265.]

Concerning all those things which we have done in the wares, you shal receive a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from us is a marchant of Terwill and he was caused to cary these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Ivan Mecallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please you to send any letters to Dantiske to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons servant Dunstan Walton to be conveyed to us, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he wil convey our letters to us wheresoever we be. And I have written to Dantiske already to them for the conveyance of letters from thence.

The Russian secretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was never so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee received a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie called Yeraslave, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceive him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was delivered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did overthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made us all very sory.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of time: but assoone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to convey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not have any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to travell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serve the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be readie, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who ever preserve your worship, and send us good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund
George Killingworth
Draper.

A copie of the first Privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants in the yeere 1555.

JOhn Vasilivich, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great duke of Novogrode, Moscovia, &c. To all people that shal see, reade, heare or understand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted al realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means therof traffike is used from one to another, and amity therby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can live in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conservation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is convenient for their living and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from divers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in every place (where entercourse of marchandizes is received and imbraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the injoyers thereof be as men living in a golden world: Upon these respects and other weighty and good considerations, us hereunto moving, and chiefly upon the contemplation of the gratious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the favour of her subjects, merchants, the governour, consuls, assistants, and communaltie of merchants adventurers for discovery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto Sebastian Cabota Governour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir John Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communaltie of the aforenamed fellowship, and to their successours for ever, and to [I. 266.] the successours of everie of them, these articles, graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and privileges, and every of them hereafter following, expressed and declared. Videlicet:

1 First, we for us, our heires and successors, do by these presents give and graunt free licence, facultie, authority and power unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for ever, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, servants, and ministers, and every of them may at all times hereafter for ever more surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoever saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreis, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, jurisdictions and destraicts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and sojourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoever nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, marchandizes, goods & things whatsoever they be, unto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and every part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, levied or inferred upon them or any of them, or upon their goods, ships, wares, marchandizes and things, of, for or upon any part or parcell thereof, or upon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of us, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subject unto us.

2 Item, we give and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, marchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shal be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreyes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our jurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, staied, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, duetie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also, for any offence or trespasse committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shall bee by us onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we give and graunt, that the said Marchants, shal and may have free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary laborers for to serve them in their feat of marchandises, and minister and give unto them and every of them a corporall othe, to serve them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, vexation or disturbance, either of us, our heires or successors, or of any other our Justices, officers, ministers or subjects whatsoever.

4 Item, we give and graunt unto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shalbe commended unto us, our heires or successors by the Governour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resiant within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shal have ful power and authoritie to governe and rule all Englishmen that have had, or shall have accesse, or repaire in or to this said Empire and jurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shal and may minister unto them, and every of them good

justice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them moved, and to be moved, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, government and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and levie upon all, and every Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinances made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselves to obey them and every of them as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and jurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and every our officers, ministers, and subjects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factour or Factours, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woorke, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende unto the same Factour or Factours, and their deputies upon [I. 267.] request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, we promise unto the saide Marchants, and their successours upon their request to exhibite and doe unto them good, exact and favourable justice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall have accesse, or come to or before any of our Justices, for any their plaints mooved, and to bee mooved betweene any our subjects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shalbe first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shal find before our Justices shalbe depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoone as may be, the

said English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moved by or against any of the said Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof given, Wee and our Justices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall bee an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the factors, servants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefoore bee forfaited, confiscated, spoiled ne seised by any meanes by us, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subjects, but shall remaine to their use, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall have knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies shalbe sureties, or bring in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shal release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreover, wee give, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified in sayling,

A.D. 1555.

anckoring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoever hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in us is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the said English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and justice.

10 Item, for us, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, autenticate, and observe all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priviledges, like as presently we firmely doe intend, and will corroborate, autentike and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the said English Marchants, and their successours for ever.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may bee inviolably observed and performed, we the said John Vasilivich by the grace of God Emperor of Russia, great Duke of Novogrode, Mosco, &c. for us, our heires and successors, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, have and doe promise by these presents, inviolably to mainteyne and observe, and cause to be inviolably observed and mainteined all and singuler the aforesayde giftes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and every time and times heereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof have caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of in the yeere.

[The

The Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted upon the discoverie of the saide Countrey, by King Philipe and Queene Marie.

PHilip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Jurie men, ministers and subjects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere under our obeysance, jurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise unto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right [I. 268.] trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloved Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our housholde, John Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our privie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Have at their owne adventure, costs and charges, provided, rigged, and tackled certaine ships, pinnesses, and other meete vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary have advanced and set forward, for to discover, descrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and by our subjects before this not commonly by sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almightie God, it shall chaunce them sailing Northwards, Northeastwards, and Northwestwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Monarches (being with us in league and amitie) have not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their said adventure, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions,

The discoverie principally intended for Gods glory.

and of our subjects of the same: And to this intent our subjects above specified and named, have most humbly beseeched us, that our abundant grace, favour and clemencie may be gratiously extended unto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foresaide our Counsailours, subjects and marchants, and willing to animate, advance, further and nourish them in their said godlie, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable adventure, and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieve the same. Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for us, our heires and successours, unto our said right trustie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloved Counsailours, and the other before named persons, that they by the name of marchants adventurers of England, for the discovery of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and not before that late adventure or enterprise by sea or Navigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, shalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and communaltie of themselves, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of lands, territories, Iles & seigniories unknowen, and not by the seas, and Navigations, before their saide late adventure or enterprise by sea or Navigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by these presents, and that the same fellowship or communalty from henceforth shalbe, and may have one Governour of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchants adventurers.

Sebastian Cabota first governour of the Moscovie companie.

And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chiefest setter forth of this journey or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present governour of the same fellowship and communaltie, by these presents. To have and enjoy the said office of Governour, to him the said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amoving or dimissing from the same roome.

And furthermore, we graunt unto the same fellowship and communaltie and their successors, that they the saide fellowship and communaltie, and their successors after the decease of the saide Sebastian Cabota, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places convenient and honest, assemble themselves together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our citie of London, or elsewhere, as it shall please them, in such sort and maner, as other worshipfull corporations of our saide citie have used to assemble, and there yeerely name, elect and choose one Governour or two, of themselves, and their liberties, and also as well yeerely during the natural life of the said Sebastian Cabota now Governour, as also at the election of such saide Governour or governours before his decease, to choose, name and appoint eight and twenty of the most sad, discreete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship, and communaltie of Marchant adventurers, as is above specified, and 4. of the most expert and skilfull persons of the same 28. to be named and called Consuls, and 24. of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls for the time being, which shal remaine and stand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it shall fortune the saide Governour, Consuls, and assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said fellowship, and communalty, to elect and choose of themselves other Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants, in the place and steade of such as so shall happen to die, to serve out the same yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony

And further we do make, ordeine, and constitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our saide Citie, *Husie, Joh. Suthcot, the first 4. Consuls.*

[I. 269.]

Anthonie Husie, and John Suthcot, to be the first and present 4. Consuls of the said felowship and communalty by these presents, to have and enjoy the said offices of Consuls to them the said George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, & John Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after ye date of these our letters patents: And we doe likewise make, ordeine and constitute Sir John Gresham knight, Sir Andrew Judde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir John Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdson, John Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, John Ellot, John Sparke, Blase Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the first and present 24. Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls, and to the said fellowship and communaltie by these presents, to have and enjoy the said offices of assistants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of these our letters patents. And further, we for us, our heires and successors, as much as in us is, wil & graunt by these presents unto the saide Governour, Consuls, assistans, fellowship & company of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, & to their successors, that the said governour or governours, 4. Consuls, & 24. assistants, that now by these patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the saide fellowship & communaltie of marchants adventurers, or the more part of them, which shalbe then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15. at the least wholy agreed therof, the said Governour or governors, or one of them, and 2. of the said Consuls shalbe there, and 12. of the residue of the said number of 15. shall be of the saide assistants, and in the absence of such Governour, that then 3. of the said Consuls, and 12. of the saide assistants at the least for the time being shal & may have, use and exercise ful power and authority to rule and governe all and singuler the Marchants of the said fellowship and communaltie, and to execute and doe full and speedie justice to them, and every of them, in all their causes, differences, variances, controversies, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & jurisdictions onely moved, and to be moved touching their marchandise, traffikes, and occupiers aforesaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for us, our heires and successours, so much as in us is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie, and their successors shall and may have perpetuall succession, and a common Seale which shall perpetually serve for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communaltie. And that they and their successours, shall and may bee for ever able persons, and capax in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life or lives, or for terme of yeeres or otherwise, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and other possessions, and hereditaments whatsoever they bee, by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the Marchants adventurers by Seas and Navigations for the discoverie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and before the saide last adventure or enterprise by seas not frequented, as before is specified, and by the same names shall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and set the same or any part thereof to any person or persons able in the lawe to take and receive the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of us, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also wee for us, our heires and successours have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt unto the saide Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall and

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may lawfully purchase unto them and their successors for ever, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, of the cleare yeerely value of threescore sixe pounds, thirteene shillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not above, as well of such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or shall be holden of us, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes provided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute or provision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of Marchants adventurers, for the discoverie of lands territories, Isles, dominions and Seigniories unknowen by the Seas and Navigations, and not before the said late adventure or enterprise by seas frequented as aforesaid, shall and may be able in the law to implead, and be impleaded, to answere, and to be answered, to defende, and to be defended before whatsoever Judge or Justice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoever, in whatsoever court, or courts, and in all actions personall, reall, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all plaints of novel disseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarels, affaires, businesses and demaunds whatsoever they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowship and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

[I. 270.] Moreover, wee for us, our heires and successours, have given and graunted, and by these presents doe give and graunt unto the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaide, and to their successours, that the saide Governour, or Governours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, shall have full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordein, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the governement, good condition, and laudable rule of the saide fellowship and communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, convenient and necessarie, and also to admit unto the saide Corporation and fellowship to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shal bee thought good, meete, convenient and necessarie. And that every such person or persons, as shall fortune heereafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shal from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for us, our heires and successours, unto the saide Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie of Marchants adventurers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Governour, or governors, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may have full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shal seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonments, or any of them upon any offender of the saide fellowship and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellowship and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or prejudiciall to the saide fellowship or communaltie, at al times to revoke, breake, frustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolve at their pleasure and liberty. And further, wee will, that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and number above specified, for the time being,

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shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish every such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the saide Governour, or governours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number abovesaide for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide actes, statutes and ordinances, doe onely touch and concerne the saide Governour or governours, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowship and communaltie of our before named Marchants adventurers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances bee not against our prerogative, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the severall duetie of any our subjects towards us, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by us or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by us, our heires and successours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the prejudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the prejudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, justly pretending, clayming, or having any liberties, franchises, priviledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by us, or anie our Progenitours, heeretofore given, graunted, or made.

Moreover, we for us, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt unto the said Governors, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants, and their successors for the time being, in maner, forme and number above rehearsed, shal have full power and authority to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or divers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or else where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowship or communalty of the said marchants, and that the said sergeant or sergeants, shall and may have full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, levie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of every person and persons, of the saide fellowship and communaltie convict, and that shalbe convicted, upon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to bee made by the saide Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, wee will and also graunt for us, our heires [I. 271.] and successours, that the saide officer or officers shall have further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest aswell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, & transgressers, in every place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priviledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, shirifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within every such citie, borough, towne incorporate or place or places franchised, upon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the governour or governours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, under the common seale of the sayd fellowship and communaltie for the time being, shall and may attach & arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and every such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and every such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and every part therof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the sayd precept, returne, and deliver unto the sayd officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communaltie.

And further, we will and grant for us, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and every such Maior, shirife, baylife, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby do disanull Pope Alexanders division.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, & certaine knowledge, for us, our heires, and successors, as much as in us is, have given and granted, and by these presents doe give and grant unto the sayd governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comminaltie of Marchants adventurers, and to their successors, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignes of every of them, ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Isles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoever before their late adventure or enterprise unknowen, or by our Marchants and subjects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, under our banner, standerd, flags and ensignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoever portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, descrie, discover and finde, whatsoever Isle, Islands, countreis, regions, provinces, creekes, armes of the sea, rivers & streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, king, prince, governor or Lord whatsoever he or they shalbe, and in whatsoever part of the world they be situated, being before the sayd late adventure or enterprise unknowen, and by our Marchants and subjects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our use, or to the use of our heires or successors for the same.

And we have also granted, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, doe graunt unto the sayd Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and comminalty, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to every of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standards, flags, and Ensignes, in whatsoever citie, towne, village, castle, Isle, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the sayd fellowship and comminalty, and their successors, Factors & assignes and every of them shall and may subdue, possesse, and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Isles, and maine lands of infidelitie, which is or shall be by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subjects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and jurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discovered or found unto us, our heires and successours for ever. *Conquest permitted.*

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subjects in this last ‖ yeere attempted by Navigation, towards the discoverie and disclosure of unknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them set foorth for the voyage, and purpose above mentioned, named the Edward Bonaventure, to arrive, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord John Basilivich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Moscovie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our love and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and marchants our subjects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also received and intertained them very graciously, and honourably, granting unto them by his *Anno 1554.* [I. 272.]

The Moscovites priviledges unto the English.

letters addressed unto us, franke accesse into all his Seigniories and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subjects in all kinde of Marchandise, with divers other gracious priviledges, liberties and immunities specified in his sayde letters under his Signet: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall favour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for us our heires and successours, have given and graunted, and by these presents doe give and grant unto the same Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and comunalty above named, and to their successours, as much as in us is, that all the mayne landes, Isles, portes, havens, creekes, and rivers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. And all and singuler other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, Portes, havens, creekes, rivers, armes of the sea, of al and every other Emperor, king, prince, ruler and governor, whatsoever he or they before the said late adventure or enterprise not knowen, or by our foresayd marchants and subjects by the seas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcell thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforesayd, by sea shall not be visited, frequented, nor hanted by any our subjects, other then of the sayd company and felowship, and their successours without expresse licence, agreement and consent of the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship and communaltie above named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforesayd, for the time being, upon paine of forfeiture and losse, as well of the shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, as also of all the goods, marchandises, and things whatsoever they be, of those our subjects, not being of the sayd felowship and communalty, which shall attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which bee, or hereafter shall happen to bee found, and traffiked unto: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of us, our

The largenes of the priviledge of the Moscovite companie.

heires and successors, and the other halfe to be to the use of the sayd fellowship and communaltie. And if it shall fortune anie stranger or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same marchants, their factors, deputies or assignes, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the sayd adventure, or for to saile or trade to or from any those places, landes or coastes, which by the sayd marchants, their factors, deputies and assignes have bene, or shall bee descried, discovered and found, or frequented, aswell within the coastes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the sayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and governour whatsoever he or they be, before the sayd late adventure or enterprise not knowen by any our said marchants and subjects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards as aforesaid, then wee will and grant, and by these presents doe licence, and authorise for us, our heires and successors, the said marchants, their factors, deputies, and assignes, and every of them to doe their best in their defence, to resist the same their enterprises and attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding and charging al and singuler our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Escheators, Constables, Bailifes, and all and singuler other our ministers and liege men, and subjects whatsoever, to bee aiding, favouring, helping & assisting unto the sayd governour or governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalty, and to their successeors and deputies, factors, servants, and assignes, and to the deputies, factors and assignes of every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as in the sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be thereunto required. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Anno 1555. Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum nostrorum, primo & secundo.

Certaine instructions delivered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for Russia, to every Purser and the rest of the servants, taken for the voyage, which may serve as good and necessary directions, to all other like adventurers.

1 First you shall before the ship doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and shall there take, and write one inventorie, by the advise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, shot, powder, artillerie, and of all other necessaries whatsoever doth belong to the sayd ship: and the same justly taken, you shall write in a booke, making the sayd Master, or such officer privie of that which you haveso written, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call accompt thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same with your owne hand, which you shall deliver before the shippe [I. 273.] shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be justly answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept every voyage orderly, by the Pursers of the companies owne ship, in any wise.

2 Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought aboord, to be laden for the company, packed, or unpacked, taking the markes and numbers of every packe, fardell, trusse, or packet, corovoya, chest, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of waies or devise. And

first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bring word thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Marchants with him adjoined so speedily as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this river, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the sayd shippe hath received in all that the companies Agent will have laden, you shal make a just copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of every thing plainely, which you shall likewise deliver to the sayd bookekeeper to the use aforesayd.

3 Also when the ship is ready to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you have received of any person or persons privately or openly, to be delivered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath received any letters to be privily delivered to any there, directed from any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you received, you shall not carie with you, without you be licenced so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesayd: and such others as do passe, having received any privie letters to be delivered, you shal all that in you lieth, let the deliverie of them at your arriving in Russia: and also if you have or do receive, or shal know any other that doth or hath received any goods or ready money to be imployed in Russia, or to bee delivered there to any person or

persons from any person or persons, other then such as bee the companies goods, and that under their marke, you shall before the ship doeth depart, declare the same truely to the sayd Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adjoyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the shippe is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any privie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence and warrant of one of the Governours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there be any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the uttermost of your power: And for that there may no such privie person passe under the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall upon the weying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you have neither more nor lesse, but just the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must have in remembrance, that if it shall chance the shippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must have for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and evening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will have the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voyage, you shall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call upon the Boateswaine and other of the company to use such hookes and other engines as they have aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to provide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, [I. 274.] taking with you such letters as you have to deliver to the Agent there: and if he be not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best, but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ship, unlesse it bee a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to have done so speedily as may be. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Bay, to be carried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the unlading thereof, that there be none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entred in your booke as is aforesaid: if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiver of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may have the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Also there a shore, and likewise aboord, you shall spie and search as secretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and selling there is with the master and the mariners of the shippe and the Russes, or with the companies servants there: and that which you shall perceive and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke secretly to your selfe, which you shall open and disclose at your comming home to

the governours and assistants, in such sorte as the trueth of their secret trades and occupyings may be revealed and knowen. You shal need alwayes to have Argos eyes, to spie their secret packing and conveyance, aswell on land as aboord the shippe, of and for such furres and other commodities, as yeerely they doe use to buy, packe and convey hither. If you will bee vigilant and secrete in this article, you cannot misse to spie their privie packing one with another, either on shore or aboord the shippe: worke herein wisely, and you shall deserve great thanks of the whole company.

10 Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide abord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all such goods and marchandises as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second article partly it is touched: and in any wise put the Master and the company in remembrance, to looke and foresee substantially to the roomaging of the shippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you shall see and thinke will serve for the best.

11 Thus when the shippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shore to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away: you shall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the trueth therof, you shal repaire to the companies storehouse there at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left in the sayd storehouse: if there be, you shal demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be so left: and seeing any of the shippes there not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is aforesayd. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and away.

12 Finally, when God shall send you to arrive againe upon this coast in safetie, either at Harewich, or else-

where, goe not you aland, if you may possiblie, to the ende that when you be gone a shore, there may no goods be sent privily ashore to be solde, or else to be solde aboord the ship in your absence, but keepe you still aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the causes aforesaid, and write the company a letter from the shippe of your good arrivall, which you may convey to them by land by some boy or mariner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best: and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe into the river here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, until the company doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the shippe in your absence.

The Navigation and discoverie toward the river of Ob, made by Master Steven Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift, with divers things worth the noting, passed in the yere 1556.

April 23. WE departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Satturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

27 The 27 being Munday, the right Worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboord our Pinnesse at Gravesende, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the good olde Gentleman Master Cabota gave to the poore most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift, our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company

great cheere: and for very joy that he had to see the [I. 275.] towardnes of our intended discovery, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending us to the governance of almighty God.

28 Tuesday we rode still at Gravesend, making provision for such things as we wanted.

29 Wednesday in the morning we departed from Gravesende, the winde being at Southwest, that night we came to an anker thwart our Lady of Hollands.

30 Thursday at three of the clocke in the morning we weyed, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonaventure, where the worshipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, untill the sayd good ship arrived at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe *Note.* into the pinnesse.

May 15. Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the shore, on the coast of Norway: the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne company: and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth Northnorthwest, North and by West, and Northwest and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

16 Saturday at an East sunne we came to S. Dunstans Island, which Island I so named. It was off us East two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a South sunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of us, at a south sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point Westerly, from this sayd South sunne, unto a North sunne twenty leagues Northwest alongst the shoare.

17 Upon Sunday at sixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay Northnorthwest, was East of us three leagues, and then it trended to the

Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which headland I judged to be Scoutsnesse. At seven of the clocke we changed our course and went North, the wind being at Southsoutheast, and it waxed very thick and mistie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Serchthrift, because of the mist, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare and pinnesse, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we saw when this mist came upon us, which is to the Northwards of Scowtsnesse, lay Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and we made our way North untill a west sunne five leagues.

18 From that untill Munday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues Northnortheast: and then we went North and by East, because the winde came at the Westsouthwest with thicke miste: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinnesse againe.

19 From that untill Tuesday a South sunne Northnortheast fortie foure leagues, and then Northeast. From a South sunne untill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeast.

20 From that untill Wednesday a South sunne Northnortheast, except the first watch Northeast: then had we the latitude in sixtie seven degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that unto a Northwest sunne eighteen leagues Northeast, & then we were within two leagues off the shore, and saw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the mist, and then we went North and by east.

21 From the sayd Northwest sunne untill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by East ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheast untill a South sunne, the latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that untill halfe an houre past seven of the clocke, Northnortheast eleven leagues and a halfe, and then we

22 went Northeast ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a

halfe Eastnortheast, and then we sawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broad side of us the winde being then at Southsouthwest.

23 From that untill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning Eastnortheast, and to the Northwards fortie eight leagues, and then the wind came up at North, wee being aboord the shore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwike: then we cast the shippes head to the seawards, because the winde was verie scant: and then I caused the Pinnesse to beare in with the shore, to see whether she might find an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and saw two roaders ride in the sound: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be praysed, the winde enlarged upon us, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinnesse bare her Myssen mast over boord with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men over boord, but God be praised, they were saved: the flagge was a token, whereby we might understand whether there were a good harbour there or not.

Kedelwike chappell.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of us, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappel from the Eastermost point of it.

The North cape so named by Steven Burrowe.

June.

[I. 276.]

7 THe sunday we weied in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race over the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues over: so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went untill seven a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South:

and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very mistie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went Southsoutheast with our foresayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade us farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell: wee could not one see the other, because of the thicke miste: at a Northwest sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the Southwestward, which I judged to be about Crosse Island: it was off us at a Northnorthwest sunne, Westsouthwest.

8 From this Northnorthwest sunne, untill Munday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a Northeast and by East sunne, the wind being at Eastsoutheast. At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosses Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are sixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke out Eastsoutheast, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eastsoutheast: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in five fadoms and a halfe water. It hieth at this place where we roade, and also
9 at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a Westnorthwest sunne we weyed, and drived to the windewards, untill Tuesday, a Northnortheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the river Cola, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are sixe leagues, and also betwixt them is the River Cola, into which River wee went this evening.

10 Wednesday we roade still in the sayd river, the winde being at the north: we sent our skiffe aland to be dressed: the latitude of the mouth of the river Cola is sixtie five degrees, fortie and eight minutes. *The latitude of Cola.*

11 Thursday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of us one of the Russe Lodiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twenty men in her. *A Russe Lodia.* The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and sixe ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dryed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gave unto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared unto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without provision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to have come aboord when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could finde then above grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queazie stomackes.

14 From Thursday at afternoone, untill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a road sted that it was to be marveiled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the river Cola, there is a good roade in five fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall have no land Northnortheast of you then. I proved with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

18 Thursday we weyed our ankers in the River Cola, and

went into the Sea seven or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained us to goe againe backe into the sayd river, where came aboord of us sundry of their Boates, which declared [I. 277.] unto me that they were also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Morse, and Salmon, and gave me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

Lodias having 24 men a peice.

From Cola to Pechora is but 7 or 8 dayes sayling.

As we roade in this river, wee sawe dayly comming downe the river many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendshippe, and he declared unto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Morses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seven or eight dayes sailing to the River Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promised to give mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

21 Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gave me a barrell of Meade, and one of his speciall friends gave me a barrell of beere, which was caryed upon mens backs at least 2 miles.

The curtesie of one Gabriel.

22 Munday we departed from the river Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing before the wind, they were all too good for us: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sayles, and taried for us forsaking their owne company.

A good & necessarie note.

23 Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be understood, that from the Cape S. John unto the river or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall have scant two fadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the sayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were above 20

saile that went into the sayd creeke, the wind being at the Northeast. We had indifferent good landfang.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with us over the shoales with two small ivory combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not ungratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

24 Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe aland to sound the creeke, where they found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodais within were on ground.

Although the harborough were evil, yet the stormie similitude of Northerly winds tempted us to set our sayles, & we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such journeis varieties do chance, when we came upon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly upon us, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could have flatted the shippe before the winde, we should have bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker under our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to have warpt in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe us, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to have bene drowned for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were two big for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it us. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to have warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted upon ye said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in upon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we traversed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corse.

25 The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. John, where we found indifferent good rode for a North-northeast wind, and for a neede, for a North and by West winde.

26 Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eastsoutheast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: & as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of us, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquavitæ & Meade, professing unto me very much friendship, and rejoiced to see us againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared unto me, that they had saved both the ankers and our hauser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gave them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of them, there came another of their skiffes aboord with one who was a Keril, whose name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola, which is not far from the rivers mouth. This foresaid Keril said unto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gave him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. [I. 278.] And as I continued in one accustomed maner, that if the present which they brought were worth enterteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but litle. And thus we ended, & they took their leave

and went a shore. At their comming ashore, Gabriel and Keril were at unconvenient words, and by the eares, as I understand: the cause was because the one had better enterteinment then the other: but you shal understand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company.

Twentie eight Lodias belonging to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the river Cola.

27 And as I understood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should have bene his owne, and at first would not deliver it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him worde that I would complaine upon him, whereupon he delivered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, & brought his present with him: and thus having more respect unto his present then to his person, because I perceived him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gave him a dish of figs: and then he declared unto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

28 After their departure from us we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the windewards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormie, so that of force we were constrained to go roome

with Cape S. John againe, in which storme wee lost our skiffe at our sterne, that wee bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode until the fourth of July. The latitude of Cape S. John is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. John is of height from the full sea marke, as I judge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not have above 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. John 66 degrees 50 minutes.

Earth swimming above water like wood.

Julie.

4 SAturday at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hil. Then I judged them, as it afterwards proved, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceive very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

5 Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiving the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. John.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast from the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselves within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for us.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, untill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where wee had good plenty of fish, both Haddocks and Cods, riding in 10 fadom water.

8 Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at East and by North.

9 Thursday the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minutes.

10 Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the [I. 279.] similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, & could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode under with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke under the foresayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere us as he might, and pointed us to the Eastwards, & then we weyed and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very mistie.

11 Saturday we went Eastsoutheast & followed Gabriel, and he brought us into an harborough called Morgiovets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had upon the

Morgiovets an harbour.

barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in over the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mored, I sent some of our men to shoare to provide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gulles, Seapies, and others, whereof the Russes would eate none, whereof we were nothing sory, for there came the more to our part.

Drift wood.

12 Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and wee balasted our shippe with stones.

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on ye way, who rowed unto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange unto us, and he presented me with three young wild geese, and one young barnacle.

A Samoed.

13 Munday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought us aboord 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiovets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

14 At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Island North and by West of us eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieve: and from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a sand East and by South 7 leagues long.

Dolgoieve an Island.

15 Wednesday at a North and by East sunne Swetinoz was South of us 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in over the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had upon the barre but one fadome water.

Pechora.

16 Thursday we road still.

17 Friday I went on shoare and observed the variation of the Compasse, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

The variation of the Compas.

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinoz, untill the entering of the river Pechora, it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southwest moone a full sea.

Munday at a North & by East sunne, we weyed, and came out over the sayd dangerous barre, where wee had but five foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water comming out then wee did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to breake on either side of us, and wee kept in the smoothest betweene the breaches, which we durst not have done, except we had seene the Russes to have gone in before us: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre weather, and then the sands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water. 20

When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted upon us, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East & by North of us: which afterwards prooved to be a monstrous heape of ice. 21

Ice.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice. 22

Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes. 23

The lat. 70 degrees 11 min.

[I. 280.] We had not runne past two houres Northwest, the wind being at Northnortheast and Northeast and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeast sunne we cast about to the Eastwards, the wind being at Northnortheast: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. James his day bolting to the windewardes, we had the latitude at noone in seventy degrees twentie minutes. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboord of us, so neere to our side that we might have thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should have overthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of us shouted, & with the crie that we made he departed from us: there was as much above water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly have marvelled, except hee had knowen the cause of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly delivered of him. And a little after we spied certaine Islands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and black oze: we came to an anker at a Northeast sunne, & named the Island S. James his Island, where we found fresh water.

S. James Island.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode still.

27 Munday I went on shoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

The variation of the Compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

28 Tuesday we plyed to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the wind being at Northwest, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a sayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to have ankered. Then I sent a skiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said hee

The relation of Loshak.

had bene in our company in the river Cola, and also declared unto them that we were past the way which should bring us to the Ob. This land, sayd he, is called Nova Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboord himselfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboord he told mee the like, and sayd further, that in this Nova Zembla is the highest mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Boldshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tarie, because the yeere was farre past, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: so I gave him a steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of velvet sheathed knives: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tary, and shewed me as much as he knew for our purpose: he also gave me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were driven perforce from Caninoze to this Nova Zembla. This mans name was Loshak.

The way to the river of Ob.

A mighty hill in Nova Zembla.

Loshak.

29 Wednesday, as we plied to the Eastwards, we espied another saile, which was one of this Loshaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde us of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thursday, we plied to the Eastwards, the winde being at Eastnortheast.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a Northwest sunne we were at an anker among the Islands of Vaigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboord of us, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefest among them in killing of the Morse.

The Islands of Vagaits.

There were some of their company on shoare, which did chase a white beare over the high clifs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboord of us killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we saw so much ice driving a seaboord, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

1 SAturday I went ashore, and there I saw three morses that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Morse, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare skin at three robles & two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Island, and that they would not abide them nor us, who have no houses, but onely coverings made of Deersskins, set over them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting, and have great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the wind being at West.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Island, which was five leagues Eastnortheast from us: and there I met againe with Loshak, and went on shore with him, and hee brought me to a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number above 300, the worst and the most unartificiall worke that ever I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grosly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceive, they make their fire directly under the spit.

[I. 281.]

The maners of the Samoeds.

Loshak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob are, and that they have no houses, as indeede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins, which they underproppe with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when they come on shoare they cary their boates with them upon their backes: for their cariages they have no other beastes to serve them, but Deere only. As for bread and corne they have none, except the Russes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter.

The Samoeds of the Ob very hurtfull and shrewd people.

4 Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Loshaks barke lay, whereas before we road under an Island. And there he came aboord of us and said unto me: if God sende winde and weather to serve, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Morses were scant at these Islands of Vaigats, but if he could not get to the river of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe to the river of Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so savage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the uttermost of their power, that cannot speake their speech.

Naramzay.

5 Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of ice approch neere unto us, and therefore wee thought good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Island where we were the 31. of July.

6 Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West.

The latitude. The variation of the compas.

Loshak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Island, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marvailed why he departed so suddenly, and went over the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for us to follow them. But after I perceived them to be weatherwise.

7 Friday we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruell storme. The ice came in so abundantly about us at both ends of the Island that we road under, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty.

8 Saturday we road still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about us, the winde being at Northeast and by East.

9 Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islandes and shoales, it came so thick with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from us. Then we tooke in all our sailes to make little way.

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the wind to the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a west sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had five and twenty fadomes water, and soft blacke oze, being three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

10 Munday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, still misty: at noone wee sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty.

11 Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing.

12 Wednesday at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake up, the wind being at Northeast & by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker under the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie.

They land upon Vaigatz.

13 Thursday the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke us another place to ride in, because the wind came a seaboord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of us, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne the mist brake up, so that we might see [I. 282.] about us, and then we might perceive that we were entred into a sound.

This afternoone we tooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall. It hyeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, uncertaine to be judged.

The uncerteintie of ebbing & flowing.

14 Friday we road still in the sound, the wind at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it waxed againe mistie.

15 Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

16 Sunday was very mistie, and much winde.

17 Munday very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

18 Tuesday was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

19 Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake up, & the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weyed, and went South & by East, until seven of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to have had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the river Pechora. At a Northwest sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, & went with a foresaile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who never fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

20 Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to

God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Westermost point of the river Pechora to be South of us 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine sayle, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora.

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the wind came up at West.

22 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a terce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drew towards Nova Zembla.

And thus we being out of al hope to discover any more to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

They returne the 22 of August.

The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly winds, which have more power after a man is past to the Eastwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eies, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I adventured already somewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliverance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolved to take the first best wind that God should send, and plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good there, if God would permitt it.

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed unto us as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest off us to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent us a little gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way untill Sunday noone Northwest and by West, and 24 then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

Munday there was a pretie gale of wind at South, so 25 that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had little winde all day: at a Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadoms blacke sandie oze, & then we were Northeast 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieve.

Tuesday the wind all Westerly we plyed to the wind 26 wards.

Wednesday the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee 27 had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieve.

Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part 28 of the Island, seeking where we might finde a place to [I. 283.] ride in for a Northwest wind, but could find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow.

Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we 29 plied to the windewards.

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake up, and then we might see the land seven or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Caninoz: we sounded a litle before and had 35. fadoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded againe, and had 19. fadome and sand: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

30 Sunday, the winde became more calme, and then it waxed verie mystie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boorde, and then we cast about and caped West southwest: we sounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay.

31 Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuse, which Nuses were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Nuses caried away sundrie of our hookes and leads.

A litle after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest.

September.

1 Tuesday at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24. leagues Northnortheast from us.

11 The eleventh day we arrived at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceede farther in our intended discoverie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imploiments to Wardhouse the next spring for the search of some English ships) was not accordingly performed.

Certaine notes unperfectly written by Richard Johnson servant to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discoverie of Vaigatz and Nova Zembla, with Steven Burrowe in the Serchthrift 1556. and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose devilish rites hee describeth.

1556

FIrst, after we departed out of England we fell with Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are under the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they speake Norsh. And North of Northbern lie the Isles of Roste and Lofoot, and these Islands pertaine unto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle which is called the Ward house, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Russes may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people live in tents made of Deares skinnes: and they have no certaine habitations, but continue in heards and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares skinnes, and drinke nothing but water, and eate no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians bee a people adjoyning to them & be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late overcome manie of them, and they are in subjection to him. And this people will say that they beleeve in the Russes God. And they live in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by South from Lappia

Norway.

Roste & Lofoot.

Finmarke.

Wardhouse.

Lappia.

The Scrickfinnes.

The Lappians.

Corelia. lyeth a province called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And South southeast from Corelia lyeth a *Novogardia.* countrey called Novogardia. And these three nations are *The Russes.* under the Emperour of Russia, and the Russes keepe the Lawe of the Greekes in their Churches, and write somewhat like as the Greekes write, and they speake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither have they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any carved Image, yet they will worshippe paynted Images on tables or [I. 284.] boordes. And in Russia their Churches, steeples, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they have are sowed with withes and have no nayles. The Kerilles, Russians and Moscovians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Moscovians lye the *Tartaria.* Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and live in tentes and wagons, and keepe in heardes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their children, I woulde thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe: and this is the greatest curse that they have. *Lampas a mart or faire of the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds.* And East Northeast of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twise a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. *The Samoeds countrey.* And Northeast from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the river of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subjection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skinnes, and they use much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. *Or, Pechora. Vaigatz.* And Northeast from the river Pechere lieth Vaygatz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they live in heards, and have all their carriages with deere, for they have no horses. Beyond Vaygatz *Nova Zembla.* lyeth a lande called Nova Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there wee had

Foule inough, and there wee sawe white Foxes and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subjection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remove from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Everie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doeth beginne to playe upon a thing like to a great sieve, with a skinne on the one ende like a drumme: and the sticke that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, covered with the skinne of an Harte. Also the Priest hath upon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is covered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then hee singeth as wee use heere in Englande to hallow, whope, or showte at houndes, and the rest of the company answere him with this Owtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answere him with the selfesame wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, having nothing on him but a shirt, lying upon his backe I might perceive him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Nowe doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither wee shall goe. And when he had lyen still a litle while, they cried thus three times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they use these three calles, hee riseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose up and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill five Olens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a sworde of a cubite and a spanne long, (I did mete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfeway and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to bee seene,

Store of foule. White Foxes. White beares.

The maner of the Samoeds sacrifices, about the river of Pechere.

(they continuing in their sweete song still) Then he put the sworde into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirte and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his navill and out at his fundament: the poynt beeing out of his shirt behinde, I layde my finger upon it, then hee pulled out the sworde and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water over the fire to heate, and when the water doeth seethe, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and covered with a gown very close the forepart therof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still seething on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which covered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with ye haire on, which came up to his buttocks. So he went into the square seat, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skinnes of foure fathoms long, and with a smal knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and under his left arme, and gave it unto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the square seat, al this time the square seat was not covered, and then it was covered w^{t} a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold ye ends of the line stil standing there, began to draw, & drew til they had drawn the ends of the line stiffe and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent. Thereupon I asked them that sate by me what it was that fell into the water that stoode before him. And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe [I. 285.] afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose up and would have looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they shoulde live no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to bee understood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they beganne to hallow with these wordes, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, Oghaoo, many times together. And as they were thus singing & out calling, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that sate next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I saw appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked upon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene: and then at the last the Priest lifted up his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their service which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idoles that I saw not: for they put up their stuffe for to remove from that place where they lay. And I went to him that served the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. Hee answered, that his owne people doeth not know: neither is it for them to know: for they must doe as he commanded. This I saw the fift day of Januarie in the yere of our Lord 1556. after the English account.

[A

A discourse of the honourable receiving into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, in the yeere of Christ 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene Marie, serving for the third voyage to Moscovie. Registred by Master John Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recorded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memorie of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to posteritie in time to come, that whereas the most high and mightie Ivan Vasilivich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Moscovia and Novogrode, Emperor of Cassan, and of Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Novogrode in the nether countries, Chernigoskie, Rezanskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaveskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countries, and lord over all those partes, in the yeere of our Lord God, folowing the account of ye Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador sirnamed Osep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceived, together with certain presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their majesties & subjects respectively, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and shipped in, and upon a good English ship named the Edward Bonaventure, belonging to the Governor, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancelor being grand Pilot, and John Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the adventure of the foresaid Ambassador, and marchants at severall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in waxe, trane oyle, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000.li. sterling, together with 16. Russies attendant upon the person of the said Ambassador. Over and above ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. lib. sterling, as by the invoises and letters of lading of the said several ships (wherunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, & traversing the same in their journey towards the coast of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempests of weather severed the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertaining to the saide company, the one sirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driven on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the saide Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arrived in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven. The Edward Bonaventure traversing the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of November of the aforesaide yeere

Foure ships.

[I. 286.]

The Edward Bonaventure

arrived in Scotland, in the Bay of Pettislego, Novemb. 7. 1556.

of our Lorde one thousand five hundred, fiftie and sixe, arrived within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Pettislego, where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driven upon the rockes on shore, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot using all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to save and preserve the bodie, and seven of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waves of the seas, was by darke night overwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seven Russes, but also divers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preservation and speciall favour) onely with much difficultie saved. In which shipwracke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and ravenous people of the Countrey thereunto adjoyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and utter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored toward the costs and charges to the summe of five hundred pound sterling.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As soone as by letters addressed to the said companie, and in London delivered the sixt of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes majesties most gracious and favourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preservation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere

Justice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, gravitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie Doctor of the Civill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieve him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the service of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to have the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution : which personages using diligence, arrived at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visiting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his favour, the order given them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee woulde have, together with their daily and readie service to attend upon his person and affaires, repaired consequently unto the Dowager Queene, delivering the letters.

Whereupon they received gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, jewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Pettislego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the ship to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by advise of her Councel thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) divers small parcels of Waxe, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Jewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, silver, costly furres, and such like, were conveyed away, concealed and utterly embezelled. Wherupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused divers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to ye said spoile, & really to exhibit and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselves found in the hands of the Scottish subjects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by connivence of the commissioners, so used or rather abused themselves towards the same Orator & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of February next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectual rendring of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premisses, upon leave obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, having attending upon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leaving neverthelesse in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliverie of such things as were collected to have bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in Aprill next, and not before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arrived) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes majesties letters and commandement honourably received, used and interteined by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly journeys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth. He prosecuting his voyage until the 27. of Februarie approched to the citie of London within twelve English miles, where he was received with fourscore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men servants in one uniforme liverie, as also in and upon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house foure miles from London, received there a quantitie of gold, velvet and silke, with all furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding garment,

His departure from Scotland towards England.

[I. 287.]

1557. *Febr. 27.*

reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants adventuring for Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons, and so many or more servants in one liverie, as abovesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the Foxe and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes majesties commandement was received and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with divers lustie knights, esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparelled was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloth of Orient crimson velvet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde merchants: where upon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receive him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of servants and apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fant church streete, where were provided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, over and above the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serve him at all meales, and other services during his abode in London, which was, as is underwritten, until the third day of May: during which

His honorable receiving into the citie of London.

time daily divers Aldermen and the gravest personages of the said companie did visite him, providing all kind of victuals for his table and his servants, with al sorts of Officers to attend upon him in good sort and condition, as to such an ambassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented unto him on the Queenes Majesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with crimosin velvet, a piece of crimosin velvet in graine, a piece of purple velvet, a piece of Damaske purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting the kings majesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriving the one and twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the five and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day twelvemoneth he took his leave from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes majesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriving at Westminster bridge, was there received with sixe lords, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Privie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other Counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought unto the Kings and Queenes majesties presence, sitting under a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had delivered his letters, made his Oration, given two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most loving maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainement, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and

Ladies eftsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and Queenes majesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two grave Counsellers, that is, the lord Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who after divers secret talkes and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the gravitie, wisedome, and stately behaviour [I. 288.] of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their majesties contentations.

Finally concluding upon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes majesties most graciously under the great seale of England to him by the sayd counsellers delivered, doth appeare.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed under the great seale of England.

The three and twentieth of April, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was eftsoones required to have audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their majesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both given and received, hee most honourably tooke his leave with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queens majesties, in the sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lords last above mentioned, and many other honorable personages, was present at the whole service, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the divine service ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people universally, as before.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassador, the merchants having prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises apt for Russia, the same

Foure goodly ships of the merchants provided for Russia, 1557.

Ambassadour making provision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the River of Thames, from London to Gravesend, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked to wards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposely to convey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be delivered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both invite him to the Maior, and divers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing unto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said 29. day of April, the said merchants assembling themselves together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gave unto ye said Ambassador, a notable supper garnished with musicke, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole company with most liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly give to him and his all maner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and untill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witnes of their good hearts, zeale and tendernesse towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arrivall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Gravesend, accompanied with divers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admiral to the Fleete, where leave was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and divers farewels not without expressing of teares.

The King and Queens second letters to the Emperour of Russia.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Counsellers, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Majesties repairing to the lorde Ambassadour did not onely deliver unto him their highnes letters of recommendations under the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but also on their majesties behalfe gave and delivered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper use and behoofe, as by the particulars under written appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly have not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to have and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their subjects: which thing as the kings and Queenes majesties have shewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, so have likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Adventurers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commensed voyage, as by the discourse above mentioned, and other the notable actes over long to be recited in this present memoriall, doeth and may most clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in [I. 289.] any president or historie to bee shewed.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonaventure suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and deteined, how little restored, what charges and expenses ensued, what personages were drowned, how the rest of the ships either arrived or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, how the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scotland unreverently abused, and consequently into England received and conducted, there intertained, used, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the trueth of the premisses may bee to the most mightie Emperour of Russia sincerely signified in eschewment of all events and misfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoriall is written, and autentikely made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his servants, whose names be underwritten, and traine in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses undernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Given the day, moneth, and yeere underwritten, of which instrument into every of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is delivered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

Giftes sent to the King and Queenes Majesties of England by the Emperour of Russia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and spoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.

1 First, sixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure living Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Lusarnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, sixe large and great skinnes very rich and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse.
6 Item, a large and faire white Jerfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of silver, the hoopes gilt, used for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

Giftes sent to the Emperour of Russia by the King and Queenes Majesties of England.

1 First, two rich peices of cloth of Tissue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Brigandines with a Murrian covered with crimson velvet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Giftes given to the Ambassadour at his departure, over and above such as were delivered unto him at his first arrivall.

1 First, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large Bason and Ewer, silver and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant upon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England. [I. 290.]

Isaak Fwesscheneke.
Demetre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord above mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull John Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the above named honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea Ambassadour and Orator above mentioned, personally constituted and present, having declared unto him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquire, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie & personages underwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, aswell for his owne person as for his servants above named, who did not subscribe their names as is above mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I John Incent Notarie Publike, at the request of the said master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the Marchants have to these presents underwritten set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere above written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Judde.
George Barne. Knights.
William Chester.
Rafe Greeneaway. —— Aldermen of London.
John Mersh Esquier.
John Dimmock.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best above mentioned.

The voyage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

UPon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed 23 with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10 minutes from the North to the East.

Wednesday we came to the Island 26 called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berozova. It floweth here at an East and by South moone full sea.

Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, 29 and plied to the barre of Berôzova Gooba, whereupon wee came to anker at a lowe water, and sounded the said Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the best upon the shoaldest of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth upon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East Moone maketh a full sea upon this barre.

Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre 30 of Berozova, and plied along by the shoalds in five fadome, untill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey *Coia Reca.* lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene [I. 291.] them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos. Coscaynos & the middes of *Coscaynos.* the Island called Mondeustova ostrove, which is thwart of the barre of Berozova lieth South and by

East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

31 Munday at a Northeast and by East sunne we were thwart of Coscaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eight leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

June.

1 FRom Dogs nose to Foxenose are three leagues, North and by West.

2 The 2. day of June I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East Moone full sea, and the shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be understoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East.

Dogs nose. The variation of the Compasse 4. degrees.

3 This day the Northnorthwest winde put us backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and have Landfange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose.

4 Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Over the cliffes there growe some trees: so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I have not seene in all that Countrey.

A head of Foxe nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Foxe nose and Zolatitsa there are 6 leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Foxe nose. *Foxe nose.*

6 Sunday I sounded the barre of Zolatitsa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water.

7 Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost sixe leagues South of us. *Poynt Pentecost.*

9 Wednesday I went on land at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24 minutes. *Crosse Island.*

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Island, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I judged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of us 9. leagues. *Cape good fortune.*

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Island. *Cape grace.*

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a little long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Island, and they are both hard aboord the shore.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes have a Stanavish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the sayd poynt, there is a shoale bay. *Cape Race.*

10 Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roade two and twentie fadoome, and the tallow which is taken up is full of great broken shels, and some stones withall like unto small sand congealed together.

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee drived to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this present day was very mistie, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell. *Frost in June.*

Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake up a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes over head being covered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for us. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: [I. 292.] it floweth in the harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a Southsouthwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostrove. *Tri Ostrove.*

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Island, and you shall have at a low water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, untill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall have at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound over: which rockes do last unto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giving the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, five, sixe and seven fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island (if neede bee) you may have a good place to ground a ship in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile over.

This storme of Northerly winde lasted untill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shore at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East. 16 *Ice.* *The variation.*

Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the slake came wee wayed and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards. 17 18

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may have Landfang for a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little yong small limpets, or such like as growe upon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesaid, but the yong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the uttermost land, which land and

Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. 19 Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at Northnorthwest, with mist and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21 Munday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or rather more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms and broken cocle shels, with brannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

CorpusChristi poynt.

22 Tuesday in the morning we were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sotinoz. And as we were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came up at the Northwest, and after to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Johns Islands, and the maine.

Cape Gallant.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboord us certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of sixeteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and children, but a litle from us in the river Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes also that were in the egges.

I observed certaine wordes of their language, which I thought good to set downe for their use, that hereafter shall have occasion to continue this voyage. [I. 293.]

COwghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Avanchythocke, get the hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrve, good morrowe.
Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.
Passevellie, a friend.
Olmvelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a sonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyvie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a nose.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a shirt.
Tol, fire.
Keatse, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Arica, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyve, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyvezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laste, starres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, sleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieve, a weeke.
Isckie, a yeere.
Kesse, Sommer.
Talve, Winter.
Iowksam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatykye, a stone.
Sellowpe, silver.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veskue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybx, a knife.
Axshe, a hatchet.

Leabee, bread.
Iaevegoat, meale.
Pencka, the winde.
Iowte, A platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keestes, gloves.
Sapege, shoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatsa, the labouring Deare.

Their words of number are these as followeth.

Ofte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Ostretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Vittie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.
Kafts nombelocke,	18.
Owght nombelocke,	19.
Coffteylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nelly locke,	40.
Vittè locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kaffstelocke,	80.
Oughcheteloke,	90.
Tewet.	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Johns Island: to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Juana Creos. [I. 294.]

Juana Creos is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Juana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Islands.

The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or the 7. Islands, lyeth from Juana Creos Northwest, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The uttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape comfort lieth Northwest, & by North, Southeast, and by South.

Cape comfort.

Under the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the

Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, unto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaid, unto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest. *S. Peters Islands.*

26 S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle upon it.

S. Pauls Islands lie from S. Peters Islands Northwest and to the Westwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes. *S. Pauls Islands.*

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues. *Cape Sower beere.*

Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betweene them seeming many Islands in it. *Kildina.*

From Cape Bonaventure, to Chebe Navoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Navoloche is a faire point, wheron standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butte standing a head. *Cape Bonaventure.*

From Chebe Navoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a poynt to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homocks standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them. *Kegor.*

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the mist came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. fadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head. *Domshaff.*

28 Munday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very mistie. Then I sent a *Wardhouse.*

man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they could heare any thing of our ‖ ships.

‖ Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two first were lost.

29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him every houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest and by North sunne we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at East Southeast, so that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not draw past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds from the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of ‖ Dronton, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whom was the Borrow-masters sonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that he had bought her sailes for his ship. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I sawe the Lappians chepen of the said Dutchmen, both silver platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of silver & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with silver chaines belonging to them.

‖ Or, Trondon.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia cast away.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certaine that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would last.

Here I sawe the Dutchmen also have course cloth, both blew, greene and redde, and sad horseflesh colour: And hither they bring also Ottars cases and foxe cases, both blacke and redde: our English foxe cases are but counterfaits unto them.

They would not let me understand any of their prises, but as I otherwise understood they bartered 2. load of silver for 100 of stockfish, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they had made a notable [I. 295.] good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde me that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmasters sonne told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gave me a barrell of strong beere, and brought it in aboord our ship himselfe.

A gainefull trade of fishing at Kegor.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offered me fish to sell, and likewise the Lappians desired me to looke upon their fish. I made them answere, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said to them, If I should come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fish ynough to serve the Dutchmen and us also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fish: and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8. weekes journey with Deere, which Deere will travaile more speedily then horses will.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar salutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ships came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then said he, If you will come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I thinke it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English ship should come thither.

Because I sawe the servants of the king of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasilie Pheodorvich the Russie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to us, if we should come to this Kegor. And he said, no, they should not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

Commodities fit for Kegor.

The Kerils and the Lappians solde no fish, untill the said deputie had looked upon it, and had given them leave to sell. I asked him what wares were best for us to bring thither, and he said, silver, pearles, cloth, blewe, red, and greene, meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, foxe cases, and gold.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the River Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we should have great plentie of salmon, if corne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, because they could not sell all their fish, and that which they sold was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their own price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, & they said good cheape: wee sell 24. fishes for 4. altines. I thinke they solde little above 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kegor. I sawe at Vasilies tent 7. or 8. javelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewise swords with other weapons: Otherwise I sawe no weapons there.

I was also conveyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I sawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne company if they should chance to be unruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conveniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eastwards of the poynt Kegor, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ovens that the Kerils have for their provision.

Instructions given to the Masters and Mariners to be observed in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Race to be made & returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

First, it is accorded and agreed betweene the severall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the John Evangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchant adventurers, that the above named foure ships shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and travaile together in one flote, ging, and conserve of societie, to be kept indissolubly and not to be severed, but united within continuall sight, so farre foorth as (by winde & weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation [I. 296.] or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the Primerose, shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Jenkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and folow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in

harborough especially) shall be made without advice, consent and agreement of the sayd Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said ship, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed & taken for Captaine general of the said flote together with all such orders, preeminences, priviledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his abode and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. ships shalbe out of sight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the ships shall tacke or take off their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is constituted, that if any ships shalbe severed by mist or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot have sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shall make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be observed, that every day once the other three shippes shall send and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Navigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entries be daily made of their Navigations put in writing & memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and observe the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall have the principall rule and governement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt upon the balast, or other place of the ship, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other unsavorinesse shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English servingman or apprentice out of the Primrose into any of the other three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke convenient and most meete to serve the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and avoyded.

12 Item, that singular care and respect be had to the ports of the ship, aswell in Navigation as in harborow, and especially in lading and unlading of the shippes, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eschuement of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no treacherie, invasion, or other peril of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes, or companies, that do mislike this new found trade by seas to Russia, or would let & hinder the same: whereof no small boast hath bene made: which giveth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will serve, it is thought good rather to goe by the Wardhouse then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against us, our goods and ships as above.

15 It is thought good that Richard Johnson, late servant to M. Chanceler, shall be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the company of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better advertisements and

resolutions, in such doubts as shall arise here: and that he shall have the roome of the Captaine in such sort, as Master Jenkinson is in this present cocket assigned unto. And if Johnson can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16 Provided alway, that the ships returning be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captainship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appoynted, as reason and good order requireth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and devises, made and provided for the good order of our ships, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diverse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in full force and effect, to be in all respects observed and kept of all and every person and persons, whom the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

[I. 297.] In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be observed and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seventeene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, have subscribed their hands. Given in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primerose.
Andrewe Judde.
William Chester.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Casteline.
¶ Owners of the John Evangelist.
Andrew Judde.
William Chester.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
John Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants adventurers to Russia unto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane their Agents there, to be delivered in Colmogro or els where: sent in the John Evangelist.

1557. AFter our heartie commendations unto you and to either of you: your generall letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we received about the ende of November out of the Edward, with heavie newes of the losse of the sayde good shippe and goods at Petslego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chanceler and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours servants, and he himselfe with nine of his servants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God: but all his goods and ours in maner were lost and pilfered away by the Scots, and that that is saved is not yet come to our hands, but we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for the recovering of it. No remedy but patience: and to pray to God to send us better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiving and entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his comming to England at the king and Queenes Majesties hands, with the Counsell & Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants that be free in Russia with feasting and benevolence given him, wee referre it to his report and others. The like we thinke have not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour. The Philip and Marie arrived here tenne dayes past: shee wintered in Norway. The Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we have no newes of her. We feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading received in your generall letters we perceive what wares are laden in them both. Your letters have no date nor mention where they were made, which were written by Henry Lane, and firmed by you George Killingworth, and Richard Gray: both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so sore spoyled and broken with water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall understand we have fraighted for the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden there by you & your order: That is to say, The Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master under God John Buckland: The John Evangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master under God Laurence Roundal: The Anne of London of the burthen of 160. tunnes, Master under God David Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the burthen of 140. Tunnes, Master under God John Robins, as by their Charter parties may appeare: which you may require to see for divers causes. You shall receive, God willing, out of the said good ships, God sending them in safety for the use of the Company, these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25. fardels containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, beginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first peny 5.li. 9.s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18.li. 6.s. 6.d. The skarlet 17.li. 13.s. 6.d. the cottons at 9.li. 10.s. the packe, accompting 7. cottons for a packe. more 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yelowes which cost the first penny 4.li. 6.s. the piece, & 3. packes containing 21 cottons at 9.li. 10.s. the packe: and part of the clothes is measured by Arshines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is aforesayde, as by an Invoyce in every Shippe more plainely may appeare. So that when it shall please God to send the said good ships to you in safetie, you are to receive our said goods, and to procure the sales

Wares sent into Russia out of England.

The Arshine is a Russie measure.

[I. 298.]

to our most advantage either for ready money, time or barter: having consideration that you doe make good debts, and give such time, if you give any, as you may employ and returne the same against the next voyage; and also foreseeing that you barter to a profit, and for such wares as be here most vendible, as wexe, tallowe, traine oyle, hempe and flaxe. Of furres we desire no great plentie, because they be dead wares. And as for Felts, we will in no wise you send any. And whereas you have provided tarre, and as we suppose, some hempe ready bought, our advise is, that in no wise you send any of them hither unwrought, because our fraight is 4.li. a tunne or little lesse: which is so deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we have sent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their covenants here inclosed shall appeare. Whom we wil you set to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al sorts, from the smallest rope to xii. inches: And that such tarre and hempe as is already brought to the water side, they may there make it out, and after that you settle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you shall thinke good, where their stuffe may be neerest to them: at which place and places you doe assigne them a principall overseer aswell to see the deliverie of the stuffe unwrought, as also to take charge of the stuffe wrought, & to foresee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hempe rotted in the watering; and also to furnish them so with labourers, workemen and stuffe, as hereafter when these workmen shall come away, we be not destitute of good workmen, and that these may dispatch as much as possibly they may, doing it substancially: for we esteeme it a principal commoditie, and that the Counsel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be used, that at the returne of these shippes we may see samples of all ropes & cables if it be possible, and so after to continue in worke, that we may have good store against the next yeere. Therefore they have neede to

7. Ropemakers sent into Russia.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

have a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them have helpe ynough to spinne their stuffe: for seeing you have great plentie of hempe there, and at a reasonable price, we trust we shalbe able to bring as good stuffe from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently used, and have a good overseer.

Danske the old chiefe place for Cables.

Let the chiefest lading of these foure shippes be principally in wexe, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then these ships be able to take in, then leave that which is least in valew and grossest in stouage untill the next shipping: for wee doe purpose to ground our selves chiefly upon these commodities, as wexe, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and some linen yarne. As for Masts, Tarre, Hempe, Feathers, or any such other like, they would not beare the charges to have any, considering our deere fraight. We have sent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and see such furres as you shall cheape or buye, not minding neverthelesse, that you shall charge your selves with many, except those which bee most vendible, as good marterns, minivers, otherwise called Lettis and Mynkes. Of these you may send us plentie, finding them good and at a reasonable price. As for Sables and other rich Furres, they bee not every mans money: therefore you may send the fewer, using partly the discretion of the skinner in that behalfe.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long fraight.

Furres most vendible.

Steele.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of steele in Russia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you sent us part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what store is to be had: for we heare say there is great plentie, and that the Tartars steele is better then that in Russia. And likewise we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and send us some for an example. Also we would have you to

Copper.

certifie us what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Revel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Russia, and send the skantlings of them with part of the lists, and a full advise of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be strained or not: and what number of them may be uttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make provision for them for the like sortes, and all other Flemish wares which they bring thither and be most vendible there. And to certifie us whether our set clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and shorne: because ofttimes they goe undrest. Moreover, we will you send us of every commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then such as is before declared. And likewise every kinde of Lether, whereof wee bee informed there is great store bought yeerely by the Esterlings and Duches for hie Almaigne and Germanie.

Wollen cloth of Rie and Revel, of Poland and Lettowe.

Russian lether.

More, that you doe send us for proofe a quantity of such earth, hearbes, or what thing soever it be, that the Russes do die and colour any kinde of cloth linen or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and also part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it must be used in dying and colouring. Moreover, that you have a speciall foresight in the chusing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere putrifie & consume.

Things good to die withall.

Also that you certifie us the trueth of the waights [I. 299.] and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send us 3. robles in money, that we may trie the just value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt every of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for understanding and knowledge. And we

Ten yong men sent into Russia.

will you send us advertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselves and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why.

Henry Lane Agent.

And because we doe perceive the Countrey to be large, and that you have three housholds, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to joyne with you in all your doings, and to have like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray have: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as both our Prentises and others may be appoynted and divided every of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also so divide your selves every of you to an house, as by advertisement one from another, our businesse and trafficke may take good successe. And for divers considerations, to avoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen, wee have appoynted that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall have with him there such of our yong men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shalbe kept: because it is nearer the sea side, where our goods shalbe discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Invoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt them to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so from time to time immediatly as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send us the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you unto Henry Lane a whole, perfit, & just accompt firmed with your owne hands of all the goods you have solde and bought untill that time, and what remaineth unsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men under you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfite against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of every voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will have you to keepe accompt of every voyage by it selfe, even so wee would have all the whole costes and charges of every yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisedome is such, that you will not take it in evill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this meanes agree: and hee being the yonger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of every kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceive wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisedomes, putting the charges of the saide wares unto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee

The fourth voyage.

made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine untill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of June every yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: in such sort that wee may receive the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceive what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges have bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage every parcell thereof is: and to send us a copie of the same accompt in every shippe. And also forasmuch as at this time we have sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we have hope will bee uttered in short space, and yet neverthelesse much more then you wrote for, whereby there shall not [I. 300.] be sufficient to make any ample returne: and understanding that there is great quantitie of goods stayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee have mooved the Embassador that you may have credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to provide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwise have, we would you bought as much Wexe principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditie we may have: for having that wholly in our hands, we may serve our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the Emperour doth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Revel and Poland as they have done, but bee reserved for us: therefore we must so lay for it, that it may not ly upon their hands that have it to sell, alwayes having consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine advise, as well what you shall receive of credit, and to what quantitie,

The olde traffike of Russia to Rie, Revel and Poland turned to Saint Nicholas.

as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may advertise us as well for how many hundreth tonnes we must provide fraight against the next yeere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next adventure after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to give full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our commodities have most utterance there, and what prices will be given for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowen.

The articles of their first Commission given 1555.

Also we doe understand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the river of Pechora is great quantitie of Yewe, and likewise in the Countrey of Ugory, which we be desirous to have knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditie for our Realme. Therefore wee have sent you a yong man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sorte it must be cut and cloven. So our minde is if there be any store, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe provide a good quantitie against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serve for our purpose, then you may set the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, untill the returne of our ships the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but that hee shall doe you good service there. For hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing up hath bene most in Danske, and hath good understanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shalbe needfull for traine oyle, tallowe,

Leonard Brian sent to search out Yewe in the North parts of Russia.

2. *Coopers sent into Russia.*

or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleve such Yewe as he shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we have laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, & 480. wrethes of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can provide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They have an example with them of the bignesse of the Caske they shall make. Neverthelesse, all such Buttes and Hoggesheads as may be found to serve we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the accompt of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Majesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Companie: Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadours goods, and the Physitions & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be freighted by the great, it shalbe very needefull that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to give the master or Boatswaine, or him that will take upon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it bee iii.d. or iiii.d. the tunne, it shall not be amisse. For if it be not substantially well looked unto, it may bee a great deale of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Mosco will bee alwayes better conveyance of letters to us by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serve, our Agents shall write to him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that hee may give us large instructions, aswell what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we have had but a slender advise, more like a bill to serve a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serve a kingdome. For we must procure to utter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we affoord a good penyworth, to the intent to make other that have traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selves and our commodities in estimation, and likewise to procure to have the chiefe commodities of that countrey in our hands, as waxe and such others, [I. 301.] that other nations may bee served by us and at our hands. For wee doe understand that the greatest quantitie of waxe that commeth to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, commeth out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would bee litle woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secrecie as you doe send by land for any wares or otherwise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may understand them by the same booke heere, and to send them in such sort, that we may have them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly advertise us by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these ships you send us home one such yong man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certifie us in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit unto you againe in the next ships. We thinke Arthur Edwards wilbe fittest for that purpose: neverthelesse use your discretion in that matter.

The marchants letters over land written in cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our ships at Colmogro and Vologda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactors so punished that other may take example for doing the like, otherwise it will be an evill president. Moreover, wee doe perceive that Richard Gray doeth buy mastes to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And likewise that Steven Burrow is returned from his discoverie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of June next to seeke the river of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to have him here in England this yeere to bring us good newes.

The voyag of Steven Burrowe for the discoverie of the river of Ob.

We doe perceive there is a river found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteen foot upon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will bee a great pleasure unto us. We will that Steven Burrowe doe proceed on his voiage to discover. Also we have sent you one Anthonie Jenkinson Gentleman, a man well travelled, whom we mind to use in further travelling, according to a Commission delivered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliver him one or more of such painfull young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must have fourty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him have it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, towe flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, waxe at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixteene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie Jenkinson his first travaile intended for Cathay by the Caspian sea and Boghar.

Kept untill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recovered out of the Edward Bonaventure: and nowe we doe perceive that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our

Good caske made in Russia.

minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrels of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrels nor small. And that caske that wee have sent may serve for the Tallowe or anie other ware that is not leakage. Neverthelesse, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliver you any summe of money, or good Waxe at as reasonable a price as you may buye for readie money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our adventure, and hee to bee payed at the returne of the shippes in Velvets, Sattens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tissue, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall sende us in the shippes, and according to such paternes as hee shall send. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last so conformable to reason as wee had thought wee shoulde. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinketh everie man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you have to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing. For they bee subtill people, and doe not alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselves. Therefore we would have none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, unlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you, as is aforesaid, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wives or friends in any of our ships; but to take their money there to be paied heere by the companie and not otherwise: and to have consideration how you doe take the roble. For although we doe rate it after sixteene shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth past 12. or 13. shillings sterling. Moreover, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the [I. 302.]

Edward bee marred and torne, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write us a perfect note of all the goodes which you received the last voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile.

Andrew Judde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master Thomas Hawtrey to the worshipfull Master Henrie Lane Agent at Colmogro, written in Vologda the 31. of Januarie 1557.

1557.

Worshipfull Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to advertise you, that yesterday the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred robles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two robles and a halfe the bercovite, master Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for John Sedgewicke hath bought for sixe or seven hundred robles worth at Novogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercovite, and better cheape: and white Novogrode flaxe is there at three robles the bercovite. I trust hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe understand, Richard Johnson is gone to Novogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Master Gray hath advertised you of all their doings, both at the Mosco and at Novogrod. And touching our doings heere, you shall perceive that wee have solde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie robles, besides fiftie robles of the second and third voyage since the giving up of my last account, and for wares of the Countrey, you shall understand

John Sedgewick at Novogrode.

that I have bought tried and untried for 77. robles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, besides foure hundred podes that I have given out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in Lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I have bought seventeene bercovites, sixe podes and sixteene pound, which cost 28. robles, eleven altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I have bought none as yet. And for mastes to bee provided, you shall understand that I wrote a letter to Totma the 28. of this present for fiftie mastes, to wit, for 25. of fifteene fathoms, and 25. of foureteene fathoms, to be an arshine and a halfe at the small ende. And more, I have written for 30. great trees to be two arshines and a halfe at the small end, and for the other that were provided the last yeere, I trust they shall be sent downe in the spring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you shall understand that their abiding place shall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Master Gray hath advertised you. For, as Roger Bontinge Master of the woorkes doeth say, there is no place more meete for their purpose then with you: and there it will be made with lesser cost, considering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to set one pale more to that, and so for to cover it over, which as they say, will be but little cost. They doe pray that it may bee made sixeteene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towarde the water side there may be a house made to tarre in, standing alone by it selfe for danger of fire. The Tarre house that they woulde have made, is to bee fifteene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that house should be made first: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they desire that you will provide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee have small store, but when the time commeth that it

Masts of 30. yards.

An Arshine is 3. quarters of a yard or more.

A rope house erected at Colmogro.

A tarre house.

shoulde be made, I will provide as much as I can here, that it may bee sent downe when the Nasade commeth. The stuffe that they have readie spunne is about five thousand waight, and they say that they trust to have by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in ciphers Master Gray hath written hither that Robert Austen had one, which he willed that he shoulde deliver to you. Thus I surcease, beseeching God to preserve you in health, and to send you your hearts desire. *Robert Austen.*

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

[I. 303.]

1558.

A Letter of Master Richard Gray one of the first Agents of the Moscovie companie to Master Henrie Lane at Mosco, written in Colmogro the 19. of Februarie 1558.

WOrshipfull Sir, after heartie commendations &c. You shall understand that this Lent commeth to Lampas such a number of men of divers nations with wares, as hath not bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Ugori: therefore I would have bene there my selfe, and also have received such money as is owing us in wares by Kerill his brother and Osep Boscovo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the Mosco, and make us payment with delayes, as they have done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his partner be departed towards Lampas with seven sleddes laden with victuals. Others also are gone to that Mart. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure you since our comming to this countrey have not so many persons gone to the Sea, as will doe this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much caske to bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall thinke it meete to send some money before. All

Lampas a great mart for the Samoeds in the North.

our olde hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirteene Hausers from sixe ynches to three ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thousande pounde weight and upwarde. There is in hempe ockam five thousand pound two hundred weight in twelve sackes at the least: the flaxe that came downe in the Nassadaes with those seven podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send more shortly, for all that is here and that is comming in the three other sleddes, will bee dispatched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirteen podes, seven pound of hempe that cost two robles, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and sounding lines, for it is very good. There are spent above fiftie barrels of tarre alreadie: you shall understand that these eight workemen will spinne and lay above fourescore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dressed readie to their hands, having two to turne the wheeles, and two to winde up. Therefore I have agreed with these two boyes to serve the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them windeth up and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will have two other young men Russes to spinne, if they can finde good sureties for their trueth. I have bene in hand with these two yong men that came out of the Trinitie, and they with me, but under seven pound a yeere they will not serve, nor Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his servant. Therefore I would have three Russes at the least to spinne, five of them will be as good as these three, and will not be so chargeable all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our Nassada were somewhat strengthened in her floore on both sides with plankes of five or sixe ynches thicke, from the stemme to the sterne, as I have written to Thomas Hawtrey at

What quantitie of hempe 8. workmen will worke in a yeere.

Vologda. Also if you shall so thinke meet, your waxe and tallowe shall bee laden in two Dosnickes, for they bee meete to goe aboord the shippes: I doe intend to set up an house at Boroseva over against the place whereas the shippes shall ride, your advise therein I expect, it shall not cost above three robles, and yet if we will, there shall be two warme roomes in it. As for other matter at this present I have not to trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Master Jenkinson. Thus Jesus be with you and be his guide.

Postscriptum.

White hawks & white beares prohibited without licence.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayled, but indeede are Jarfawkons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Masters of the companie are like to have none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special licence from the Emperour.

Master Grayes journey to Lampas.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or five kerseys with me, but as for money there is small store here to carie.

Yours, Richard Gray.

1558.

A letter of Thomas Alcocke to the worshipfull Richard Gray, and Henrie Lane Agents in Moscovia from Tirwill in Polonia, written in Tirwill the 26. of Aprill 1558.

MY duety premised unto your worships, with commendations &c. It may please you to be advertised, y^{t} my last I sent from Smolensco, which I trust you [I. 304.] have received w^{t} other letters to divers of our English men, wherein I certified you of my long retayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a Totar to bring mee to Danske. We came to a certaine village on Satterday the sixe and twentieth of Februarie, and there remained that night and Sunday to refresh our horses, intending to have gone away on

Munday earely. But on Saterday at night one of his neighbours departed to Tirwill, and there declared to the Captaine howe that at such a place there was a Dutch man that was come from the Mosco, and woulde ride to Danske, saying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The Captaine incontinent ridde to the King to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out for mee one of the Gentlemen of the Kings house, and one of the Mesnickes of the Towne with sixe Officers to take mee. They came thither in the night about midnight, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to Tirwill to the Captaines house, where before I dyned, I had a payre of fetters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I sate untill it was Munday in the Easterweeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the Captaine as hee ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the Marshall that mine yrons shoulde be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I should be delivered out of captivitie till it was Saint George his day: on which day I was had before the Marshall, who declared unto me that the Kings Majestie had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: for his pleasure was that I should be delivered out of prison to depart into England, but no way else. So after I had given thankes for the Kings Majesties goodnesse shewed unto me, I desired him that he woulde be a meane that I might have the remaynder of such thinges as were taken from me restored unto me againe. Hee made me answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if ever there came any more of us through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke before Easter they delivered mee my Corobia againe with all thinges that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine Hungers gylderns in golde, five shillings foure pence in Lettoes money, fourtie Altines in Russe money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of Master Doctour Standishes,

Doctor Standish the Emperours Phisition.

with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (Master Gray) that you sent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of Boghary money. Of all this I had eight Hungers gilderns delivered mee the thirde weeke of mine imprisonment to paye for my charges, which stoode mee in a Doller a weeke. So that at the day of my deliverie I had but three gyldernes left me. For the rest I made a supplication to the Captaine and had the like answere given mee as the Marshall gave me. So that all the rest of the thinges before written are lost, and no recoverie to bee had, which grieveth me more for the tokens sakes then doeth mine eight weeks imprisonment. They have also my sword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at Smolensco, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the comhold, a booke of the Flowres of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

After I had remayned there five and thirtie dayes, I was had before the Captaine up into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cause of my comming through the Countrey. In the Captaines companie was one of the Lordes of Danske. They demaunded of mee where my letters were, I declared unto them that I had none: your Officers (sayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they have. They asked mee then, for what cause I went home over lande? I declared unto them, that the Winter beeing a warme season, and having intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this Sommer it would be navigable, I was onely sent to provide a Shippe to bee sent to passe the sayde Seas to discover Cataia: which if God graunted wee might doe, it woulde not onely bee a commoditie to the Realme of Englande, but unto all Christian landes, by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the histories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the same unto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordinance, as also of harneis, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shirtes of mayle, such olde thinges newe scowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscovia too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were Ambassadours from the townes of Danske, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as also [I. 305.] out of Liefland to desire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as shoulde goe out of England for Moscovia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am afraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we have with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall have no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

An attempt to hinder our trade to Moscovia by the Hans townes & Easterlings.

To conclude, although I have no tokens to deliver them, that the tokens taken from me were sent unto, yet I will declare unto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Almightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund
THOMAS ALCOCKE.

[A Letter

A Letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson upon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Henrie Lane Agent for the Moscovie companie resident in Vologda, written in the Mosco the 18. of September, 1559.

1559.

WOrshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee advertised that the fourth of this present I arrived with Richard Johnson and Robert Johnson all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee have bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the uncessant and continuall warres, which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Caravan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our journey hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the woorshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discoverie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adjacent, and have brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were utterance for as great a quantitie of kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such evill fortunes beeing escaped as to us have chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large untill your comming, as well touching my travel, as of other things. Sir, John Lucke departed from hence toward England the

Master Jenkensons voyage intended for Cathay.

The discovery of the Caspian sea.

seventh of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and have written that I intend to come downe unto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my service shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serve their worships in greater affaires then they have heere to doe, so farre as I perceive. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arrived. Having here but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Johnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giving you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

Passage to and from Moscovia by Sweden.

This was a yong Tartar girle which he gave to the Queene afterward.

Your assured to command,
Anthonie Jenkinson.

A Letter of the Moscovie companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glover sent in their seventh voyage to Saint Nicholas with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Jesus the fifth of May, 1560.

AFter our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arrived in safety, thanks be to God, our two ships, & by them we received your letters & invoices very well perceiving what you have laden in them. The tallowe came evill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle more then the Caske will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie evill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Waxe, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last yeeres waxe did not rise so well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the

[I. 306.]

Tallowe.

Waxe.

weighing. Also much of this Waxe had a great foote and is not so faire waxe as in times past wee have had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to have a good allowance for it. *Traine oyles.* The traine Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good sise. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogsheads. You have written to us to send you caske which is not heere to be had, neither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde up, or else emptie, which will bee pesterable, and likewise will shrinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the sise of hogsheads as will serve both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee overseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymber without knottes, the woorst caske you may put the tallowe in. Hee that seeth the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceive you have bought and have in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may have more store. Wherefore we doe minde to send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and upwards, because we would have this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you have that are not vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would have a ful knowledge and state of our accounts. *Sables.* The Sables which you sent this yeere be very base, among them all we could not make one principall timber: we have alwayes written unto you to send them that bee good or else none. *Wolverings.* The Wolverings were indifferent, and some of the wolves, the rest verie base, *Luserns.* the Lusernes but meane, the Lettes not so large skinnes as we have had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost more there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no more of them, nor of Squirels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would have you provide against the comming of the shippes are, Waxe, Tallowe, trayne Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and Furres, such as we have written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from hencefoorth not to make any great provision of any rich Furres except principall Sables & Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furres shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceive that there might be a great deale of tallowe more provided in a yeere then you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge somewhat more in the price, and to send us if you can three thousand podes a yeere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would give them a reasonable price for their wares, woulde be the willinger to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Novogrode as they doe, but woulde rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Waxe, Tallowe, Flaxe, Hempe, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should provide for the next ships five hundred Losh hides, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dryed and whole. If they bee good we may sell them here for sixteene shillings and better the piece, wee would have the whole skinnes, that is, the necke and legges withall, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neverthelesse for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you coulde finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they woulde not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. We perceive by your letters that the prices of Waxe doe rise there with you, by reason

Lettes.

Ermines.

Squirels.

Flaxe.

Cables and ropes.

A proclamation against forren Furres.

3000. *podes of Tallow a yere.*

500. *Losh hides.*

Note.

that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Russia by licence : which, if there shoulde bee peace betweene them, woulde bee an occasion that all other commodities in Russia woulde rise to a bigger price, and not bee sufficient to serve them and us too, and likewise woulde bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you shoulde make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Revel to us, especially for such wares as wee doe buy : promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee have bought them in times past : and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to sell them at such reasonable prices as wee have done. If this shoulde not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there : but that we have a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Jenkinson : by reason we doe perceive by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia : beside other commodities that may come from thence. Wee understand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Waxe, Tallow, and Traine oyles that he shipped the last yere for 311 robles 20 altines, which is well : although much be not gotten by it, but because they should not understand our reckonings We much marvel what you mean to buy Seale skins and tanne them. All that you have sent in times past lie here unsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde, or else not. In our shippe we will send you such things as you write to have for the ropers : and wee would they should make more store of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. inches. For these great cables be not for every man ; and the greatest cables bee not best laded : and likewise small ropes for shroudes, sholes, and other small tackeling : and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne

[I. 307.]

Hope of trade to be found by master Antonie Jenkinson.

Seale skinnes tawed.

Small cables best vendible.

that it be even and well tarred. The sables that you doe mind to send us let them be principall and fayre, and not past foure or five timbars. For they will not be so commonly worne here as they have bin with noble men: and likewise of Luserns send fewe and principal good. We mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of salte. And because we perceive that balast is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you should have in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whereof you sent us home an example two yeres past. And likewise to have in a readinesse mastes of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what neede wee shall have of them. The bringer hereof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the last yeare to passe through Poland. And as we wrote unto you in our shippes, hee is our servant for yeares: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is he shalbe placed where he may do best service. He doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send us. Therefore we would you should credite his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. We see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres more; and that you have provided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we have solde none of our cables nor halsers, neither is the proofe of them knowen; because the first you sent us were made of flaxe, which are worth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent us now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and have lost their colour: by meanes whereof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send us a good ending. We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Jenkinson. We

Masts of all sorts to be prepared.

Astracan no great good marte.

perceive by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the fame hath gone of it: and marvell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly have you to remaine there untill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our servants there; who have not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you have had. Neverthelesse if you will needs come away, we have no doubt, but that you will leave good order with our servants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glover, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will use themselves so discreetely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this company. And as we have a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so have we no lesse hope in all the rest of our servants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, paineful, diligent, and true every one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small favour and friendship during the time that he hath to serve, as by his disobedience and evill service hee hath deserved. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we

Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glover appointed Agents 1560.

have appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his service and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were living. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neverthelesse you shall find him reasonable to serve where he may doe most good. The 62 robles [I. 308.] which you received of John Boucher we have payed him here, and also the 8 robles, which you received the yere before of Christopher Rose, and the money which you received more of George Burton, for the which we have you our debtors. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the bringer: and so God have you in his keeping. Also we would that you should send us in our shippes 200 horse-clothes more. The things before written wee would that you should let our servants see and reade, to the intent they may perceive our mindes.

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

THis letter before written is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we received a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of January, and we perceive by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Jenkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wrote that one John Lucke a Joyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee have not heard from the sayd John Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wrote some letter which as yet is not come to our hands: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or

Stockholme.

John Luck taken prisoner in Lieflande.

otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee received a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of July, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another received from him in our shippes. You shal understand that we have laden in three good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the

The Swallow.

Swallowe of London, Master under God Steven Burrow, 34 fardels N° 136 broad short clothes, and foure fardels N° 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of bastards and seckes, and 263 pieces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N° 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and poncheons of prunes, and one dryfatte with Almonds.

The Philip and Marie.

And in the Philip and Marie, Master under God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N° 100 broad clothes, and three fardels N° 42 Hampshire Kersies, and thirtie pipes of seckes and bastards, and 100 pieces of raisins. And in

The Jesus.

the Jesus of London, Master under God Arthur Pette, 10 fardels N° 40 broade shorte clothes, and twenty seven pipes of bastards and seckes, as by the Invoices herewith inclosed may appeare: Also you shall receive such necessaries as you did write to bee sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall have better successe with them which you shall send us in these ships, then with the rest which you have sent us yet: for we as yet have sold none of them. And whereas we wrote unto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here ten pence the bushell the first penie: namely in the Swallow 6 tunnes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Jesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N° 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you three ships, trusting that you have provided according to our former writing good store of lading for them. If yee have more wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leave behinde: the price is not here so good as it was: it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smaller ship bring as much of the traine as she can cary: And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the romaging, for they might bring away a great deale more then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the waxe and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the skinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in these shippes. We have no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leave such good order there with our servants as shall bee for our most profite and their preferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and truely. If our friend Master Antonie Jenkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his travaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Januarie or before. But as we be uncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may rise hereafter of his travaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. Wee send you Thomas Hawtrey which is our servant for yeeres: our minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best service.

Nicholas Chancelour.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres: our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole long: he hath his Algorisme, and hath understanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serve, wee will send you a greater quantitie, according as you [I. 309.] shal advise us: One of the pipes of seckes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compasses upon the bung, is to be presented to the Emperour: for it is special good. The nete waight of the 10 puncheons of prunes is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly upon the head of every puncheon: and the nete weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raisins, prunes, and almonds you were best to dispatch away at a reasonable price, and principally the raisins, for in keeping of them will be great losse in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you provide against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and salted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were best to save some of this salt that we doe send you in these ships for the purpose. The salte of that countrey is not so good. In this you may take the opinion of the masters of the shippes. Foxe skins, white, blacke, and russet will be vendible here. The last yere you sent none: but there were mariners that bought many. If any of the mariners doe buy any trifling furres or other commodities, we will they shall be registred in our pursers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We desire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we sent in our ships, as an answere to the letter that came in his name and under his seale for the sixe thousand dallers. Thus wee rest, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The salt of Russia is not so good as Bay salte.

Foxe skinnes white, blacke, and russet vendible in England.

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the governours have not firmed this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firmed by them.

Yours, William Mericke.
Yours, Blase Sanders.

The maner of Justice by lots in Russia, written by Master Henrie Lane, and executed in a controversie betweene him and one Sheray Costromitskey in Mosco. 1560.

AFter the comming home into Russia of Joseph Napea the first ambassadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants by Josephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and passe in our ships for England: which thing upon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then driven to credite us and compound in value untill the next returne. At which time, notwithstanding good accompt in the value of 600 robles, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moscovia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to have their summe double, or as I proffered 600 robles. For combatte I was provided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Best, one of the companies servants: whome the Russes with their Champion refused. So that we had the words of our priviledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his castle in his palace and high Court of Moscovia was thus. The Emperours two Treasurers, being also Chancelours and chiefe Judges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great presse within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the adverse parties being without at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere, and their gaine by accompt to bee sufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request I made proffer of 100 robles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then

Triall by combat or lot.

sentence passed with our names in two equall balles of waxe made and holden up by the Judges, their sleeves stripped up. Then with standing up and wishing well to the trueth attributed to him that should be first drawen, by both consents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a coate or cap, come up: where roome with speede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne upright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like circumspection, they called at adventure another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip up his right sleeve, and willed him with his bare arme to reach up, and in Gods name severally to take out the two balles: which he did, delivering to either Judge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or sinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people took our nation to be true and upright dealers, and talked of this judgement to our great credite.

Note. [I. 310.] The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, should all followe M. Jenkinsons voyage to Boghar.

The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, from the Citie of London toward the land of Russia, begun the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.

First by the grace of God, the day and yeere above mentioned, I departed from the sayd Citie, and the same day at Gravesend embarked my selfe in a good shippe, named the Primerose, being appointed, although unworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other 3 good ships, to say, the John Evangelist, the Anne, and the Trinitie, having also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia his ambassadour named Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, who passed with his company in the sayde Primerose. And thus our foure tall shippes being well appointed, aswell for men as victuals as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide Gravesend, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and fayre weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the Primerose, upon a sand called the blacke taile, where we sate fast untill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be praysed, she came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, & there remayned untill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balsey slade, and so into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the sayd Goldemore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the Primerose remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three shippes bare into Orwel haven, where I caused the sayd Trinitie to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remayned in the said haven, untill the 28 day: and then the winde being Westerly, the three shippes that were in the haven, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth the John Evangelist came on ground upon a sand, called the Andros, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ships weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came to an anker, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the nesse, and then set our course Northeast & by North untill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then we winded North and by West, and Northnorthwest, untill the first of June at noone, *June.* then it waxed calme, and continued so untill the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped Northnortheast, and Northeast and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued untill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way untill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the Northwest againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued untill the seventh day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coast of England againe, and fell overthwart Newcastle, but went not into the haven, & so plied upon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorthwest, & we were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained untill the seventeenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a mery winde untill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the sunne, and had the latitude in sixty degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went Northnorth east, and Northeast and by North, until the 25 day. Then we discovered certaine Islands, called Heilick Islands, lying from us Northeast, being in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course foure houres, we discovered, and had sight of Rost Islands, joining to the main land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway and Finmark, the 27 day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared over our heads a rainebow, like a semicircle, with both ends upwarde. Note that there is between the said Rost Islands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe untill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreover, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them have bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised. Note, that all the coaste of Finmarke is high mountaines and hils, being covered all the yere with snow. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sailing forward, we fell with an Island called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingendring time they roared and

Heilick Islands in 66 degrees 40 minutes.

Rost Islands.

[I. 311.]

Malestrand a strange whirle poole.

Zenam Island.

cried terriblie. From thence we fell with an Island, called Kettelwicke.

Kettelwike Island.

This coast from Rost unto Lofoot lieth North and south, and from Lofoot to Zenam Northeast and southwest, and from Zenam to Kettelwike Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest. From the said Kettelwike we sailed East and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost land that wee passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of July, we had the sunne at North 4 degrees above the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouse, having such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Island 2 miles from the maine of Finland, subject to the king of Denmarke, and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are two other Islands neere adjoining unto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those three Islands live onely by fishing, and make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they have none, but such as is brought them from other places. They have small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sailed Southsoutheast ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, the Northermost part of the lande of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommeshaff, in the South part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the Russes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the coast of the said land of Lappia, winding Southeast, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not

Inger sound.

The North Cape.

Wardhouse.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monastery of Pechinchow.

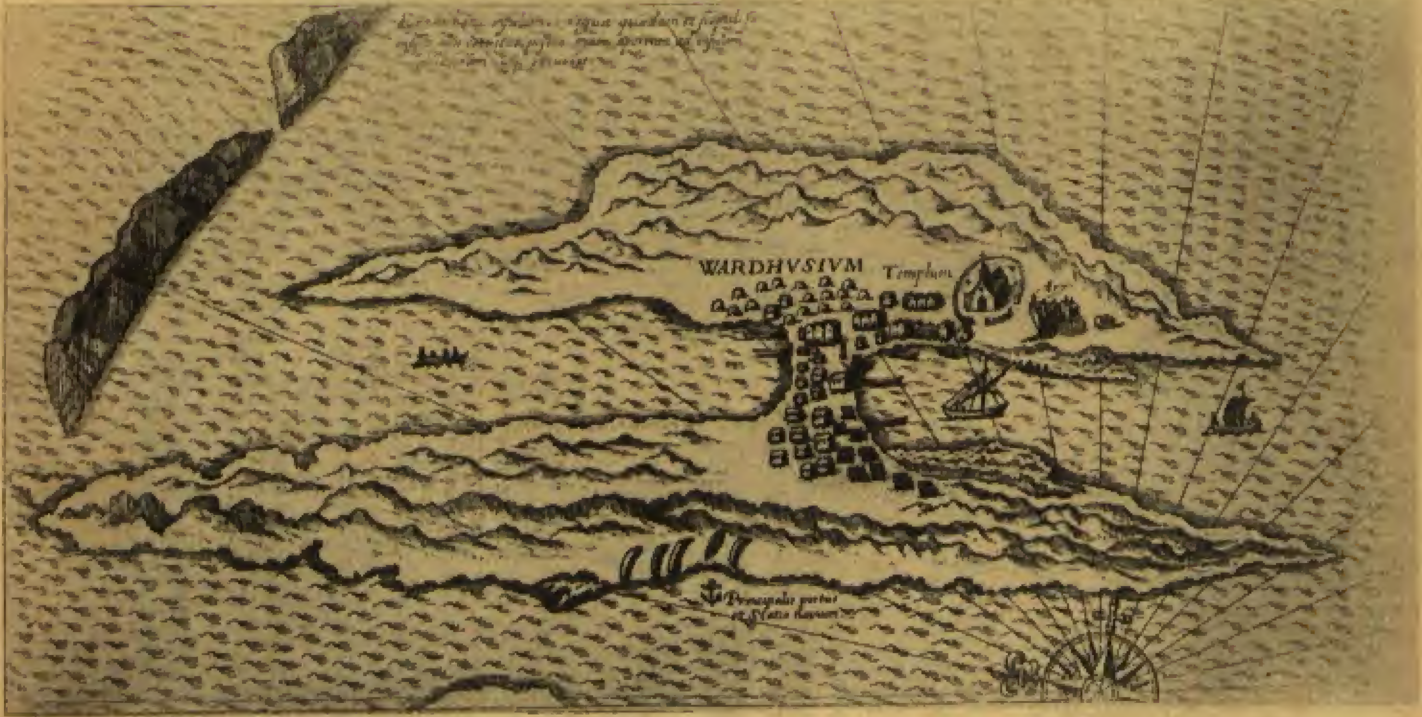
WARDHVSIVM
Templum
Arx
Principalis portus
et ſtatio navium

CHART OF WARDHOUSE (VARDÖ)

with them againe, untill the seventh day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that unlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the sixt day we passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the river Arzina.

Arzina reca the river where sir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, having snow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they live in the summer time neere the sea side, and use to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remove up into the countrey into the woods, where they use hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolves, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eies. They have none other habitation, but onely in tents, removing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise dayly, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serve them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southwest and Northeast. From this Cape wee proceeded along untill we came to Crosse Island, which is seven leagues from the sayd Cape Southwest: and from this Island, wee set over to the other side of the Bay, and went Southwest, and fell

The Lappians covered all saving their eies.

The current at Cape grace.

with an headland called Foxenose, which is from the sayd Island 25 leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Island to the neerest land on the other side is seven leagues over. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the sayd moneth of July, all our foure ships arrived in safetie at the road of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ankered, and had sailed from London unto the said roade seven hundred and fifty leagues. The Russian ambassadour and his company with great joy got to shore, and our ships here forthwith discharged themselves: and being laden againe, and having a faire winde, departed toward England the first of August. The third of the sayd moneth I with other of my company came unto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I tarried at the said Colmogro untill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate up the great river of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of the river called Pinego, leaving it on our lefte hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this river Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alablaster, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along within the ground, which by report have lien there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Ustiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two rivers: the one called Jug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid river of Dwina. The river Jug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, joining to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Ustiug, and passing by the river Succana, we came to a towne called Totma.

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seven leagues broad at the least.

[I. 312.]

August.

Pinego river.

The towne of Yemps.

Ustiug.

About this place the water is verie shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Nassades, and Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broade made, and close above, flatte bottomed, and draw not above foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they have none iron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serveth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they have many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the sayd boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these barks upon the river of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth unto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salte from the sea side unto the sayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came unto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the river passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, joyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any iron or stone worke, covered with birch barkes, and wood over the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for every parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

The description of their Nassades.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleven minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verstes.

All the way I never came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the rivers side, and caried provision for the way. And he that will travell those wayes, must carie with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, unlesse it be in townes.

Good counsell for travellers.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda in poste in a sled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verstes, so to Olmor 25 verstes, so to Teloytske 20 verstes, so to Ure 30 verstes, so to Voshansko 30 verstes, then to Yeraslave 30 verstes, which standeth upon the great river Volga, so to Rostove, 50 verstes, then to Rogarin 30 verstes, so to Peraslave 10 verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verstes, so to Godoroke 30 verstes, so to Owchay 30 verstes, and last to the Mosco 25 verstes, where I arrived the sixt day of December. *December.*

There are 14 postes called Yannes betweene Vologhda and Mosco, which are accompted 500 verstes asunder.

The 10 day of December I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and delivered my letters unto the Secretary, who talked with me of divers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would give me that I desired.

The 25 day, being the day of the nativitie, I came into the Emperors presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, having on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of gold in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next unto him a boy of twelve yeares of age, who was inheritor to ye Emperor of Casan, conquered by [I. 313.] this Emperor 8 yeares past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at sixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were divers tables set, and at the uppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Uncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Casan, and divers of his noble men, all of one side. There were divers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diversly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselves to the Emperour, and were appointed to serve him in his wars against the Lieflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a litle table, having no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me divers bowles of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table served all in gold and silver, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which served the tables.

There was also a Cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not used: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with towers, and dragons heads, also divers barrels of gold and silver, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall throughout was served with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gave me drinke with his own hand, & so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand up, and at every time he drinketh or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of January, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne upon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and divers bishops and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the procession upon the river, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and service, and did cast of the sayd water upon the Emperors sonne and the Nobility. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and divers children were throwen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and divers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drink at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, above 300 strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serve for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperors lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated upon a hill, 2 miles about, and the river on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the river side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and every science by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, upon the river being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 pases.

The countrey is ful of marish ground, & plaine, in woods and rivers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, having thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subjection: all matters passe his judgement, be they never so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. [I. 314.] They use the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be maried, but their wives being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They have foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrofetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They have many sortes of meats and drinkes, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they use to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors taverne, and not being able to pay, having impauned himselfe, the Taverner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him upon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and having peradventure compassion upon him, give the money, and so he is ransomed.

In every good towne there is a drunken Taverne called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his service: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth upon the poore people.

They use sadles made of wood & sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They use little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses use to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this maner: his upper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of silver, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeves thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed up. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing up of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silk, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Under his shirt he hath linnen breeches, upon his legs, a paire of hose without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of silver, gold, pearle, or stone, and under it a blacke Foxe cap, turned up very broad.

When he rideth on horsebacke to the warres, or any journey, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knives, having the hafts of the tooth of a fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people travell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and rivers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man upon it 400 miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and travelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, never goeth out of his house in the winter, but upon his sled, and in Summer upon his horse: and in his sled he sits upon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolves tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy upon his backe: his servants stand upon the taile of the sled &c.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscovite Ambassadour returned home into his countrey, with his entertainement at his arrivall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Gravesend, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregoriwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscovia. The foure ships were these, whose names follow, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The John Evangelist Viceadmirall.
The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants. [I. 315.]

The 13 of July, the foresayd foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, befor an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the sayde Messenger, Osep Gregoriwich Napea went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serve the Emperour remained with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies, untill he had gotten all his things a shoare, and laden the same in barkes, to goe up the river Dwina, unto Vologhda, which is by water 1000 verstes, and every verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

Presents used in Russia are all for the most part of victuals.

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the same, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the sayd Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent unto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread & pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victuals, both fish and flesh, in the best maner, that the rude people could devise: for among them, these presents are highly esteemed.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of August we came to Ustiug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of August, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies unlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a piece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes they caried our stuffe from Vologhda unto the Mosco, which is 500 verstes: and we were upon the same way 14 daies: for we went no faster then the Telegoes.

The citie of Boghar.

There are three great townes betweene the Mosco and Vologhda, that is to say, Yeraslave, Rostave, and Pereslave. Upon one side of Yeraslave runneth a famous river, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it devideth it selfe before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50 parts or more, and neere unto the same sea there stands a great Citie, called Boghar, the inhabitants of the which are called by the same name.

The people of the said Citie doe traffique unto the Citie of Mosco: their commodities are spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosco: the sayd people are of the sect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came unto the citie of Mosco, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen unto a large house, where every one of us had his chamber appointed.

They arrived at Mosco.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come unto the Emperour, and immediatly after our comming we were brought into his presence, unto whom each of us did his duetie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his majestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones: and when we had all kissed his hand and done our dueties, his majestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome unto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed us to dine with him: that day we gave thanks unto his majestie, and so departed untill the dinner was readie.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stoode over against the Emperours table, to the end that he might wel behold us al: and when we came into the foresayd chamber, we found there readie set these tables following.

First at the upper end of one table were set the Emperour his majestie, his brother, & the Emperour of Cazan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cazan his sonne, being a child of five yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperors noble men.

And at another table neere unto the Emperours table, there was set a Monke all alone, which was in all points as well served as the Emperour. At another table sate another kind of people called Chirkasses, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to serve against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayde were covered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent unto every one of us a piece of bread, which were given and delivered unto every man severally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giveth the bread this day, and in like manner three or foure times before dinner was ended, he sent unto every man drinke, which was given by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giveth thee to drinke. All the tables aforesayd were served in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sorte of small drinking pottes of divers fashions, whereof a great [I. 316.] number were set with stone. As for costly meates I have many times seene better: but for change of wines, and divers sorts of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might have bin set, and as far as I could perceive, all the rest were in the like maner served.

In the dinner time there came in sixe singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperor, who sang there before dinner was ended three severall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour never putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he esteemeth his religious men above his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of five houres, which being ended, and the tables taken up, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reverence unto the Emperors majestie, and then he delivered unto every one of us with his own hands a cup of mead, which when every man had received and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would have us to be mery, he sent to our lodging the same Evening three barrels of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home unto our lodging for every of us a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

M. Standish doctor of Phisicke.

The 18 of September there were given unto master Standish doctor in Phisick, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched velvet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beaver.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come unto the Emperors court, and when we came thither, we were brought unto the Emperor unto whom we did our duties accordingly: wherupon he willed us to dine with him that day, and so with thanks unto his majestie, we departed untill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables covered with bread and salt as at the first: & after that we were all set upon one side of the table, the Emperors majestie according to his accustomed maner sent unto every man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were served in vessels of gold, we were now served in vessels of silver, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke unto the table in silver boles which conteined at the least sixe gallons a piece, and everie man had a smal silver cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gave unto every one of us a cup with meade, which when we had received, we gave thanks and departed.

Moreover, whensoever the Emperors pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies observeth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gave unto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of November we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were served as before.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscovites hold: we were served in silver vessels and ordered in all points as before, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Long dinners.

The Emperors majestie useth every yeare in the moneth of December, to have all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to have it planted and bent upon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white markes set up, at which markes they discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They have faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culverings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they have sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they have also a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

Ordinance in Russia.

A yerely triumph.

The 12 of December the Emperors Majestie and all his nobility came into the field on horsebacke, in most goodly order, having very fine Jennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & silver abundantly. The Emperors majestie having on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them [I. 317.] there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, every of them carying his gun upon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresayd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperors majestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about threescore yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and sixe foote high set up, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperors majestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went upon the stage of poles where they setled themselves in order. And when the Emperors majestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, untill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot off their wild fire up into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, untill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them al off 3 times after the first order, beginning with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot unto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came foorth into the field. The ordinance is discharged every yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Majestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were served as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we never saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence above 500 strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were served in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another upon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupbords garnished with goodly plate both of gold & silver. Among the which there were 12 barrels of silver, conteining above 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of every barrell were 6 hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about sixe houres.

The hallowing of the river of Mosco.

Every yeare upon the 12 day they use to blesse or sanctifie the river Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large every way, which is trimmed about the sides & edges with white boords. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the river in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie upon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitane who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne upon his head, and after his majestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession unto the water, & when they came unto the hole that was made, the priests set themselves in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, upon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours majestie stood upon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their service, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise upon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that preasse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came above 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscovite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe unhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the prease was a litle gone, the Emperours Jennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselves.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were served in vessels of silver, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Russes Lent.

The Russes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egs, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday until our Shrofesunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accompted for no reproch or shame among them.

[I. 318.]

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our clensing weeke, beginning our Shrofesunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people do verily beleeve that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seven dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperors Majestie eateth but one morsel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streetes are almost void of company, saving a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egs or milke.

On Palme sunday they have a very solemne procession in this maner following.

First, they have a tree of a good bignesse which is made fast upon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of ye same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree before the procession: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, & a great lanterne that al the light should not go out: after them followed two with long banners, & sixe with round plates set upon long staves: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thin: then followed 6 carying painted images upon their shoulders, after the images followed certaine priests to the number of 100 or more, with goodly vestures, wherof 10 or 12 are of white damaske, set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Sapphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperors majestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First, there is a horse covered with white linnen cloth down to ye ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth like to an asses ears. Upon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke upon the cover, which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past over any of them, they take them up againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giveth unto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth ye Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperors noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe going on foote leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distance of two flights shot: and so returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their service. Which being done, the Emperours majestie and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke untill Easter day they kept very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and upon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes use to receive the Sacrament, and so doe most of his nobles.

Upon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they use every yere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the Church where they sleepe untill the next morning, & at Easter they have the resurrection, & after every of the Lents they eat flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They have an order at Easter which they alwaies observe, and that is this: every yere against Easter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of egs, of which every man and woman giveth one unto the priest of their Parish upon Easter day in the morning. And moreover the common people use to carie in their hands one of their red egs, not onely upon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen have egs gilded which they cary in like maner. They use it as they say for a great love, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they rejoyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holy dayes, they come & take one another by the hand: the one of them sayth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a truth, and then they kisse and exchange their egs both men and women, continuing in kissing 4 dayes together.

Kissing used in the Greeke church.

The 12 of Aprill being Tuesday in the Easter weeke, master Jenkinson and master Graie, and certayne other of us English men dined with the Emperor, where we were served as we had bin before time. And after diner the Emperours majestie gave unto master Jenkinson and unto M. Gray, and so orderly unto every one of us a cup of Mead, according to his accustomed maner which when every man had received and given thanks, M. Jenkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperours majestie, and gave thankes to his highnesse for his goodnesse unto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Master Gray. His majestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted unto master Jenkinson his letters under his great seale, unto all princes through whose dominions master Jenkinson should have occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, master Jenkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselves, thanking his majestie. So the Emperour gave unto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

[I. 319.]

With these letters M. Jenkinson tooke his voyage the same April to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards Enggland, the

Chancellors sent unto us and willed us to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed us a great number of the Emperors jewels, and rich robes, willing us to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arrivall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The chiefest was his majesties crowne, being close under the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crown upon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. robles.

Wee sawe all his majesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed us manie other great stones of divers kindes, but the most part of them were uneven, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more esteeme the greatnesse of stones, then the proportion of them.

We saw two goodly gownes which were as heavie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles over and over: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tissue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these things, they willed master Gray at his arrivall in England, to provide if he could, such jewels and rich clothes as he had seene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money upon such things.

So we tooke our leave the same time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The maners, usages, and ceremonies of the Russes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Ivan Vasilivich, that is as much to say, as John the sonne of “ Vasilie and by his princely state hee is called Otesara, as his predecessors have bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giveth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara his majesties interpreters have of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Ruese Velike, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperor which now is Ivan Vasilivich, doeth exceede his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, even so much by report he doeth exceede them in stoutnesse of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

“ Or, Basilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the most part are these: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Lifland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any under the Sunne.

This Emperour useth great familiaritie, as wel unto all his nobles and subjects, as also unto strangers which serve him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his presence, and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloved. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he give any evil or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his majesties presence againe of a long time if he be not sent for, but will faine him [I. 320.] to be very sicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shaving, which is an evident token that hee is in the Emperors displeasure: for when they be in their prosperity, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof, they use to have their heads shaven.

His majesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with *Note.* his owne mouth giveth sentence, and judgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly unto the Metropolitane.

His majestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serve him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but setteth all his whole delight upon two things: First, to serve God, as undoubtedly he is very devoute in his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and silver in his owne handes or treasurie: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

THe Metropolitane is next unto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors majesty judgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his majestie submitteth himselfe unto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse upon Palme sunday, and giving him leave to sitte on a chaire upon the 12. day, when the river Mosco was in blessing, his majestie standing on the yce.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the causes and giveth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They have both monks, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great & rich monasteries: they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieve much poore people day by day. I have bene in one of the monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinance of brasse upon the walles of the same. They told me themselves that there are seven hundred brethren of them which belong unto that house. The most part of the lands, towns, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong unto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or upon the wals of the Church round about, and even the roofe of the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphirs and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bignesse, & there stands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed me a coffin covered with cloth of gold which stoode upon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who never eate or dranke, and yet that he liveth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeved them) that he healeth many diseases, and giveth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of belief because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of divers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drink as they have in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes have more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an unmeasurable bignes & sise: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they have none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They have 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooved: for they have trunks which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, having the caske right under it to receive the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the stayres.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They give bread, meat and drinke unto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serve them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the Realm, and the Emperors majesty rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

[I. 321.]

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and have boats which passe too and fro in the rivers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no flesh during their lives as it is reported: but upon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it is lawful for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their lives.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatry.

They have no preachers no not one in al the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the country, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they wil say a great many, meaning that every image which they have is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours majesty himselfe wil blesse and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestly unto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their law to have those images in their houses, and over every gate in all their townes and cities are images set up, unto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselves 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them over and about with gold, silver and stones, and hang them over and about with cloth of gold.

The priestes are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round, & reacheth unto the eares: their crownes are shaven, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares upon their shoulders: their beards they never shave: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup unto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a spoon together with part of the wine, and so take it themselves, and give it to others that receive with them after the same maner.

Their ceremonies are al as they say, according to the Greeke Church used at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, unto the which the people when they assemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I have before said, that some will have knobbes upon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

Al their service is in their mother tongue.

All their service is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people have no other praiers but this, Ghospodi Jesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe. That is to say, O Lorde Jesus Christ, sonne of God have mercy upon us: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the unlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely understand the one halfe of their service which is read in their Churches.

Of their Baptisme.

WHen any child is borne, it is not baptized until the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tary until the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formost, carying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot ful of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselves: then the clearke giveth unto every of them a smal waxe candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the childe shal forsake the devill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe over it: then he taketh al the candles which the gosseps have, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giveth every one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all upon the childs head.

[I. 322.] After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with spittle, and making certaine crosses with oyle upon the backe, head, and brest of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh unto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may live, and beleeve as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the yong and tender haires of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then delivereth the childe, whereunto every of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargeth them, that the childe be brought up in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, and so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

THeir matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is love betweene the parties, the man sendeth unto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, silke, linnen cloth, sheares, and such necessaries as shee shall occupie when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therwithall raisins, figs or some such things, giving her to understand, that if she doe offend, she must be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as shee could best doe, and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shalbe withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and she sendeth unto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall goe towardes the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striveth with them that would have her out, and faineth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being covered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceived: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, until she come at the Church, and then her face is uncovered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they cary with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to love and serve the other during their lives together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hasting immediatly to tread upon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first upon it must have the victorie and be master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face beeing uncovered. The boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest wordes.

When they come home, the wife is set at the upper end of the table, and the husband next unto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance have a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time before all the companie. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the evening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and silver, if he have it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not ever from that day forth to pul off his boots, but if she misse the boot wherin the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the same three daies he is called a Duke, & shee a dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I have learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women say, that if their husbands did not beate them, they should not love them.

They use to marry there very yong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they use to keepe their wives [I. 323.] very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visite some of her friends.

The most part of the women use to ride a stride in saddles with styrrops, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable.

The women of Russia paint their faces.

The husband is bound to finde the wife colours to paint her withall, for they use ordinarily to paynt themselves: it is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame: they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoote off: I cannot so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as jeat.

The best propertie that the women have, is that they can sowe well, and imbroder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

WHen any man or woman dieth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feete, because he hath a great journey to goe: then doe they winde him in a sheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the priest giveth him, to testifie unto S. Nicholas that he died a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarse alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinsemen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, have no testimonie with them: how they are received into heaven, it is a wonder, without their pasport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, above 80. persons young and old, which have died onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to live: for a great many are forced in the winter to drie straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that live so miserably as do the poverty in those parts: and the most part of them that have sufficient for themselves, and also to relieve others that need, are so unmerciful that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets.

Bread made of straw.

The unmercifulnesse of the Russes toward the poore.

Stooves or baths usuall with the Moscovites.

It is a countrey full of diseases, divers, and evill, and the best remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often unto the hote houses, as in a maner every man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twise every weeke, and all the housholde sweate, and wash themselves therein.

The names of certaine sortes of drinkes used in Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

Reported by Thomas Bulley.

THe first and principall meade is made of the juice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Russia, Malieno, which is of a marveilous sweete taste, and of a carmosant colour, which berry I have seene in Paris.

The second meade is called Visnova, because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small berry much like to the small rezin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia.

The fourth meade is called Cherevnikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Russe tongue Berozevites, which drinke the noble men and others use in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot have it.

The voyage of Master Anthony Jenkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeere 1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the Moscovie companie.

[I. 324.]

THe 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (having obtained the Emperor of Russia his letters, directed unto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, having with mee two of your servants, namely, Richard Johnson, & Robert Johnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with divers parcels of wares, as by the inventory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a town called Collom, distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, & passing one league beyond the saide Collom, we came unto a river called Occa, into the which the river Mosco falleth, and looseth his name: and passing downe the said river Occa 8. leagues, we came unto a castle called Terrevettisko, which we left upon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came unto another castle called Peroslave, distant 8. leagues, leaving it also on our right hand. The third day we came unto the place where olde Rezan was situate, beeing now most of it ruined and overgrowen, and distant from the said Peroslave, 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castle called Terrecovia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6.

day we came to another castle called Cassim, under the government of a Tartar prince named Utzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now subject unto the Emperour of Russia. But leaving Cassim on our left hand, the 8. day we came unto a faire town called Morom, from Cassim 20. leagues, where we took the sonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came unto another faire town & castle called Nyse Novogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid river Occa into the worthie river of Volga, distant from the saide Moron 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. From Rezan to this Nyse Novogrod, on both sides the said river of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarried at the foresaid Nyse Novogrod until the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who beeing arrived, and having the number of 500. great boates under his conduct, some laden with victuals, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandise, departed altogether the said 19. day from the said Nyse Novogrod, and the 22. we came unto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25. leagues, which we left upon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue is as much to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Ivan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire even to the Caspian sea, having conquered the famous river of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey the 25. day of May aforesaide, wee came to another castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordovits, and the habitants did professe the law of the Gentiles: but nowe beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came unto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a river called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foresaide Volga. Cazan is a faire town after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated upon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath given order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free stone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captive, who being but young is nowe baptised, and brought up in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being ech of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subjects through civil discord, came and rendred themselves at several times unto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had bene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour useth with great honour.

Cazan.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and divers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but nowe it is forsaken, and standeth without

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The Island of marchants.

any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco unto Mare Caspium.

The river of Cama. Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly river called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This river falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the river of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said river Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and live in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga over against the said river Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said river unto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through civill warres among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said yeere there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, above one hundred thousand: the like plague was never seen in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now unreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who have had cruel warres a long time together.

Nagay Tartars.

The Nagayans when they flourished, lived in this maner: they were divided into divers companies called Hords, and every Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but lived in the open fields, every Murse or King having his Hords or people about him, with their wives, children and cattell, who having consumed the pasture in one place, remooved unto another: and when they remoove they have houses like tents set upon wagons or carts, which are drawen

Hords.

from place to place with camels, & therin their wives, children, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and every man hath at the least foure or five wives besides concubines. Use of money they have none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing people, and have great store of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious & inclined to theft and murther. Corne they sowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we live by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the same, allowing their great devouring of flesh, and drinking of milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my journey.

The Crimme Tartars.

All the countrey upon our right hand the river Volga, from over against the river Cama unto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be also of the lawe of Mahomet, and live for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, having continual wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fielde, having countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The river of Samar.

The 16. day of June we passed by certaine fishermens houses called Petowse twenty leagues from the river Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continuing our way untill the 22. day, and passing by another great river called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaide countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the saide river of Volga. The 28. day wee came unto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the just midway betweene the said Cazan and Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51.

Licoris in great plentie. degrees 47. minutes. Upon all this shore groweth abundance of Licoris, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Thus going forward the sixt day of July we came to a place called Perovolog, so named because in times past the Tartars caried their boates from Volga unto the river Tanais, otherwise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the river Tanais, to Asou, Caffa, or any other towne situated upon Mare Euxinum, into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springs in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perovolog from the one river to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeves and robbers, but now it is not so evill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperour of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perovolog, having the wildernesse on both sides, wee sawe a great heard of Nagayans, pasturing, as is abovesaid, by estimation above a thousand [I. 326.] Camels drawing of cartes with houses upon them like tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and having peace with this Emperour of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes live in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to have mortall warres together.

The 14. day of July passing by an old castle, which was Old Astracan, and leaving it upon our right hand, we arrived at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. *Astracan.* It is from the Mosco unto Astracan sixe hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island upon a hill side, having a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor strong: The towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants live, having great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang up their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their provision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was never seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the Russes their enemies, & to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertained or relieved, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead, and like to beasts unburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to have converted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselves had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion unto other Nations, when they are not mercifull unto their owne? At my being there I could have bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would have had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither every yere provision of men, and victuals, and timber to build the castle.

Store of Sturgions.

There is a certaine trade of merchandise there used, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from divers places. The chiefest commodities that the Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepes skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, knives, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither divers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with divers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamacki doe bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they use in Russeland, Crasko, divers kinds of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the folowing.

The length of the Island of Astracan.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelve leagues, and in bredth three, & lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, nine minutes: we taried there until the sixt day of August, and having bought and provided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and imbarked our selves, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons having the whole charge of the Navigation downe the sayd river Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the sayd river, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesayd, in the latitude of fortie six degrees, twentie seven minutes.

They enter into the Caspian sea.

Volga hath seventie mouthes or fals into the sea: and we having a large wind, kept the Northeast shore, and the eleventh day we sailed seven leagues Eastnortheast, and came unto an Island having an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea.

From thence East tenne leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew sea. From thence wee sailed East and by North ten leagues, and having a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a fadome water, and so rid untill the fifteenth day, having a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sailed eight leagues.

The blew sea.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great devotion is used of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

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Baughleata being 74. leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great river called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh unto the foresaid river Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And up this river one dayes journey is a Towne called Serachick, subject to the aforesaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize used, for that the people have no use of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and given much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this river Iaic, and all our men being on land, saving I, who lay sore sicke, and five Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecka, there came unto us a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded us, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy

Iaic river.

Serachick.

Tartar called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would have, and withall made a prayer: with that these rovers staied, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of living, & came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke? To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, avowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rovers beleeved, and upon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saved, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 21. day we passed over a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, having two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great river Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrie of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and wee sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of lowe land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds & flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed over a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fel with a high point of land: & being overthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should have perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to a port called Manguslave. The place where we should have arrived at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driven unto another land on ye other side the Bay, overthwart the sayd Manguslave being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the haven, as of those brute field people, where never barke nor boate had before arrived, not liked of us.

The port of Manguslave.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the governour and people, as well for our good usage at their handes, as also for provision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing five and twentie dayes journey. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raising the prise of horse and camels, & victuals, double that it was woont there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the prise of such as wee bought, with other provision, according to their owne demaund: So that for every camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to give three hides of Russia, and foure woodden dishes, and to the Prince or governour of the sayd people, one ninth, and two sevenths: Namely, nine severall things, and twise seven severall things: for money they use none.

They goe on land.

And thus being ready, the foureteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a [I. 328.]

thousand camels. And having travailed five dayes journey, we came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way there came unto us certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and servants unto the saide Prince called Timor Soltan, governour of the said countrey of Manguslave, where wee meant to have arrived and discharged our barke, if the great storm aforesayd had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayd our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I ridde unto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his favour, and pasport to travaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they use none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give mee for such things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gave me his letter, and a horse woorth seven rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understoode his commaundement was, that I should have beene robbed and destroyed.

The countrey of Manguslave.

This Soltan lived in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a litle rounde house made of reedes covered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Country, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with divers other of his chiefe men. The Soltan with this Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as unto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So having leave I departed and overtooke our Caravan, and proceeded on our journey, and travailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying provision of victuals with us for the same time, and were driven by necessity to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came unto a gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeman met us, who took custome of every 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being received they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selves.

20 dayes travaile in the wildernesse, with scarcitie of water.

Another gulfe of the Caspian sea.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulf the great river Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, & now commeth not so far, but falleth into another river called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & consumeth himself in the ground passing under ground above 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis describeth this river of Ardok, cap. 4.

We having refreshed our selves at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seventh day arrived at a castle called Sellizure, where ye king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whom I delivered the Emperors letters of Russia: and I also gave him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milk without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me divers

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gave me his letters of safe conduct. *Letters of safe-conduct.*

This Castle of Sellizure is situated upon an high hill, where the King called the Can lyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and have litle trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serveth all that countrey is drawen by ditches out of the river Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said river, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that land is like to be destroied, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the river of Oxus shal faile.

[I. 329.] The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arrived at a citie called Urgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. *Urgence.* And having there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further travaile, the king of that countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria have continuall warres. Before this king also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperors letters of Russia, and he intertained me wel, and demanded of me divers questions, and at my departure gave me his letters of safeconduct.

This city or towne of Urgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell above 4. kerseis. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most smal quantity not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Urgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is subject to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed saving in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for every one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, having no natural love among them, by reason that they are begotten of divers women, and commonly they are the children of slaves, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and every Can or Sultan hath at the least 4. or 5. wives, besides yong maidens and boyes, living most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is overcome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liveth in the wildernesse resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Caravans of Marchants and others as they be able to overcome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, until such time as he may get power and aide to invade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said Sea, the people live without

The countrey of Turkeman.

towne or habitation in the wilde fields, removing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they have great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild horses which the Tartars doe many times kil with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The hawkes are lured to sease upon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themselves and sore beating of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the horse with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars never ride without their bow, arrowes, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people have not the use of golde, silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in smal pieces, & eat it by handfuls most greedily, & especially the horseflesh. Their chiefest drink is mares milke sowred, as I have said before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the same. They have no rivers nor places of water in this countrey, until you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes journey, except it be in wels, the water wherof is saltish, & yet distant the one from the other two daies journey and more. They eate their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they have none, but live most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of November, we departed from the towne of Urgence, and having travailed by the river Oxus, 100. mile, we passed over another great river called Ardock, where we paid a certaine pety custome. This river Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing under the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I have before declared.

The river of Ardock falleth into the lake of Kitay.

The 7. of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the Caravan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Urgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellers, who willed us to make him a present, which he tooke, and delivered: besides, we paid at the said castle for custome, of every camel one red hide of Russia, besides pety gifts to his officers.

The castle of Kait.

[I. 330.]

Thus proceeding in our journey, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came unto us foure horsemen, which we tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and having well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, & gave us to understand, that there were rovers and theeves abroade: for there travaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caravan, where there be many camels: and horse-feeting new without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selves, and sent a poste to the said Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and mette these foure suspected men which we sent unto him, and examined them so streightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies journey forward, who lay in wait to destroy us, if he could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore understanding, that the theeves were not many, appointed us 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with us, and conduct us in our way. And the Soltan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeves with him. These souldiers travailed with us two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely they set out before our Caravan, and having ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette us, comming towards us as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of horses not farre from us, perceiving well that we should meete with enemies, and therefore willed us to appoint our selves for them, and asked us what wee would give them to conduct us further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would have more, and so we not agreeing they departed from us, and went back to their Soltan, who (as wee conjectured) was privie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Caravan to stay, and would make their prayers, and devine howe wee should prosper in our journey and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Caravan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, using many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same devined and found, that wee shoulde meete with enemies and theeves (to our great trouble) but should overcome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gave no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from us, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we escried farre off divers horsemen which made towards us, and we (per-

Divination by sorcerie.

ceiving them to be rovers) gathered our selves together, being 40. of us wel appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together every one after his lawe, professing to live and die one with another, and so prepared our selves. When the theeves were nigh unto us, we perceived them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed us to yeelde our selves, or els to be slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shotte at us all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning until two houres within night, divers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and used, we had bene overcome and destroyed: for the theeves were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine divers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approch so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with us untill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selves upon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our horses and camels within the same to save them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeves also incamped within an arrowe shotte of us, but they were betwixt us and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Handguns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeves sent a messenger halfe way unto us, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Caravan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince understanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that we might all heare. And then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Caravan Basha, and of all you that be Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliver into his hands as many Caphars, that is, unbeleevers (meaning us the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee overcome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Caravan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliver them, and that we were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeves (contrary to their othe) caried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victory, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray us: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to us prejudiciall, neither touching us, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selves to battel againe: which the theeves perceiving, required to fall to agreement & asked much of us: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and having litle to loose, & safeconduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, and to give the theeves 20 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 severall things, and a camell to cary away the same, which being received, the theeves departed into the wildernes to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the river Oxus, where we refreshed our selves, having bene 3. dayes without water and

Bussarmans.

[I. 331.]

Caphar.

The river of Oxus.

drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making mery with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeves againe or such like, we left the high way which went along the said river, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and travelled 4 dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a wel, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

A wildernes of sande.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the hands of theeves: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle separated from the Caravan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and drove sore till we came to the river Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said river: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeves were far from us when the scouts discovered us, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

So upon the 23 day of December wee arrived at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers gates into the same: it is divided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and every science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially bathstoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little river running through the middest of the said Citie, but the water there of is most unholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and

Boghar a citie of Bactria.

A strange worme in mens legs.

especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and every day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled up, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who have authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he have either Aquavitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to bee so streightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the sayd Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loved all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subject to the Persians, & do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruel warres continually with the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. [I. 332.] One occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, unbeleevers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small, and he is most mainteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as well by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subjection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their money is silver and copper, for gold there is none currant: they have but one piece of silver, & that is worth 12 pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12. pence, and is more common paiment then the silver, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage every other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he loketh not to reigne above 2 or 3 yeres before he be either slaine or driven away, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants.

The coyne of Boghar.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who interteined us most gently, and caused us to eate in his presence, and divers times he sent for me, and devised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countries, lawes, and religion, and caused us to shoote in handguns before him, and did himselfe practise the use thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not payd before his departure. And although indeede he gave order for the same, yet was I verie ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better paiment I could not have, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arrivall at Boghar, having understoode our trouble with the theeves, sent 100 men well armed, and gave them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeves. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeves, and slew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought unto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and this good justice I found at his hands.

There is yerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which travaile in great Caravans from the countries thereabout adjoining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with divers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

Marchandise of India.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, & al other kinds of whites, which serve for apparell made of coton wooll and crasko, but golde, silver, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaves, and horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloth, they make little accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of India, even from the countrey of Bengala, & the river Ganges, to give them Kersies for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

The Persians do bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, divers kindes of wrought pide silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Russe wares, and slaves, which are of divers countreies, but cloth they will by none, for that they bring thither themselves, and is brought unto them as I have inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carie unto Boghar, redde hides, sheepeskinnes, wollen cloth of divers sorts, woodden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carie away from thence divers kindes of wares made of cotton wooll, divers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but smal utterance. From the Countreis of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, musk, rubarbe, satten, damaske, with divers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Caravans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the sayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. These 2 barbarous nations are of great force living in the fields without house or towne, & have almost subdued the foresaid cities, & so stopped up the way, that it is impossible for any Caravan to passe unspoiled: so that 3 yeres before our being there, no Caravan had gone, or used trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths journey.

Marchandise of Persia.

Marchandise of Russia.

[I. 333.]

Marchandise of Cathay.

Taskent & Cascar.

To speake of the said countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I have heard thereof, I have thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I having made my solace at Boghar in the Winter time, and having learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adjoyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Caravans to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I advertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my journey some way, and determined to have gone from thence into Persia, and to have seene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceived well the trades not to be much unlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were destroyed: and there was a Caravan destroied with rovers & theeves, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten daies journey from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Russia from me, without which I should have bene taken slave in every place: also all such wares as I had received in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in paiment of money due unto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and divers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Caravan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to have lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came

He returneth the eight of March 1559.

with an armie, & besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the king being absent, and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeres. For it is marvell, if a King reigne there above three or foure yeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

The 25 of March, we came to the foresayd towne of Urgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rovers, which lay in waite for us backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that company of theeves, which we met with going foorth, as we perceived by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambassadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent unto the Emperor of Russia. And after having taried at Urgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Caravan, the second of Aprill we departed from thence, having foure moe Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the king of Urgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, unto the Emperor of Russia, with answere of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed unto my charge by the sayde Kings and princes: to whome I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well used in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperor had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before.

Urgence.

The king of Balke, or Balgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arrived at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neverthelesse wee brought hempe with us, and spunne a cable our selves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a saile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being devising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arrived a barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we set saile and departed, I, and the two Johnsons being Master and Mariners our selves, having in our barke the said sixe ambassadors, and 25 Russes, [I. 334.] which had bene slaves a long time in Tartaria, nor ever had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaves served to rowe when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of lande, the 13. day of May, having a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being three leagues from the shoare, & there rose a sore storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and having no boate to helpe us, we hoysed our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God provided for us, we ranne into a creeke ful of oze, and so saved our selves with our barke, & lived in great discomfort for a time. For although we should have escaped with our lives the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should have bene, either destroyed, or taken slaves by the people of that Countrey, who live wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, we went out of the creeke againe: and having set the land with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which wee lost: whereat the Tartars much marveiled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheeles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found our yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driven far into the sea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, having faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from us, we fel with the River Yaik, according to our desire, wherof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should have bene driven to the coast of Persia, whose people were unto them great enemies.

The English flag in the Caspian sea.

Note, that during the time of our Navigation, wee set up the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage divers fortunes: notwithstanding the 28. of May we arrived in safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare us small boates, to goe up against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed unto me, to bee brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

A notable description of the Caspian sea.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any issue to other seas: to the East part whereof, joyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the river Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Rivers falling into it, and it avoideth not it selfe except it be under ground. The notable Rivers that fall into it, are first the great River of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, above two thousande English miles. It hath divers other goodly Rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Rivers of Cyrus and Arash, and divers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I have enquired, and do well understand, that it is even like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little utterance, and small profite: and I have bene advertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Levant sea. The fewe shippes upon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the povertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to give them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offred them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloth, and divers commodities of our countries, which were sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of June, we departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, having an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperors charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July folowing, wee arrived at the citie of Cazan, having bene upon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The seventh of August folowing, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arrived at the citie of Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Majestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaves: and that day I dined in his

[I. 335.]

His arrival at Mosco the 2. of September.

Majesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me divers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Mosco about your affaires, until the 17. day of February that your wares were sent downe: and then having licence of the Emperors Majestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained until the breaking up of the yere: and then having seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arrived withall in safetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco in	55	10
Novogrod the great	58	26
Novogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caspian sea.	46	72
Manguslave beyond the Caspian sea.	45	00
Urgence in Tartary 20. dayes journey from the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes journey from Urgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Johnson (which was at Boghar with M. Anthony Jenkinson) of the reports of Russes and other strangers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of divers and strange people.

The first note given by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian subject to the Prince of Boghar, which are also Tartars bordering upon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as foloweth.

First from Astracan to Serachick by land, travailing by leysure as Merchants use with wares, is 10. dayes journey.

*Or, urgeme. From Serachick to a towne named *Urgenshe, 15. dayes.

From Urgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Cascar, 30. dayes.

From Cascar to Cathaya, 30. dayes journey.

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to traveile, as he reporteth.

FRom Astracan to Turkemen by the Caspian sea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande specially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Urgenshe.

From Urgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

[I. 336.] From thence to Cascar is one moneths journey, and from Cascar (being the frontier of the great Can, having many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths travel for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further, as he hath heard (not having bene in those parts himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia unto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countreymen which have bene there.

FIrst from Astracan by sea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming also that a man may travell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Urgence is 15 dayes.

From Urgence to Boghar also 15 dayes.

Note. These last 30 daies journey is without habitation of houses: therefore travellers lodge in their owne tents, cariyng with them to eate, their severall provisions: and for drinesse there bee many wels of faire water at equall baiting places not farre distant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent easie travelling with goods, is 14 dayes by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 dayes.

From Occient to Cascar 20 daies. This Cascar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Cascar to Sowchick 30 daies journey, which Sowchick is the first border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies journey, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths journey, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & wel replenished with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies journey from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praise to be civill & unspeakeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the most part therof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also, as the Tartars report, is christian, or after the maner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in travelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolves white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these parts of Russia, but in maner rather scant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be nere so great as a big lion spotted very faire and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note that 20 daies journey from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liveth the beast that beareth the best Muske, & the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are taunie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they have certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bosse upon their shoulders, and women on their privie parts. Their feeding is raw flesh in the same land, and in another called * Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worship the fire, and it is 34 dayes journey from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with knives of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Angrim. Mandeville speaketh hereof.

Or Kitay.

Small people.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as foloweth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

First from the province of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traveiling with Olens or harts, is sixe dayes journey by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the river of Ob.

Pechora but six dayes journey by land or water from Ob.

The Ob is a river full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles over. And from thence three dayes journey on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Joult Calmachey three dayes journey, & from thence to Chorno Callachay three dayes tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell upon the river Ob, and upon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and travailed by a Russe borne in Colmogro, whose name was Pheodor Towtigin, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

[I. 337.]

UPon the East part beyond the countrey of Ugori, the river Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Upon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomsey, whose meate is flesh of Olens, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselves. And if any Marchants come unto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be evill of sight, and have small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they travaile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They have no Marchandise but Sables onely.

Travelling on dogs & harts.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those

people, and by the sea side also doth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, having another language. One moneth in the yeere they live in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pselts) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

The relation of Chaggi Memet a Persian Marchant, to Baptista Ramusius, and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe citie of Persia, to Campion a citie of Cathay over land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Caravans.

From Tauris to Soltania.	6	
From Soltania to Casbin.	4	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6	
From Veremi to Eri.	15	
From Eri to Boghara.	20	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5	
From Samarchand to Cascar.	25	
From Cascar to Acsu.	20	dayes journey.
From Acsu to Cuchi.	20	
From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Gauta to Campion.	6	

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the province of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter of Sigismond king of Polonia, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to Elizabeth the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England, &c.

1559.

Sigismudus Augustus by the grace of God king of Polonia, great Duke of Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Massovia, and Samogetia, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the most Noble Princesse Ladie Elizabeth by the same grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. our deare sister and kinsewoman, greeting and increase of all felicitie. Whereas your Majestie writeth to us that you have received two of our letters, wee have looked that you should have answered to them both. First to the one, in which we intreated more at large in forbidding the voyage to Narve, which if it had bene done, we had bene unburdened of so often writing of one matter: and might have answered your Majestie much better to the purpose. Now we thus answere to your Majestie to those matters of the which you writte to us the 3 of October from Windsore. First, forasmuch as your Majestie at the request of our letters hath discharged the arrest of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of Danske our subjects, which was set upon them by the commandement of your Majestie: and also have restored the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowledge great pleasure done unto us in the same: and also thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times past. Neither were we ever at any time of any other opinion touching your Majestie, but that wee should obtaine right and reason at your hands. Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Majestie, making any request for your subjects, so farre as shall stand with justice, yet neither will yee yeeld any thing to your Majestie in contention of love, benevolence, and mutuall office, but that we judge every good [I. 338.] turne of yours to be recompensed by us to the utter-

The trade to Narve forbidden by the K. of Poland.

The ancient covenants of trafficke betweene England & Prussia.

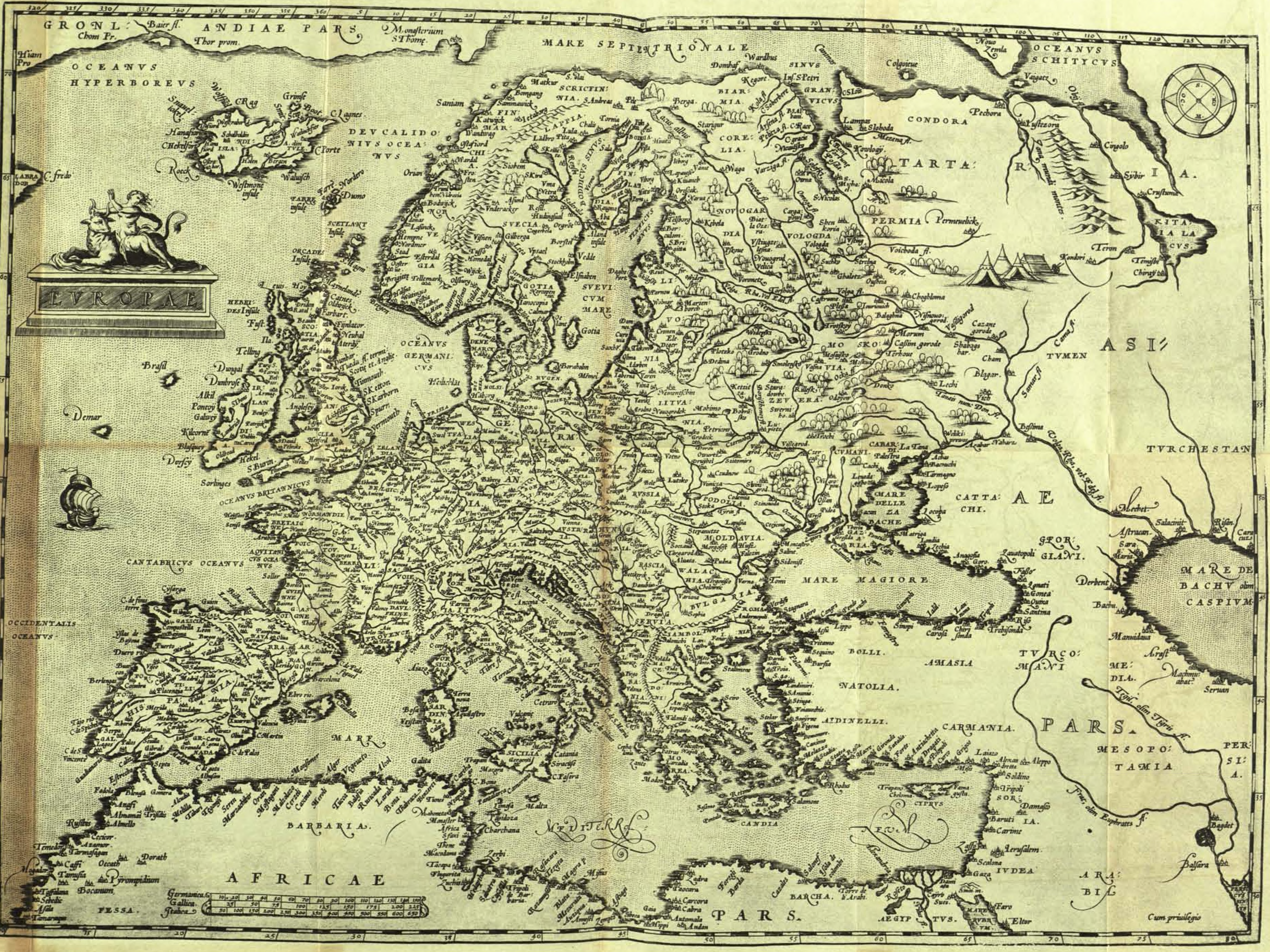
most: and that shall we proove as occasion shall serve. Therefore we shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subjects (as it is unknowen to us) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged: and shall conserve the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which shall seeme to apperteine to neighbourhood betweene us and your Majesty: so that none of the subjects of your Majesty hereafter presume to use the navigation to the Narve forbidden by us, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christians and liberall nations. The which as we have written afore, so now we write againe to your Majesty that we know and feele of a surety, the Moscovite, enemy to all liberty under the heavens, dayly to grow mightier by the increase of such things as be brought to the Narve, while not onely wares but also weapons heeretofore unknowen to him, and artificers & arts be brought unto him: by meane whereof he maketh himselfe strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narve is used, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Majesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he useth on his subjects, and in what servile sort they be under him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of arts, and ignorant of policies. If so be that this navigation to the Narve continue, what shall be unknowen to him? Therefore we that know best, and border upon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subjects to a most barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moscovite puffed up in pride with those things that be brought to the Narve, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend. With

The olde libertie of trafficke.

The meanes of increase of the power of the Moscovite.

which our admonition divers princes already content themselves, and abstaine from the Narve. The others that will not abstaine from the sayd voyage shalbe impeached by our navie, and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and children. Now therfore if the subjects of your Majesty will forbeare this voyage to Narve, there shalbe nothing denied to them of us. Let your Majesty well weigh and consider the reasons & occasions of our stopping of ships going to the Narve. In which stopping, our subjects of Danske be in no fault, as we have already written to your Majesty, neither use we their counsell in the same. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them against your Majesty or your subjects, we will gladly do justice upon them, that your Majesty may well understand that we be carefull of you and your subjects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburgh, or any other place to judge the matter : for we have our councell & judgement seat at Rie, where your Majesty & your subjects, or any other, shal have justice administred unto them, with whom we have had ancient league and amity. And thus much we have thought good to let your Majesty understand. Fare ye well. Dated the sixt of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigismundus Augustus Rex.


EVROPAE
GRONL: ANDIAE PARS
MARE SEPTENTRIONALE
OCEANVS SCHITYCVS
OCEANVS HYPERBOREVS
DEVCALIDONIVS OCEANVS
OCEANVS GERMANICVS
OCEANVS BRITANNICVS
CANTABRICVS OCEANVS
OCCIDENTALIS OCEANVS
SVEVICVM MARE
MARE MAGIORE
MARE DELLE ZABACHE
MARE DE BACHV olim CASPIVM
MEDITERR.
TARTARIA
CONDORA
PERMIA
MOSKOVIA
LITVA
RVSSIA
PODOLIA
MOLDAVIA
WALACHIA
BVLGARIA
SERVIA
SVECIA
GOTIA
NORVEGIA
LAPPIA
BIARMIA
CORELIA
VOLOGDA
NOVOGARDIA
TVMEN
CATTACHI
GEORGIANI
TVRCOMANI
NATOLIA
BOLLI
AMASIA
ADINELLI
CARMANIA
MEDIA
MESOPOTAMIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
IVDEA
CANDIA
CYPRVS
BARBARIA
AFRICAE PARS
AEGYPTVS
BARCHA
FESSA
TVRCHESTAN
ASIAE PARS
Cum priuilegio
Germanica. Gallica. Italica

The Queenes Majesties Letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for M. Anthony Jenkinson to passe thorow his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the Great Sophie. 1561.

Elizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, serenissimo & potentissimo principi, D. Joanni Basilivich, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Potentissime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratissima, illa vestræ Majestatis erga nos & nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœlicissimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi sexti, fratris nostri charissimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò vestra non solùm singulari humanitate alta atque fota, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus benevolentiæ vestræ officiis sic firmata est atque constabilita, ut jam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam utriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum utrobique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad privatam singulorum utrinque subditorum optatam spem, certámque fœlicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, plenissimè sese effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in ullas imperii vestri partes unquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, ut par est, gratias vestræ Majestati habemus, vestrisque vicissim in omni opportunitatis loco libentissimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando nostrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Jenkinson, qui has perfert literas, seorsim nobis gratis- [I. 339.] sima existit. Nam præterquam quòd nullis non locis vestri Imperii & magna libertate, & summa humanitate vestræ serenitatis non permissu solùm, sed jussu etiam frueretur, vestra bonitas tamen non in hac domestica benignè faciendi ratione conquievit, sed perlibentèr & ultró eundum nostrum hunc per dilectum famulum, variis exteris principibus, quoquoversus ipse iter suum instituerat, literis suis, suo magno Imperiali sigillo consignatis commendavit. Quod beneficium illi ubivis gentium, & viam sine ullo periculo, propter publicam vestram fidem, & adventum cum magno favore, propter vestram commendationem, optatè quidem & fœliciter communivit. Itaque quemadmodum gemina hæc vestra benevolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in vestro regno negotiantibus subditis nostris universis, tum ista seorsim præstita huic Antonio Jenkinson, perfideli nostro famulo, nobis in mente non solùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compensationem, firmissimè defixa est: ita, petimus a vestra Majestate ut utramque benevolentiæ vestræ rationem & communem nostris universis, & privatam huic nostro dilecto famulo, utrisque deinceps dignetur tueri, atque conservare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem favorem vestra Majestas anteà sua sponte Antonio Jenkinson, tum quidem privato ostendit, eundem nunc nostro rogatu eidem Antonio in nostrum jam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à vestra Majestate, ut dignetur iterum concedere eidem nostro famulo, literas suas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac salviconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præsidio, sit illi, familiaribus suis, & servis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, sarcinis, equis, & bonis suis universis, invehendis evehendísque, per vestra regna, domicilia, atque provincias,

A.D.
1561.

proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut suis libitum fuerit. Et sicut non dubitamus, quin vestra Majestas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immensa bonitate suæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo nostro sit concessura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, ut vestra Majestas eodem nostrum famulum, unà cum omnibus suis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris aliis principibus literis suis dignetur commendare, præsertim verò atque seorsim Magno Sophi, Persarum Imperatori, in cujus etiam imperia & ditiones idem noster famulus gratia potissimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficisci unà cum suis constituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia nostra postulata pro famuli spe, pro nostra expectatione, pro vestra bonitate, pro nostrorum utrinque subditorum commoditate, fausta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam vestræ Majesti, & nostris utrobique perquam utilia evasura. Deus vestræ Majestatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima nostra Civitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Jesu Christi 1561. regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord John Basiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Majestie towards us and our subjects is very pleasant to us to be remembred, which being begun by the goodnesse of God in the reigne of our most deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the sixt, and afterwards, through your not onely singular humanitie, fed, and nourished, but also through your incredible goodnesse increased, and augmented, is now firmed and established, with all maner of tokens of your benevolence, that now we doubt not, but that from hencefoorth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise

of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the private desired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our subjects. And although that this your goodnesse hath bene abundantly extended to all our subjects, that have at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee give (as reason is) your Majestie right heartie thanks, and will againe shew the like unto yours, right willingly, whensoever opportunitie shall require; yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiving, and also in enterteining our faithfull and beloved servant, Anthonie Jenkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is unto us for him privately very thankefull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Majesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enjoyed much libertie, and great friendship, your goodnesse not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the same our welbeloved servant, by your letters sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundrie forren Princes, unto whom he was minded to journey: which your magnificence did purchase unto him happily, according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credit, and also atchieving of his journey through your commendation. Thereforelike as these your duplicated benevolences, both that one generally exhibited to all [I. 340.] our subjects frequenting that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull servant Anthonie Jenkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall and meet compensation: so we desire of your Majestie, to vouchsafe from hencefoorth to conserve and continue the geminate disposition of your benevolences, both generally to all our subjects, and also privately to this our beloved servant. And we doubt not, but that at our request, you will againe graciously shew unto the same Anthony, now admitted into our service, the like favor as heretofore your Majesty of your meere motion did exhibite unto him, being then a private person. And therefore we desire your Majesty eftsoones to grant to the same our servant, your letters of licence, pasport, & safe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his servants, together with their merchandises, baggages, horses, and goods whatsoever, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and provinces, may surely and freely journey, go, passe, repasse, depart, and there tary so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne whensoever it shall seeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Majesty in the goodnesse of your nature will graciously and abundantly grant all these good offices of humanity, so we do heartily desire that your Majesty wil likewise vouchsafe to commend the same our servant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and specially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Persia, into whose empire and jurisdictions the same our servant purposeth with his for to journey, chiefly for triall of forren merchandises.

We therefore doe trust that all these our demands shall tend, and have effect, according to the hope of our servant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our subjects, lucky to him, thankefull to us, acceptable to your Majesty, and very profitable to our subjects on either part. God grant unto your Majesty long and happy felicity in earth, and everlasting in heaven. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Jesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

[The Queenes

The Queenes Majesties Letters to the great Sophy of Persia, sent by M. Anthonie Jenkinson, 1561.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentissimo & invictissimo Principi, Magno Sophi Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & ultrà Tygrim fluvium, & omnium intra Mare Caspium, & Persicum sinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori salutem, & rerum prosperarum fœlicissimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum est, ut quas gentes, non solum immensa terrarum spacia, & insuperabiles marium vastitates, sed & ipsi etiam cœlorum cardines longissimè disjunxerunt, ipsæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter se & opportunè possint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, & fidelis noster famulus Antonius Jenkinson, qui has literas nostras perfert, cum bona venia, favore, & gratia nostra hoc Angliæ nostræ regnum excedere, & in Persiam usque, vestrásque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare constituerit, hoc illius institutum perlaudabile quidem grato nostro favore prosequi, & promovere studuimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc ejus propositum ex honesto studio commercii constituendi potissimum cùm vestris subditis, aliisque peregrinis hominibus, ad vestra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum sit. Propterea̋ nobis & scribendum ad vestram Majestatem, ab eaque petendum esse duximus, ut nostro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo nostro Antonio Jenkinson literas publicæ fidei, & salvi conductus, quarum authoritate atque præsidio, licitum, liberúmque sit illi, unà cum suis familiaribus, servis, sarcinis, mercibus & bonis universis, per vestra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque provincias liberè, & sine impedimento proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel suis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc sancta hospitalitatis jura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, nostra regna, nostrósque subditos libentèr constitui, sincerè coli, & constanter conservari queant, speramus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, ut ab hiis parvis initiis, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, nostris ad summa commoda atque usus, aliquando sint oritura: siquidem, ut non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longissimè seperandos, quàm divina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ benevolentiæ ad nos firmissimè conjungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem, & fœlicem in terris, & [I. 341.] perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Majestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra urbe Londino, 25 die mensis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei nostri Jesu Christi, 1561, regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

This letter was also written in Hebrew, and Italian.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the river of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian sea, and the gulfe of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almightie God it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the invincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heavens do most farre separate, and set asunder, may neverthelesse through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceived thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull,

and right welbeloved servant Anthonie Jenkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our licence, favour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to travell even into Persia, and other your jurisdictions: we minde truely with our good favour, to set forward, and advance that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded upon an honest intent, to establish trade of merchandise with your subjects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherfore we have thought good, both to write to your Majestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our sayd servant, Anthonie Jenkinson, good pasports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, servants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoever, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Jurisdictions, and Provinces, freely, and without impeachment, to journey, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne whensoever he or they shall thinke good. If these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely observed betweene us, and our Realmes, and subjects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and use of our peoples: so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heavens, have so much force to separate us, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and mutuall benevolence have to joyne us strongly together. God grant unto your Majestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heaven. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance given by us the Governours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into Russia, the eight day of May 1561, to our trustie friend Anthonie Jenkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight journey.

First you shall understand that we have laden in our good ship, called the Swallow, one Chest, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliver you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the sayd Chest, and what every thing did cost: and because, as you know, the sayd Chest is of charge, we desire you to have a speciall regard unto it, and when God shall send you unto Mosco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the advise of our Agents there, doe appoint some such presents for the Emperour and his sonne, either wine, cloth of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you have delivered unto him the Queenes Majesties Letters, and our sayd present in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble sute unto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safe conduct for you and all other our servants or Agents at all times hereafter with such wares and merchandise as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good to passe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Persia, or other places, and also to returne unto Mosco with such wares and merchandises as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make [I. 342.]
composition with the emperor or his officers for some certeine custome or tole upon such goods as we shall

passe that way, to the intent we might be the better favored, we refer it to your descretion, foreseeing that ye opening of this matter be not prejudiciall unto our former privileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other jewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents privy how and for what price you sell any of the premisses, and also deliver such summes of money, billes or wares, as you shall receive, unto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceive that the plate or other jewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceive that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We have also laden in the sayd Swallow and the other two ships 80 fardles, conteining 400 kersies, as by ye invoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Persia : neverthelesse, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be uncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, & that you perceive you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most convenient for that purpose, you do appoint so many, and such of our hired servants or apprentises as you thinke necessary & meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make privy of all your doings for divers considerations and causes that may happen: which servants and apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient unto you as unto us, not onely to goe with you and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe unto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them unto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired servant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, & let us have knowledge of his evill behavior, to the intent that if he be a hired servant we may pay him his wages according to his service, and if he be an apprentise we may use him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such karsies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your journey towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire unto the great Sophy with the Queenes Majesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to travell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or governors, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of privilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample manner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by us heereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoever it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for us at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adjoyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Russia or elswhere.

And for the sale of our kersies or other wares that you shall have with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie : even so we referre all unto your good discretion, aswell in the sale of our sayd goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kersies, & other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your servants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Nova Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Provided alwayes, that if you do perceive or understand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer folowing, which shalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not sell our kersies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price : then we will rather they may be kept till the said Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards upon your journey towards Persia as aforesayd. If passage into Persia cannot be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of passage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good sale of our kersies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to

The passage of Nova Zembla.

[I. 343.]

see if you can practise to cary your said wares by safe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes unto Constantinople, or els where you thinke beter sale may be had, then in Russia.

Thus have we given you to understand our meanings in this intended adventure: but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe unto you any certeine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approved wisedome with youre experience, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieving and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the said adventure wholly unto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for ever.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you, as you tender the state of our company, that you will have a speciall regard unto the order of our houses & our servants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our servants or apprentises, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or privilege there, that you doe not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie us thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

Waights and drugs delivered to M. Jenkinson.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the partes of Russia, we doe heerewith deliver you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceive how to know the best, and also there are noted the prices of such wares and drugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliver you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in brasse, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to give you any instructions thereof, other then you know.

The maine sea within thirtie dayes Eastward of Colmogro.

And if you understand that any commoditie in Russia be profitable for us to have with you into Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either provide it for you, or deliver you money to make provision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in traveiling Eastwardes from Colmogro thirty or forty dayes journey, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Johnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to goe with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may travell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for us to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

William Gerard. } Governors. { William Merike.
Thomas Lodge. } { Blase Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the journey of M. Anth. Jenkinson, from the famous citie of London into the land of Persia, passing in this same journey thorow Russia, Moscovia, and Mare Caspium, aliâs Hircanum, sent and imployed therein by the right worshipfull Societie of the Merchants Adventurers, for discoverie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, Anno 1561, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Majestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.

1561.

First imbarking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Gravesend, having a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, having in our sailing diversitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and observe sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you have bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of July, the yere aforesayd I arrived in the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: and the sixe and twentieth day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worships affaires, I departed from thence, passing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of August then following, I came to Vologda, which is distant from Colmogro, seven hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arrivall of one of your boats, wherein was [I. 344.] laden a chest of jewels with the present, by your worships appointed for the Emperors Majesty: which being arrived, and the chest received, I therewith departed toward the city of Mosco, and came thither the twentieth day of the same moneth, where I immediatly caused my comming to be signified unto the Secretary of the Imperiall Majesty, with the Queenes Highnesse letters addressed unto the same his Majestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highnesse having great affaires, and being at that present ready to be married unto a Ladie of Chircassi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, nor other, should come before him for a time, with further streight charge, that during the space of three dayes that the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shut, and that no person, stranger or native (certeine of his houshold reserved) should come out of their said houses during the said triumph, the cause thereof unto this day not being knowen.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour of Russia.

The sixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called all Ambassadours and strangers being of reputation, and having affaires: amongst whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Majesties letters, I refused so to doe, saying I would deliver the same unto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwise: which heard, the Secretarie answered, that unlesse he might first peruse the sayd letters, I should not come into the Emperors presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neverthelesse, I was advertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Majestie, although the cause of my absence was to his Majestie unknowen. The next day following, I caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highnesse owne hands, and thereby declared the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Majesties letters, and the answere of his sayd Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receive and accept the same her Highnesse letters, with such honour and friendship, as his letters sent by Osep Napea were received by the hands of our late Sovereigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would please his Highnes to dismisse me, saying that I would not deliver the said letters but unto his owne hands, for that it is so used in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my supplication well disgested, I was foorthwith commaunded to come with the said letters before his Majestie, and so delivered the same into his owne hands (with such presents as by you were appointed) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, & the same day I dined in his Graces presence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should be licenced to passe thorow his Highnesse dominions into the land of Persia, according to the Queenes Majesties request: hereunto it was answered, that I should not passe thither, for that his Majestie meant to send an armie of men that way into the land of Chircassi, whereby my journey should be both dangerous & troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expressed. Thus having received his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, having in that time solde the most part of your kersies and other wares appointed for Persia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired pasport, and post horses for money, which was granted: but having received my pasport, ready to depart, there came unto our house there Osep Napea, who perswaded me that I should not depart that day, saying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and Osep Napea together, after many allegations and objections of things, and perceiving that I would depart, I was willed to remaine untill the Emperours Majestie were spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleasure was, that I should

Request to passe into Persia thorow Moscovie.

Osep Napea Ambassadour from the Emperor of Russia to Q. Mary.

not onely passe thorow his dominions into Persia, but also have his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereupon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined againe in his Majesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiving a cup of drinke at his Majesties hands, I tooke my leave of his Highnesse, who did not onely give me letters, as aforesayd, but also committed matter of importance and charge unto me, to be done when I should arrive in those countreys whither I intended to go, and having all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the city of Mosco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great river of Volga, in company of the said Ambassadour of Persia, with whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the same river unto Astracan, where we arrived all in health the 10 day of June.

An ambassador of Persia.

Astracan.

And as touching the situations of the cities, townes, castles and countreys, aswell of Mahometans as also of Gentils adjoyning to the same, whereby I passed from Mosco unto Astracan, I omit in this breviat to rehearse, for that I heretofore have declared the same most amply unto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arrived at Astracan, as is aforesayd, I repaired unto the captaine there, unto whom I was commended from the Emperours Majesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners wel appointed in two stroogs or brigantines into the Caspian sea, until I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rovers do accustome to haunt, and having prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of July, the yeere aforesayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the sayd Astracan, and the next day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said river

[I. 345.]

M. Jenkinsons voyage to Boghar.

He passeth the Caspian sea.

being twenty miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest sunne, we passed by three Islands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouthwest from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West & by North sun we fel with the land called Challica Ostriva, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands forty miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rovers do use: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East forty miles, and fell upon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to have perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Chatalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriva an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of us, which was called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, having no other provision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growen very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her above water, although we threw much of our goods overboard, with losse of our boat, and our selves thereby in great danger like to have perished either in the sea or els upon the lee shore, where we should have fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very unlike that we should have escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seven dayes, to wit, untill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming up at the West with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day haling to the shore with a West sunne, we were nie a land

The countrey of Tumen.

The Island of Chatalet.

The land of Shirvansha. called by the inhabitants Shyrvansha, and there we came againe to an anker, having the winde contrary, being distant from the said Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued untill the third day of August, then having a faire winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arrived *Derbent.* at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne having an olde castle therein, being situated upon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against *A mighty wall.* the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thicknesse, extending from the same city to the Georgians, yea unto the principall *Or Tiphlis.* city thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now rased, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade. This city of Derbent being now under the power of the Sophy of Persia, bordereth upon the sea, adjoyning to the foresaid land of Shalfcall, *Fortie one degrees.* in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence sailing Southeast and Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixt day of August, the yere aforesaid, we arrived at our *Shabran.* landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rovers, wherof there is great plenty, being field people, the governor of the *Alcan Murcy the governour.* said countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming unto me, entertained me very gently, unto whom giving a present, he appointed for my safegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, until he might have newes from the king of Shirvan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repaire unto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of five and forty to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my journey from thence the said twelft day, on the 18 of the same moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said countrey of Hircan, otherwise called Shirvan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king, named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said Shamaki twentie miles, to avoyd the injury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently interteined me, and having kissed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pavillion, wrought with silke & golde, placed very pleasantly, upon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, having before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and stone: upon his head was a tolipane with a sharpe ende standing upwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pavilion was covered with rich carpets, & under himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with silver & golde, and therupon was layd two sutable cushions. Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his pavilion

[I. 346.]

King Obdolowcan.

The majesty & attire of king Obdolowcan.

with his legs a crosse, and perceiving that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, & did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approching, divers clothes were spred upon the ground, and sundry dishes served, and set in a ranke with divers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruits of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two services occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner & banket, the king said unto me, Quoshe quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliver me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: unto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed unto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: unto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Majesty of England unto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted unto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subjects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subjects, with divers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much allowing this declaration sayd, that he would not onely give me passage, but also men to safeconduct me unto the sayd Sophy, lying from the foresayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

journey, up into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of August the yere aforesaid, he sent for me againe: unto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did give one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was invited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey fashion, side, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent unto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my upper garment, being a gowne of blacke velvet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments upon my backe, and so conducted me unto the king, before whom doing reverence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very mery, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great favour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gave me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained untill the sixt of October, to provide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended journey.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hircania.

[I. 347.]

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shirvan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircan in times past was of great renowme, having many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes, and castles be decayed) but also the king is subject to the sayd Sophie (although they have their proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for their diversity in religion, and caused not onely all the nobility & gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also over and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, and for their great terror, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is distant from the sea side, with camels, seven dayes journey, but now the same being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arrash, bordering upon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, & thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and trafficke. There be also divers good and necessary commodities to be provided & had in this sayd realme: viz. galles rough and smooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey: besides, nere all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantity, for that they be not assured to have vent or utterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be there, raw silks of all sorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd

Danger by diversitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash or Erex.

The commodities of this countrey.

city of Shamaki, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the sayd castle was a Nunry of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would have forced her (she professing chastity) to have married with a king of Tartarie: upon which occasion the maidens of that countrey do resort thither once every yere to lament her death.

The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the sayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquifs, upon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, having upon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horse, and a taile like a Cow. It is further sayd, that this monster kept a passage thereby, untill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamshe, a kinseman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the sayd hill, and combating with the sayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but also his woman called Lamisache with his sonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey have this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) savoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh unto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the discourse of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforesayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforesaid, and having journeyed threescore miles, came to a towne called Yavate, wherein the king hath a faire house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this towne passeth a great river called Cor, which springeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & passing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforesayd, falleth into the Cas-

The towne of Yavate.

pian or Hircan sea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence issueth further, passing thorow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season upon mountaines, and in Winter they remoove into the valleyes without resorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remoove, they doe journey in carravans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wives, children and baggage upon bullocks. Now passing this wilde people ten dayes journey, comming into no towne or house, the sixteenth day of October we arrived at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hospitall builded with faire stone, and erected by this Sophies father named Ismael, onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other travellers, wherein all men have victuals and feeding for man and horse, for three dayes and no longer. This foresayd late prince Ismael lieth buried in a faire Meskit, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the province of Aderravgan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he invaded the Persians. Foure dayes journey to the Westward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia, but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great invasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almost to the sayd citie of Tauris, which the sayd Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes journey from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin.

The city of Ardouil.

The city Tebris or Tauris.

[I. 348.]

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, travelling for the most part over mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to use for fewell the dung of horses & camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes journey the yere aforesayd, the second day of November we arrived at the foresayd citie of Casbin, where the sayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, sonne to Obdolowcan king of Shirvan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and invited me to dinner, whereat I had great enterteinment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter unto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Sovereigne ladie the Queenes most excellent Majestie of the Realme of England, unto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at convenient time I might come into his Majesties presence, who advertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliver.

M. Jenkinsons arrivall at the Sophies court. 2. November, 1562.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambassadour arrived foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire horses with rich furnitures, and other gifts, esteemed to be woorth forty thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with joyfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to observe the same, and to live alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And upon this conclusion the Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baiset Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from

The Turkes Ambassadour to the Sophy.

his father unto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much prevailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his sonne to be sent unto him, & the Sophy refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy sent him his head for a present, not a litle desired, and acceptable to the unnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arrivall with the king of Shirvan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we never had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer us to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from us, which are in great league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we understand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to give us pasport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayd Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as never before had beene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also have utterance of theirs, although there never came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king understanding the matter liked it marveilously, saying, that he would write unto the Sophy concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophy would graunt my request, and that at my returne unto him he would give me letters of safe conduct, and priviledges. The Turks Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to have furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turks Ambassadour being arrived, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to perswade the Sophy not to favour me, as his Highnesse meant to observe the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchaunts withstand M. Jenkinson.

The 20 day of November aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian [I. 349.] tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put upon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffred to tread upon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, unbeleever, and uncleane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeve as they do, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the sayd Court gate the things that I brought to present his Majestie with, were devided by sundry parcels to sundry servitors of the Court, to cary before me, for none of my company or servants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Majestie with such reverence as I thought meete to be used, I delivered the Queenes Majesties letters with my present, which hee accepting,

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The Queenes letters delivered.

demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe? Unto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soveraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subjects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we have none within our Realme that understand those tongues. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions, to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not dispraysing the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an unbeleever, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Unto whom I answered, that I was neither unbeleever nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he unto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled unto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleeveth in Jesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest Prophet. Doest thou beleeve so, said the Sophie unto me? Yea that I do, said I: Oh thou unbeleever, said he, we have no neede to have friendship with the unbeleevers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Basanet of

The Sophies questions.

sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, even from the said Sophies sight unto the court gate.

The curtesie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I repaired againe unto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who favoured me very much for that I was commended unto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should have good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting unto me divers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. Unto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiving their meaning: for I was advertised that the saide Sophie meant to have warres with the Portingals, and would have charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions unto the saide Portingals, thinking them and us to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the providence of God this was prevented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the said Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsel concerning me, who perswaded that he should not entertaine me wel, neither dismisse me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: disswading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to have friendship with unbeleevers, whose Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters unto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to have done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadour unto the said great Turke very shortly after.

The king of Hircans second letters in M. Jenkinsons behalfe.

But the king of Hircanes sonne aforesaide, understanding this deliberation, sent a man in post unto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose unto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had journeyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he understood of his said determination, & that it should [I. 350.] not stand with his Majesties honour to doe mee any harme or displeasure, but rather to give mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee used mee evil, there would few strangers resort into his countrey, which would bee greatly unto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the saide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and disgested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, being one of the valiantest princes under him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the twentieth of March 1562. he sent to me a rich garment of cloth of golde, and so dismissed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian Merchants.

During the time that I sojourned at the sayde City of Casbin, divers merchants out of India came thither unto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices: whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sorts so much as we would have, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there provided and had.

M. Jenkinsons returne.

The same twentieth day of March I returned from the saide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, having sent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the saide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April unto Zavat aforesayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that present, who immediatly sent for me, and demaunding of me many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene utterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, through the evill perswasion of his wicked counsell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moovers thereof: but the Sophie himselfe ment mee much good at the first, and thought to have given me good entertainement, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to have bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neverthelesse, sayd he, the Sophie hath written unto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and so he intreated mee very gently, in whose Court I remained seven dayes, and obteined of him letters of safe conductes and priviledges in your names to bee free from paying custome, which I delivered unto your servants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires: and his highnesse did give mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great favour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe unto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefest secret of his affaires unto me, to declare the same unto the Emperours Majestie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for provision of Camels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came unto me an Armenian sent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable estate of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the said great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the love of Christ and as I was a Christian, that I would send him comfort by the said Armenian, and advise how he might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that he would support him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his necessitie unto the same Emperour at my

Priviledges obtained of Obdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian sent to M. Jenkinson from the king of Georgia.

returne: adding further that the said king would have written unto me his minde, but that hee doubted the safe passage of his messenger. Unto whom I did likewise answere by word of mouth, not onely perswading him to sende his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the Countrey of Chircassi, through the favour of Teneruk king of the sayd Countrey, whose daughter the said king had lately married. And thus dismissing the saide Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Cleark your servaunt unto the Citie of Arrash, where the most store of Silkes is to be had, giving him Commission to have passed further into the saide Countrey of Georgia, and there to have repaired unto the sayde king. And after my commendations premised, and my minde declared to have pursued for safeconduct of the same Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to have returned againe with speede. The same your servaunt journeying to the sayd Citie of Arrash, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceived by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and understanding that he could not passe further without great suspition, answered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and shewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie therof comming to the Seaside, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Teneruk king of Chircassi.

[I. 351.] But before I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your favours somewhat to treate of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The description of Persia.

This land of Persia is great and ample, devided into many kingdomes and provinces, as Gillan, Corasan, Shirvan, and many others having divers Cities, townes and castles in the same. Every province hath his severall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefest Cities be these: Teveris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arrash with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the sea side is plaine and full of pasture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth upon Arabia and the East Ocean. To the North upon the Caspian sea and the lands of Tartaria. To the East upon the provinces of India, and to the West upon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, sonne to Ismael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much invaded his countreys, even nigh unto the Citie of Teveris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now having forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at Casbin aforesaide, and alwayes as the said Turke pursueth him, he not being able to withstand the Turke in the fielde, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hath caused the same to bee rased within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengthen themselves with the same.

The chiefe Cities of Persia.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, having five children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captive in prison, for that he feareth him for his valiantnesse and activitie: he professeth a kinde of holynesse, and saith that hee is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this false fained Murtezalli, saying that hee was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding dayly three other disciples that Mahomet had called Ovear, Usiran, and Abebeck, and these three did slay the saide Murtezalli, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they have had and have with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselves to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holinesse, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martial, delighting in faire horses and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I have thought good to treate of this nation, and nowe I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

The difference of religion.

My barke being ready at the Caspian sea as aforesaide, having a faire winde, and committing our selves unto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arrived at Astracan, having passed no lesse dangers upon the Sea in our returne, then wee sustained in our going foorth, and remayning at the said Astracan, untill the tenth day of June, one hundred gunners being there admitted unto mee for my safegard up the river Volga, the fifteenth of July I arrived at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place unto the Citie of Mosco, where I arrived the twentieth day of August 1563. in safetie, thankes bee to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and jewels, as I had provided as well for the Emperours stocke and accompt, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasurie before it was opened, which I did, and delivered those parcels of wares which were for his Majesties accompt, videlicet, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his high-

The 30. of May 1563.

nesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe silkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought unto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your shippes lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the Mosco, I came before the Emperours Majestie, and presented unto him the apparell given unto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying unto mee, I have perceived your good service, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would travell againe in such his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie rejoycing that my service was so acceptable unto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humbly beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse unto your worships, and even at that instant I humbly requested his Majestie to vouchsafe to graunt unto you a newe priviledge more ample then the first, which immediately was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards having penned a briefe note howe I meant to have the same priviledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it under his Majesties broade seale, which at my departure from thence, I delivered unto the custody of Thomas Glover your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priviledges graunted and given by the king of Hircan, I have already delivered unto you. Sojourning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time having bargained with the Emperours Majestie, I sent away your servant Edward Clarke hither overland with advise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof unto your servants Thomas Alcocke, George

[I. 352.]

New priviledges obtained hereafter following.

Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thousand five hundred sixtie foure, and having passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God be praised) we arrived here at London in safetie. 28. *Septemb.* 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant souldier, which adventureth both fame, member and life, to serve faithfully his soveraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his service bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiving your favourable benevolence to me extended in accepting my travels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching Almightie God so to prosper your adventures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my travels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enjoy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for ever.

A copie of the priviledges given by Obdolowcan King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants Adventurers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the lands and countreys adjoyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Jenkinson at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heaven and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shirvan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our favoured and welbeloved Anthonie Jenkinson Ambassadour, have given and graunted unto the right worshipfull Sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Adventurers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said English merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen unto us, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose & be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the saide English merchants to have restored all such money & wares as our customers have taken of them for our said custome. And whensoever the saide English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meete for our treasurie, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasurie, and shall give unto the said English merchants, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoever this our letter of priviledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Javat, the day and yere above written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

[I. 353.]

The second voiage into Persia made by Tho. Alcock, who was slaine there, and by George Wrenne, & Ric. Cheinie servants to the worshipfull compaine of Moscovie merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

IT may please your worships to understand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Jenkinson, and M. Thomas Glover your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcock having the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worships servants being joyned with him in your busines, having with us, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperors: for I received none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so privily that a man could never see them. The 10. of

A rubble is a marke English.

May anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraslave upon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of July we arrived at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arrived at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arrived at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the fielde. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arrivall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gave him a present, and he entertained us very well.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sate in his tent upon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being covered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing every man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Merchants to rise up, and to give us the upper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leaving mee at Shammaki to recover such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recover but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arrived at a towne called Leuvacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes journey from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriving there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seven dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands merchant had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe us no favour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should have knowledge of

Casbin.

Leuvacta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leaving him at the Court.

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Levvacta and Shammaki.

The thirde day after mine arrivall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan understanding of his death, demaunded whether he had ever a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other servant there but mee among those heathen people. Who having such a summe of goods lying under my handes, and seeing howe the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and having but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I used such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worships goods with a Mariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arrive at the seaside, being safely layd in. All which goods afterwards arrived in Russeland in good condition, Master Glover having the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recovery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recovered to the summe of fiftene hundreth rubbles or there about, which M. Glover received of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Keselbash, as by a note of my hand that hee hath shall appeare. Also he having the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two above named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubbles, one Richard Johnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles, one Evan Chermisin a Tartar seventie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glover allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

Keselbash, or Jeselbash.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gave him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I have sowen the seede, and other men have gathered the harvest: I have travailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they have reaped the fruites of my travaile. But ever my prayer was to God, to deliver mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your service among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I have done, as a true servant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I have but small recompence for my service,) yet let me have no wrong, and God will prosper you the better. [I. 354.]

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I judge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you have had no traffique, liveth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes travaile from Ormus, whither all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous livers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it wil be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Johnson went to Persia, whose journey had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious living there hath made us to be compted worse then the Russes.

Gillan in Persia.

Againe, if such men travaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall never know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselves to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made evil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal never understand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

1565.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by Richard Johnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipful company trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.

Master Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with desire of God for the preservation of you and yours: you shall understand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glover (your Agent) unto Jeraslave, appointed to receive such goods as should come from Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to provide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to advise. Thus I remained here until the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see us set forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, having appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Johnson. For my part I am willing, as also have bene & shalbe content to submit my selfe under him, whom the Agent shall appoint, although he were

Jeraslave a towne upon the river of Volga.

Richard Johnson chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

such a one as you should thinke in some respects unmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall have with us. The other 18. packs that should have gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall understand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him unto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had lived: for my desire was in his company to have traveiled into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the river of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and provision of victuals. If the worshipful company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to give great fraight to lade their goods with us, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saved, and your servants and goods in farre greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough having one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet unknowen unto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know) it was the Governors mind I [I. 355.] should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and have more laisure. Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Jeraslave 1564. to passe the Caspian seas.

almightie God; who preserve you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From Jeraslave the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere
during life. Arthur Edwards.

1566.

Another letter of the said M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Lodge Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of Richard Johnson in the third voiage into Persia.

WOrshipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer unto God for the preservation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26 of July 1565. From whence Richard Johnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August before we came to our desired port named Nazavoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses devised and made, we haled your barke over a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small River, sending your ships apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the same: and the 17. day folowing, we presented unto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or nest of silver cups parsill gilt, three Morses teeth, 4. Arshines of skarlet, 3. pieces of karseis, with 40. red foxes.

They departed from Astracan the 30. of July 1565.

September.

Presents to the king Obdolowcan.

He received our presents with giving us thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Jenkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. He willed us also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where he sate with divers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending us from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with us, he sayd, if he might perceive or know any maner of person to doe us any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, whereby we should live in quietnesse, and have no cause to complaine, giving us a litle house for the time, untill a better might be provided in such place as we should thinke most meete, never willing us to rise or depart, untill such time as we of our selves thought it convenient. At the taking of our leave, hee willed us to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further understand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receive certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recover all such summes of money as are owing us for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recoverie, which had not bene lost if the king had lived. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towards us: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew us more friendship then ever we found: God grant the same.

A house given our men in Shamaki by the king.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay the new king of Media.

Great troubles have chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for unto the Shaugh. These troubles have partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Johnson bought foure horses, minding to have

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

sent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Davis one of your Mariners, whose soules I trust the Lord hath received to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we have but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good service here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recover it, but God of his mercy delivered us. Mariners here may doe you good service all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in us giving good fraight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading fraight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not draw above five foote of water, because that in many places are very shallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serve our turnes very well.

The Caspian sea very shoald in divers places.

[I. 356.]

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, travell and care, and could not have their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priviledge: Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shal remaine here, although heretofore things have chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priviledge once gotten and obtained, we shall live in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for silkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Jenkinson is well knowen, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly advertised the Companie thereof.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcock your servant, is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd servant was earnest in demanding of your debts: upon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaves lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloved when we shall be more knowen.

The murthering of Thomas Alcock.

Honest merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with us, being glad to further us in that they may, & have spoken in our favours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great favour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Jenkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another Duke named Ameddinbeck is our great friend: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two have promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priviledge, but also that I shall have the debts paied me of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was upon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Johnson, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to use my discretion with their advise, for the recovering of your debts and priviledge. I shall have with mee one interpreter and two bought servants: one of which partly understandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoever should become of me. I have received 6. tumens in ready money, 200. shaughs is a tumen,

Cozamomet a noble man that favoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

reckoning every shaugh for sixe pence Russe. I have further received two timbers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee given to Thomas the Shaugh: and have order further to give as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serveth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this journey.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shal throughly be advertised by your Agent Richard Johnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hands I might see or be privie unto. Your karseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold under, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would have bene given, if circumspection had bene used. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I should have gone with them. They may stand us much in stead, as they have promised us their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in every packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grosin, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall have lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the first hand of the countrey people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to have a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may have for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of divers,

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for silke.

you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousand pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bound up in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaughs, at 6.d. the shaugh, may be 11.s. 6.pence.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serve our purpose best to goe unto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bists their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I have bought to bee sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleeve, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: & from thence a man may travell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and divers other cities round about, to wit, Teveris, Ardouil, and Caishan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more civilitie and merchants are better used. Concerning this point I have inquired of divers merchants both Russes and others that have bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceive the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. daies travelling with camels. I have written the prices of wares in my letter to the governour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

Gilan 7. dayes sailing from Astracan.

Alom.

[I. 357.]

Gilan 4. dayes journey from Casbin.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths travel with camels.

Also you shall understand here is plentie of yew for bowstaves. I caused three horse loades to be bought us for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Three moneths I never left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

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This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God give me a good houre and well to speed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I have written my mind to M. Glover your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we have need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of servants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as have discretion, and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good service, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slave that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete unto us in all your secret doings, not making the Russes privy: for they are sory that we doe trade into these partes, for we are better beloved then they are: because they are given to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serve your worships in these parts that be given to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and governe himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and us. By his evill usage he paied here 24 rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to have conveied away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your worships good service because of his Russian tongue.

The secret doings of the Moscovie company.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not give above 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are given much to weare cloth: the common people specially weare karseis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send five or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other

Orient reds of Venice die.

sad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not above. It is here reported that King Philip hath given the Turkes a great overthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you have red it, that M. Nicols may have a sight thereof.

By your servant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, with their prizes there.

1 Karseis are sold there for 180. Shaughes: so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings: for every shaugh is sixe pence English, and every Bist is two pence halfepeny English, and in Russe money three pence.

A shaugh is 6.d. English.

2 Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containing as I have mentioned before.

3 Brasil is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.

4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.

5 Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

[I. 358.]

1 Raw silke at 60. shaughs ye batman.

2 Pepper at 32. shaughs ye batman.

3 Ginger at 18. & 20. shaughs ye batman.

4 Nutmegs at 30. shaughs the batman.

5 Brimstone at 4 shaughs the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. English.

6 Allom at 2. bists and a halfe the batman and lesse.

7 Rice at halfe a bist the batman.

8 Gals at halfe a bist the batman.

9 Cloves at 40. shaughs the batman.

10 Yew for bow staves, at

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipfull the Governours, Consuls, Assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse unto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priviledge, with divers other good observations.

His arrival at Casbin the 25. of May.

Conference & demands of the Shaugh.

Right worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preservation of your good healths, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to understand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Johnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which citie I came the 25. of May folowing, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose majestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and having heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes majestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: and then of other countries adjoyning to us and their commodities, as also of king Philip, what overthrow he gave the Turks at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscovia, and in what space we might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes travell it is from Colmogro to Astracan: and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring unto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westerne dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his majesty. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shorne and drest. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be lively to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being cromplisted a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & velvets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue & bocky, some velvets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western karseis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weaving, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

All sorts of cloth to be sent, specially Westerne dozens died into skarlet.

London clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

Your worships shall understand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priviledge in writing, that I might have it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the

The second admission to the Shaughs presence, the 29. of June 1566. at which time he received the priviledge. The Shaughs promise to increase the priviledge. [I. 359.]

presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June last. I was in apparell that he gave unto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your servants, and then I received your letters or priviledge, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Praysed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of June is one of their chiefe festivall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his majestie, who sayd unto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. Whereupon I made my reverence, and gave his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Majestie should understand of his goodnesse towardes her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request unto his Highnes, in such forme & order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these wordes: when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will, and so I departed.

Since the receiving of the Shaughs letters, I have eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And every day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee unbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would have eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall live here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly used with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of kersies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnesse rejoyced: for the

Turkes Ambassador the last yere, as divers have told me, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerly receive at the Venetians hands, karsies in barter for rawe silks, giving sometimes 60. pieces of karsies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grosin silke. And karsies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the piece, (the ducket being here woorth 12. shillings) may cost the first peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karsie. By report it is one moneths travel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes journey: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or five weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be travelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be sent. For I can have them here to put in suerties to deliver my letters, and to bring answere. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing have doubted to have brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Armenians barter with the Venetians.

The distance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

Armenians and other, desirous to barter silke and spices for karsies.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with us, giving silke for karsies, and also will serve us of all kind of spices, we giving them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliver it us in Shamaky at these prizes.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, every Shaugh is sixepence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloves for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamom for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks travel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one travell with a good Mule unladen, it may be gone in seven or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be travelled in like order and proportion, with cattel unladen. But here in all places as men travel, they must carie their owne provision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they travell but a footepase.

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you who will give money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceive, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, five, and six thousand pieces of karsies, and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worships might procure and find vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieve them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adjoyning. You shall understand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yerely carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karsies & Venice clothes. And 18. pieces of karsies are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to send above 2000. pieces of karsies, although I have bene willed to write for more. If I might have had any understanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should

[I. 360.]

2000. pieces of karsies to be sent into Persia.

in this my letter have bene better able to have answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might have written some thing unto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else have sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friends have written to me: for here are arrived eight weekes past, two boates with wares and Russes, by whom they might have written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sory that any boat should depart out of these partes, and not write unto them, waying how all things stand. I heare they have bought a boat, which cost 40. rubbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to have come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Casbin the 15. of July.

The fifteenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of ye same. And the fourth of August I found meanes to arrest the falsest knave in this countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughs, (200. shaughs is a tumen.) I have caused him to put in suerties for his foorthcomming at all times, what ende I shall have with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recovered, but not yet, for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. These partes as yet are in no stay for lacke of a Governour or head to rule, which I thinke shall bee the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we shall know, for it is time, because men are in feare to travell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughs letters or priviledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shall be paied, but also that we shall be taken heed to, so as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel used as we are in Russeland. The bils of debts that Rich. Johnson left with me, had neither the parties name nor summe of mony in two of them, and in other bils

Rich. Johnsons great negligence.

but his own name. If I had not used discretion in causing to be written in our priviledge, that such debtes as are owing, should be paied any of us in the absence of the other, some men would not have paied one penie, but onely to Richard Johnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I received in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughs in money: the rest he will deliver me here in silke, and this is all that I have received to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelve tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute then to further mee, but I found out a present remedie: for God sent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute, and brought mee to the presence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet sawe the Shaughs eyes. But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was sent for, and declared unto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, using trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great favour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in those partes, for no man was able to advise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countreys so much as hee was. He owed your Worships seven tumens and 48. shaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giving great gifts since his comming, which he twise declared unto me. I feeling his griefe became Physicion to ease his paine, and forgave him his debt abovesayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karsies, that were promised him by Richard Johnson and me, to give him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that he should with speed

Cozomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

doe what lay in him, to dispatch me away: for I perceive hee procured other that did helpe me in my sute to delay me of, till time he had his purpose. I never was in quiet, till I had the Princes priviledge, and had got mee out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, because they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other smal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we shall seeke to get them in as we may. I wish your Worships to send some bullion to bee coyned here, it will please the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three shaughs the batman, then it was the last yeere. You shall understand that I have written two letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from Casbin long since: to wit, the 24. and 29. of June last, by one of your servants to Gilan, there to take ship and to goe to Astracan, and to deliver the same unto your Factors, which might have bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in those boats that went first, but taried for the last boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he shall make haste hereafter in such affaires. The karsies which you sent last, being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your worships the like priviledge at the kings hand there also. For I have somthing moved the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is in that Province good store of silke, better cheape, & better in goodnesse then this countrey silke is. Also great store of Alom, being there sold this

Victuals and all things dear at Casbin.

[I. 361.]

The Ambassador of ye prince of Gilan.

Gilan but five dayes riding from Casbin.

townes batman, for one bist and a halfe. I have made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not stand you in above 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You have yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for *Gals.* gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and sold here not under 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being *Graine.* six pounds English waight. Graine that you die scarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200. shaughs, reckoning the shaugh for 6. pence Russe, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your worships may send some portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13.s. a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Englishman more had bene here with me, to whom I might have delivered our bils of debts and other things, whatsoever should have chanced of me, I would then have become servant *Ormus.* to mine Interpreter, and so have gone to Ormus and *Aleppo.* Aleppo, which both joyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe Mart townes, whereunto from all places merchants resort. And thus would I have spent 4. or 5. months in travelling for further knowledge of things for to have certified your worships of. I hope in God to use things in such order, that yeerly you shall have returne of your goods from hence, as you have forth of Russeland, and in those ships. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, provide to make sales in time, and with speed receive silke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in Astracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to Colmogro in three moneths and lesse, and there to be ready with the rest of your goods by the end of June for your ships to receive, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly setled in these parts, and better knowen. Moreover you shall understand, that at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh, it was sayd to mee that M. Anthonie Jenkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, delivering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or foure thousand horses lading, every horse load being 50. or 60. batmans, beside silke of Grosin. Great abundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horse lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great store of silver to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten shaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. shaughs. And having money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be sold. If your worships may bargaine with the Venetians to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I doe not mistrust but to have at the Shaughs hand sixe batmans of silke for two pieces and a halfe of karsies. Your good advise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with convenient speed. Master Anthonie Jenkinson hath deserved great commendation at all your worships hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I never heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to see your worships, for I have had a carefull travell, with many a sorrowfull day and unquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one English person, to whom sometimes I might have eased my pensive heart, as God well knoweth, who hath delivered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to live.

M. Anthonie Jenkinsons offer to the Persian.

M. Anthonie Jenkinson commended.

Your humble servant at commandement
during life,
Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards written in Astracan the 16. of June, 1567. at his returne in his first voiage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull Companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes.

The Shaughs letters to the Moscovy companie.

IT may please your Worships that herein I have written not onely certaine articles of your priviledge, but also the Governours names, with the Consuls, Assistants and generalitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worships to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. [I. 362.] Your priviledge is written, graunted, and given in the names of these sixe persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, governours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Jenkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now, nor in time comming, unto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adjoining in the trade of merchandise, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall have their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Governours, Rulers and Justices shall take heed unto us, being our aide & defence against all evil persons, punishing those that shall do us any wrong.

3 Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any maner of person, justice shal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons of whatsoever estate

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or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leave and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or servants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subjects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true justice to bee ministred, and being any of us, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and advise.

6 Item, that all such debts as are now owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paied unto any of us, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or alive.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to shore, presently his people shall helpe us on land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God wil content your minds, untill your farther letters be hitherto written unto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his majestie hath promised. For I moved the question, declaring unto him that I thought your Worships would write your letters of requests, to crave his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleeve what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange unto the people & other merchant strangers. For betwixt every question that his majestie moved, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his servants, having some knowledge of our Westerne parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters given me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of the one, hee hath written what wares his Majestie would have you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These bee the names of the wares or commodities, which on the backe side of one of his letters the Shaugh hath written to you to be sent him.

First, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Botky, as Velvets wrought with gold.

Item, good velvets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. These colours his majestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for divers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are woorth here 80. shaughs the piece, at sixe pence the shaugh, and those silkes to bee of those colours above written, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harnesses that wil abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelve good shirts of male being very good or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe jerkins.

Item, ten or twelve pieces of Westerne karsies, being thicked well and close shut in the weaving, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no such cloth for noblemens caps. The prince named them *karangies, saying, that maidens did make them, & is desirous of them.

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** By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane Karsies.*

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Item, six pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, some of them with fire locks, and also six good dags, with locks to travel withall.

Item 100. brusshes for garments (none made of swines haire,) for gifts, and otherwise to be sold.

Item, six stone bowes that shoot lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely devised: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be sent, to give the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to send no lesse then 40. or 50. for I know they will be sold to profit, especially such cloth as may be affoorded for 20. shaughs the arshine, which is longer by two of mine inches then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine skarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or five of every sort, for the prince and other lords: the rest of other colours lively to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, lion colours, good lively greenes, with other, as you shall thinke good: for the prince desireth to see of all sorts, which will be an occasion that the Venetians and Turkes shall bee in lesse estimation then they are: for they themselves do feare, and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subjects intend to enter into trade with us for spices and other commodities that they were woont to sell unto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God, who send you health with increase of worship. Written in Astracan the 16. of June, 1567.

By your servant during life to command,
Arthur Edwards.

[Distances

Distances of certaine places in Russia.

The way from Saint Nicholas Baie to Mosco.

		versts
To Colmogro		100
To Ustiug		500
To Totma		250
To Vologhda		250
All by the river of Dwina	} 1100	
To Yeraslave		180
To Rostove		60
To Peraslave		60
To Mosko		120
By land East and West	} 440	

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram		300
To Smolensko		200

The way from Mosko to Novogrod.

To Ottver		180
To Torzhoke		60
To Wisnovolloko		60
To Novogrod		150
Southeast and Northwest	} 450	

The way from Novogrod to Narve.

To Teseva		50
To the Friers		60
To Yria Niagorod		40
To Narve		15
Southwest and Northeast	} 165	

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From Novogrod to Vobsky, is 180. versts by East.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

To Newhouse	50 versts
To Goven on ye borders	Al is 200. versts
To Wenden	
To Trecado	
To Newslot	
To Rie	

The way from Mosco to Astracan.

To Costrom	
To Nisnovogrod	
To Cazan	
To Astracan in all is	2800. versts

The way from Vologhda to Narve.

To Belozerco	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narve	180
Southwest and Northeast	770. versts

To go with a small boat within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouse.

To Newnox river	To Wardhouse in all 800.versts Northwest and Southeast.
To Ovsca Gouba	
To Lobshanga	
To Ovst Navelocki	
To Orlovanos	
To Solvsca Monasterie	
To Candelox	
To Ovst Colla	
To Zhemaker	
To Poganna Volocki	
To Chibe Navolocke	
To Kegor	

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The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Ust Pinnego
To Palango
To Levnona
To Vescom
To Soyava
To Covla
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda

Al is 230. versts

The way to Uromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Losh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Uromo

Al is 115. versts Northeast and Southwest.

The way and distances from Saint Nicholas, to the Caspian Sea.

IF you goe straight from Saint Nicholas to the Caspian Sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished, passing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. versts it is.

By horse and sleds in 8. dayes you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of marishes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraslave, 180. versts over land. This Yeraslave standeth upon the river of Volga, 180. versts I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700. versts from Yeraslave.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are }3800.80. versts.

The journey from S. Nicholas to Yeraslave is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. }16. dayes.

From thence to Astracan men travell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are }46. dayes journey.

There passe downe Volga every Summer, 500. boats great & smal, from all the upper parts of the river, whereof some be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall salt and for Sturgeon.

The salt lieth in rocks (and is whitish red, and in fine sand) as it were 30. miles from Astracan toward the Caspian sea. They dig it themselves and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

Fishing for Sturgeon for 3. moneths.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this side Astracan. Along the river the space of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, & fish for the space of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of August, and having salt they use to salt them.

The river is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with some Islands.

The river below Yeraslave, where it is most narow, is a mile broad from side to side.

The river runneth upon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the river sides, save about the townes of the fishing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Ustiug runneth all on chalke and sand: the fish are sweete & fat. The Mene a fish with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Novogrod, the space of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole soile in length is so imploied, and as much in breadth: this is upon a flat soile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko upon the Polish border, 300. miles in compasse: much of the soile is so imploied.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we set in worke in making of cables above 100. men.

The Englishmen in making of cables, set on worke a 100 men in Russia.

The Russians do spin and hachell it, and the English tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of those is woorth two of Danzick, because the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten stuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no strength.

Sosnova tree, excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

Sosnova, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the shavings of the wood, groweth in these parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

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The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as heavie as hollie, and the shavings tough.

The description of Rose Island.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of violets and wild Rosemarie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses.

The snow here about the midst of May is cleared, having bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high within a moneth. Then after September the frost commeth in, the snow is a yard deepe upon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discovered by water by us Thomas Southam & John Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westerne bottome of the Baie of S. Nicholas, unto the citie of Novogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring us along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct us to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the river of Dwina, the winde being then calme, unto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met us.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then having the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

A verst is but 3. quarters of an english mile.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, having the wind somwhat faire, and arrived at Rose Island, over and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the evening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there until halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West until 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker

At this towne Newnox Richard Chanceller in his first voyage, with his companie aship-board were relieved.

against Newnox towne, where we continued until the 25. day.

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed from Newnox haven at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox haven, and the headland of Sevsemski lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in ye afternoone, being from Newnox haven 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Sevsemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Sevsemski & the headland going into Owna river lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna river.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained until the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, & our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great providence of God had not preserved us, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoever will travell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els give the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie five miles from the headland.

We gave the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to sea boord of [I. 366.] us, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate upon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and give us the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arrived at a monasterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued untill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here delivered us by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a servant of theirs to conduct us safely through the dangerous river of Owiga.

The people of all those parts are wild, and speake another kind of language, & are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should be ready to helpe and assist us in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods over land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arrival there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31 Wee departed from the monasterie of Solofky, as is aforesayde, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

August.

1 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt divers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about us for the space of 20 miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, we then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest, until we came within two miles of the entrance of the river Owiga where we were to beare in, West and by North.

The river Owiga.

From the river Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arrived about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the river of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making provision for small boates to carie us up the river untill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates up the river of Owiga, which we hired.

The fall of a river.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostrove, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be caried a mile over land, and afterwards also had our boates in like sort caried or drawen over land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanched our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostrove in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting up the river 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe constrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles over land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twise unladed our wares, & drew our boats overland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, & so came to an Ozera or lake, called after the name of the river, & unto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie us forward on our journey.

Here departed backe from us the servant which we had at the Monasterie, being sent by the monkes to go thus far with us. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct us, & given them charge to deliver us with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Povensa, then hee departed from us without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

[I. 367.] *A lake very ful of Islands.*

8 We departed from Quequenich at sunne rising, & all that day rowed upon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the evening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entring into a river, we went that day

13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods overland 3. miles. At evening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where the river ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forsooke our boates and unladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Povensa, which was seven mile off, for horses to cary us and our wares to the said place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arrived at the towne of Povensa, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This towne of Povensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles over. But where it is narrowest it is 25. miles over, being fed with many goodly rivers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 6. miles, you shall have 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Povensa unto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous rivers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or transport any goods that come from Novogrod, or the Narve, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to cary downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible raises, that in those places it never freezeth, but all such wares as come from Novogrod to Povensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Povensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Povensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. smal boats which we hired to cary

us to a place called Tolvo upon the lake of Onega, being 50 miles from Povensa, where we arrived the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried us and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Novogrod.

14 We departed from Tolvo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the evening arrived at a certaine Island named Salasalma, upon the said lake 7. miles from Tolvo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried untill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reason of contrary winds, untill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

S. Clement his Monasterie.

21 We departed from Vorronia Island two houres before day, and arrived at S. Clements Monasterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monasterie at the breake of the day, having a faire wind all a long the lake: we sailed without striking of saile until two houres within night, and then entred into a river called Swire, at a Monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, five miles from the entrance of the river, where we taried al night. It is from S. Clements Monastery 160. miles: the streame of that river went with us.

23 Wee departed from Vosnessino Christo before Sunne rising, and valed downe the river sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

24 Wee departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called ‖ Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

‖*Or, Sermaxe.*

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4 of the clocke in the morning, and entred upon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day saving 3. houres, and then it was with us, so that we sailed and rowed that day

10. miles, along upon the said lake, and entred into the river of Volhuski, which river hath his beginning 20. miles above Novogrod, and runneth through the midst of the Citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessel or boat, having a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The river of Volhuski. *The lake of Ladeskai.*

As soone as we were entred into the river, we came to a Monasterie called S. Nicholas Medved, where we lay all that night.

The Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medved, at five of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monasterie called Gosnopoli, which is 30 miles from S. Nicholas Medved, where we lay all that night.

[I. 368.]

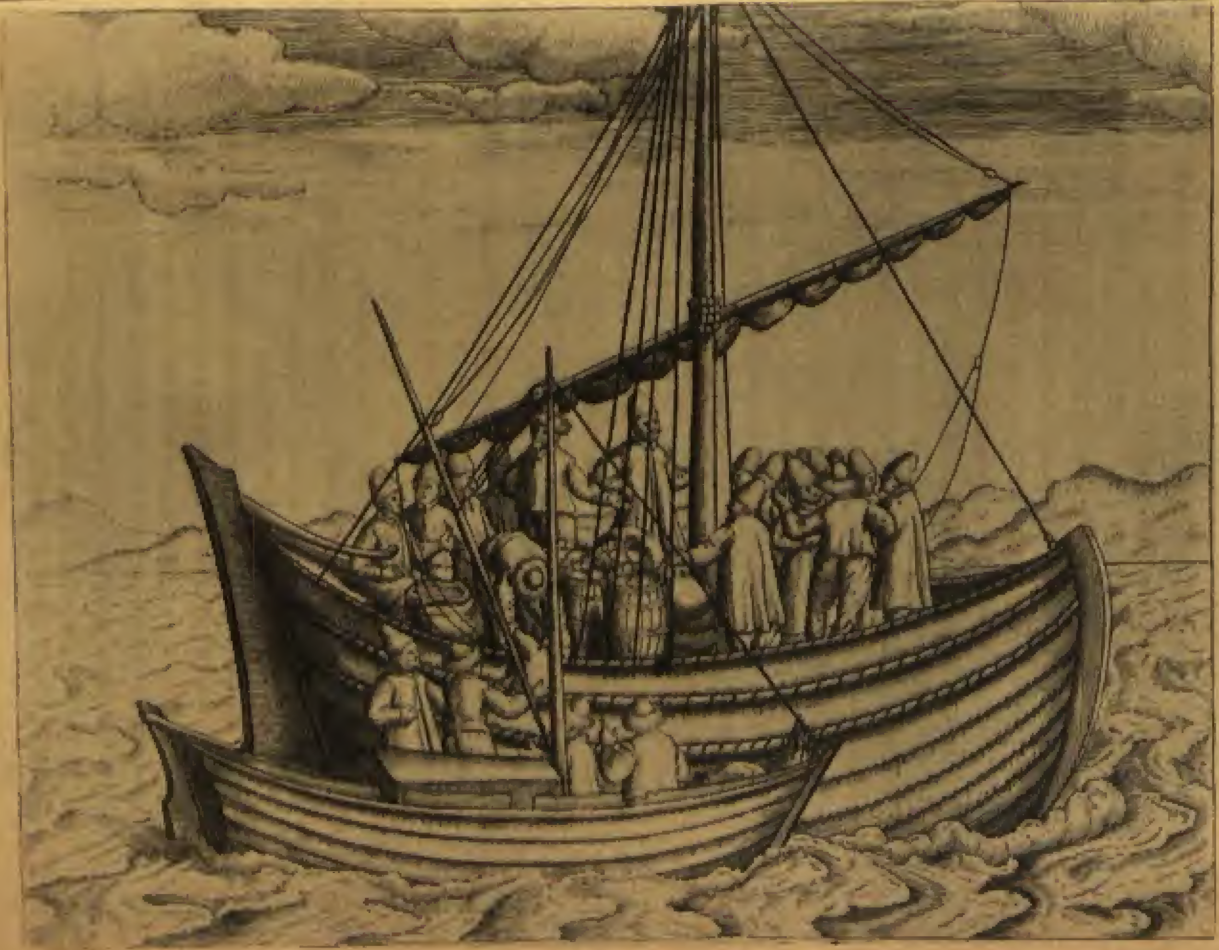
27 We departed from Gosnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at evening came to a place called Moislave, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

28 We departed from Moislave, and the saide day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislave where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Grussina in the morning, and the same day at evening came to a place called Petroe Svetoe, where we lay all night, being 40 miles from Grussina.

30 We departed from Petroe Svetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arrived at the Citie of Novogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Svetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the Citie of Novogrod. Unto him we delivered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey every where be so miserable.

The Citie of Novogrod.



A RUSSIAN LODIA

The right way to bring and transport wares from Novogrod to Rose Island into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth :

20 Miles from Novogrod to Petroe Svetoe.

40 Miles from thence to Grusina.

35 Miles from thence to Moislave.

46 Miles from thence to the Monasterie Gosnopoli.

15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.

15 Miles from thence to Selvnaz over the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.

180 Miles from Ladega towne up the river of Swire, unto the Monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages upon the river : for within every five or sixe miles you shall have villages or small townes.

160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements Monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.

48 Miles from thence to Voronia.

67 Miles from thence to Tolvo towne : and there are divers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and have meate for man and horse.

50 Miles from thence to Povensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Povensa to Some towne is this :

30 Miles from Povensa to Mastelina.

10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.

30 Miles from thence to Tolvich.

35 Miles from thence to Carraich.

20 Miles from thence to Varnich.

10 Miles from thence to Ostrovo.

15 Miles from thence to Lapina.

20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Novogrod unto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some unto the Monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose Island, over and against where our Ships do ride, is just as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Russes doe accompt it, as also we do judge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Novogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or versts.

Travel by sleds.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Novogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the Winter: for if any ware should be sent from Novogrod by water in the spring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then must the said wares remaine at Povensa towne al that Summer, by reason that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Povensa unto Some towne.

2000. *Sleds belonging to one towne.*

At Povensa there are many warehouses to be hired, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might have warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: so that your wares once bought at Novogrod, you must have cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there have 2000. if you will, by the report of the Russes.

For from Novogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetche salt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Novogrod to sell it in the market or otherwise.

[I. 369.]

A good caveat for seasonable travell.

From Novogrod unto Some towne you may have a pood of wares carried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must bee sent from Novogrod by the sixt of January, so that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way untill the 15. of February when the Sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleave: and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other rivers do remaine frozen a long time after.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you wil to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage: so that from the Citie of Novogrod unto S. Nicholas road you may have wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth unto 23. altines the tunne.

Provided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natives will bring their wares from Novogrod to Some, in hope to sell unto us, considering the great trade that they have at the Narve, which is within 180 miles off them.

Novogrod within 180. *miles of the Narve.*

Written by Thomas Southam a servant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants adventurers for the discovering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHereas divers very good Subjects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soveraigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Majesties liberall example, did at their adventure, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the revenues of the Crowne, and the common utilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth three ships for the discovery by Sea, of Isles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and by the Subjects of the sayd late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almightie God had called to his mercie the said king, who died before the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priviledges promised to the said Subjects, as wel in consideration of the said enterprise, as for divers other respects it pleased our late sovereigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same subjects, to graunt by her letters Patents under the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide subjects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants adventurers of England, for the discoverie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, and not before their late adventure or enterprise, by seas or Navigations commonly frequented, should be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowship and communaltie of themselves, both in deed and in name, and that the same felowship and communaltie from thenceforth should and might have one or two governours, foure Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and comminaltie of Merchants adventurers, and that they by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and comminaltie of Merchants adventurers, for the discovery of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories unknowen, by the seas and Navigations, and not before their said late adventure or enterprise, by Seas frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to answere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoever Judge or Justice temporall or spiritual, or other persons whatsoever, in whatsoever court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all plaints of Novel deseison, and also in all plaints, sutes, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoever they be, touching and concerning the said felowship and comminaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giving also, and granting unto them by the said letters Patents, divers authorities, powers, jurisdictions, preheminences, franchises, liberties and priviledges, as by the same letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the three ships, by the said fellowship before that time set foorth for the voyage of discovery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonaventure, had arrived within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord John Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who received the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting unto them freely to traffique with his subjects in all kinde of [I. 370.] merchandizes, with divers other gracious priviledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her, her heires and successors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Isles, ports, havens, creeks and rivers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, ports, havens, creeks, rivers, armes of the seas, of al and every other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or governer whatsoever he or they be, before the said late adventure or enterprise not knowen, or by the aforesaid merchants and subjects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subjects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, & consent of the Governer, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowship, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expressed in the saide letters patents, upon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoever they be, of those the subjects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiqued unto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of the said late Queene, her heires & successors, and the other halfe to be to the use of the said felowship & communaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patens, the said fellowship have, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out convenient way to saile into the saide dominions: but also passing thorow the same, and over the Caspian sea, have discovered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discover also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very convenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

This is meant by Alderman Bond the elder.

And forasmuch as divers subjects of this realme, understanding the premises, and perceiving that now after the charge and travel aforesaid, divers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discovered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, utterly to decay the trade of the sayde fellowship, have contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the saide felowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, & consisteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, the Lords spiritual and temporal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that the said felowship, company, society & corporation made or created by the said letters patents, shal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discovery of new trades, and by the same name for ever shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoever courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee inabled to purchase, have, holde, possesse, reteine, and enjoy whatsoever manors, landes, tenements, rents, reversions, services, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes majestie, her heires, or successors by knights service in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoever, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall have and enjoy all and singular the liberties, priviledges, jurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Isles, ports, havens, roades, creekes, rivers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or governor whatsoever he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by the merchants of the saide corporation, not knowen by the merchants and subjects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, isles, ports, roades, havens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subject to the said high and mightie prince Lord John Vasiliwich, his heires

English Merchants for discovery of new trades.

or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe governour or ruler of the said country of Russia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countries of Armenia major or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued unto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person [I. 371.] being or that shalbe a subject or denizen of this realme, by themselves, their factor or factors, or any other to their use or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the governour, Consuls and assistants of the saide fellowship and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being: upon paine that every person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, every such ship and ships, with the appurtenances, and all such goods, Merchandizes, and things whatsoever, as by any such person or persons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, provided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaide, contrary to the true intent of this statute: the one moietie of all which forfeitures to bee to our said sovereigne Lady the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, and the other moitie thereof to the sayde fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, and their successors, to be seized and taken wheresoever they may be found, by any person or persons, to the use of our said Sovereigne Lady, her heires and successors, and of the said fellowship of English merchants for discovery of newe trades, and of their successors, or the same or the value thereof to bee demaunded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heires and successors, or by the saide fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, or their successors, or their atturney or atturneis, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, or

A.D. 1566.

their successors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which suite no essoine, protection, wager of lawe, or injunction shall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Provided alwayes, that whereas divers Subjects of this Realme being not of the fellowship aforesaid, have heretofore made adventures to and from some of the places prohibited by the said letters patents, that the said subjects, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our saide sovereigne Lady, her heires or successors, or the said fellowship, or their successors.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subject of this Realme, having presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiqued unto by this statute or the said letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and convey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conveyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. John Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568. any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters Patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subjects of this Realme, to saile to the port, towne, territorie, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, havens, creekes, rivers, Islands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing, or any other trade there used by the subjects of this Realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Navie and Mariners of this Realme, be it provided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the saide fellowship and company, nor to any of them to cary and transport, or cause to be caried and transported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English Mariners, nor also to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their saide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English ships, and sailed for the most part by the English Mariners, on paine to forfeit for every such offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moitie shall be to the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, the other moitie to the head officers of any port towne, having any haven or harborough decayed, by what name soever they bee incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Provided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to bee carried or transported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into any of the partes where the said fellowship and societie is priviledged to trade by this Act, before the same clothes and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part died within this Realme, upon paine of forfeiture for every such cloth and karsie, otherwise caried and transported, five pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, the other halfe to the Master and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name soever they be incorporate that wil sue for the same.

Provided also that whensoever the said societie or [I. 372.] company shall willingly withdraw, and discontinue wholy by the space of three yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their said merchandizes at some other port or roade lying on that North coast of Russia, or other territorie nowe subject to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subjects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforesaid, it shalbe lawful to all the subjects of this realme to trade to the Narve onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that every of the Queenes Majesties Subjects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle upon Tine, Hull and of Boston, having continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute, joyne, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe & summes of money, as any of the said company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the saide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the saide 25. of December 1567. shall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or share, and do in all things behave himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall bee bound to do by the priviledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subject to the priviledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

[A very

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Jenkinson, from London to Moscovia, sent from the Queenes Majestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yere aforesaid, I imbarked my selfe at Gravesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and having had a prosperous voyage arrived at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of July following, and immediatly I sent in post to the Emperor to advertise of my comming, and traveiling then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August, and foorthwith gave the Secretarie to understand of my arrivall, who advertised the Emperours Majestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Majestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and having kissed his hand and done the Queenes Majesties commendations, and delivered her Graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done unto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

The Priviledges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. Anthony Jenkinson.

ONe onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giver of the true God, our

Lorde Jesus Christ, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe us together, & give us health to preserve our kingdome, thou giver of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleevers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke John Vasiliwich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Novogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Novogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostove, Yereslave, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condensa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our sister Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to us her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hussie, John Marsh, Anthony Jenkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and those merchants, William Gerrard and his company have required of us that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our City of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, have licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his company to passe in ships to [I. 373.] our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard & his company desired of us, that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Novogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Lifland to Narve and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Lifland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we have granted to sir William Garrard and his company, and have given them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Novogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Lifland, Narve and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Lifland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soever they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same, such wares as shalbe needfull for our treasury, and the rest being delivered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancellers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treasury: and when our chanceller will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliver it to our chanceller, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking upon them in any wise: and when they have not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shalbe taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we have granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we have also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy & sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall have liberty so to do wholly together: and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their own house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshnids to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselves to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And whereas those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslave, Costrum, and in Novogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Novogrod, Plesko, Narve, Dorpe, and in other our townes & castles, they shall have their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russeland no custome shalbe taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe stayed in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to advertise our chancellor thereof, and not to give any note or inventory of any kinde of their wares they cary away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his company do come upon the sea, and by misfortune have their ships cast away upon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with trueth, and to be delivered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrards company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd up in a place of safegard untill such time as the said sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be delivered. And whereas heretofore we have given sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shal there still holde their house as heretofore we have given them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also I have granted them to buy a house at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuse for themselves any good harbour, and there they to set up those houses in those places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houses to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Russes, and their wares to be layed up in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other [I. 374.] our castles & townes shall not looke over their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be judged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land over other kingdomes whatsoever the be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be judged by our chancellers, and law shalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be judged by law, they then shalbe tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall have the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to have any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, judges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and

Triall by lots.

administer justice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to have the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Furthermore, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth have granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soever it be, England or other, shall not come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the river Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Island of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the river of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soever it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or ships, shalbe confiscate, and forfeited to us the Emperour and great Duke.

The river of Ob traffikable.

Given in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the word 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by us:
Anthonie Jenkinson.
William Rowly.
Thomas Hawtry.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, translatour hereof out of the Russe tongue.

[A letter

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.

WOrshipfull sir, because I finde you have the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Majesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Sovereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arrived at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Majesty, at that time being at Otelands, where divers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Majestie gave them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Majesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great joy and pleasure that he conceived to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they delivered their letters and presents. The presents sent unto her Majesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furres was yet in use. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserved, then these new silks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

The use of furres wholesome, delicate, grave and comely.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and enterteinement by the Moscovie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leave [I. 375.] at Greenwich, where they understood and had the Queenes Majesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensive to divers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, used these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and untrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of love and unitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his judgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Majesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas offensive to divers princes & states Eastward.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were delivered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Majesties letter I send inclosed herewith unto your worship. I also have sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Majestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narve: in which yere of 1566, having generall procuration and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia, I could the better reply and prove, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I have seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscovites. Before our trafficke they overranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captives to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Livonia, but lost all, except Rie and Revel, and the Russe made the Narve his port to trafficke, not onely to us, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscovites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by us. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loved their ease at home with their wives, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Russe in better order, and recovered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leave of your worship.

Smolensco won by the Russe.

Polotzko taken.

Polotzko recovered by Stephanus Batore.

Your assured friend Henrie Lane.

A Letter of the most excellent Majestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Pheodata Pogorella, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, unto their Master the ninth of May 1568. 1568.

Imperatori Moscovitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas vestræ Majestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curavimus, ut non solum vestræ Majestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarúmque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Majestatis favore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, ubivis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra utrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiæ, & gratæ inter nostros benevolentiæ officia, ut crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Majestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenovici nono die Maii 1567.

[I. 376.]

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull Master Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, & Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Persia.

THe 22 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboord the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelve dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: having compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat Southeast, having upon our right hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sight till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming upon the sea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of divers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours have bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much given to drunkennesse, unlearned, write they can, preach they doe

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks.

never, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my first arrivall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaves, fish both salt and fresh of divers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe alive, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull unto me, and so with many solemne words inviting me to see their house, they tooke their leave.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne use.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, saving here and there pasture & arable ground, many rivers and divers Islands unhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the coldnesse in Winter.

The river of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the elevation of the pole 64 degrees. The river that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This river taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & upon this river standeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The river pleasant betweene hie hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernesse of hie firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 versts, which we account for three quarters of a mile every verst, we taried three weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who sent to meet us a gentleman of his house, to convey us, and to see us furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, upon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for every day two rubbles, besides the charge of boats by water, and foure score post horses by land, with above 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, saving upon their festivall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the English mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, given much to drunkennesse, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the English men have lands of their owne, given them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes untill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was five whole weeks upon the river of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth upon the river of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

[I. 377.]

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle invironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne also of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towards Mosco in poste, being 500 versts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The description of the inland of Moscovie.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, well inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes enough, rivers, and woods, faire and goodly.

At Yeraslave we passed the river of Volga, more then a mile over. This river taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable thorow of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our countrey useth.

To saile by this river into Mare Caspium the English company caused a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was never seene before: This barke built, and ready rigged to the sea with her whole furniture cost not the company above one hundreth marks there.

His arrivall at Mosco.

To Mosco we came about the end of September, received by no man, not so much as our owne countreymen suffered to meet us, which bred suspition in me of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

A special house at Mosco, built for Ambassadours.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Ambassadours, faire and large, after the fashion of that countrey.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend upon me, the one to see us furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come unto us, in which they left nothing undone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons so straightly handled us, that we had no small cause to doubt that some evill had bene intended unto us. No supplication, sute, or request could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his presence.

Having passed over 17 weeks in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against Tuesday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

Two Pristaves.

The houre being come that I should goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Pristaves (as they call them) came unto me apparelled more princely then before I had ever seene them. They presse us to depart, and mounted upon their owne horses, and the Ambassador upon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great griefe.

The Ambassadour (being my selfe) was conveyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth use to sit, being there accompanied with the two foresayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres before I was sent for to the Emperor. In the end message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conveyed by my gentlemen up a paire of staires thorow a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300 persons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, upon three ranks of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a majestie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the first entry into the chamber I with my cap gave them the reverence, such as I judged their stately sitting, grave countenances, and sumptuous apparell required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them I covered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there received me at the doore from my two gentlemen or governors, two of the Emperors counsellors, and shewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpretor opened my message as I received it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperor stood up, and demanded divers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gave me his hand in token of my welcome, and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me divers questions.

His admission to the Emperors presence.

This done, I delivered her Majesties present, which was a notable great Cup of silver curiously wrought, with verses graven in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.

The Queenes present.

All being sayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his head, and sayd unto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I have, but I will send thee my dinner, and give leave to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our love and favor to our sister the Queene of England.

The Emperors speech to the Ambassadour.

I with reverence tooke my leave, being conveyed by two other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperors sight, who delivered me to the two first gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came unto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie persons, [I. 378.] ech of them carying a silver dish with meat, and covered with silver. The duke first delivered twenty loaves of bread of the Emperors owne eating, having tasted the same, and delivered every dish into my hands, and tasted of every kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themselves well of all sorts, and went not away from me unrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to speake secretly with me, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I having changed my apparell into such as the Russes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

A second conference with the Emperor.

Having talked with him above three houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained above six weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slovoda, the house of his solace. After the end of which sixe weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slovoda aforesayd, and sent for me againe to make repaire unto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large privileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Savin, as his Ambassadour, for the better confirmation of his privileges granted, and other negotiations with her Majesty. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the sayd Ambassadour

Andrew Savin Ambassadour to the Queene.

and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of July, and arrived safely at London in the moneth of September following.

A copie of the priviledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c. unto the right worshipfull fellowship of English merchants, for the discoverie of new trades: and hither sent by Thomas Randolfe esquire, her Majesties Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour, and by Andrew Savin his Ambassadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.

ONe God everlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preserver of all things, and replenisher of all things every where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to love the giver of wisedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of us all unto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Jesus Christ, holy and everlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest us to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest us to enjoy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We John Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Moscovia, Novogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tversky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Novogrod, Chernigosky, Resansky, Polotsky, Rastow, Yeraslave, Bealosera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Westward.

Whereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written unto us her letters for her merchants, who hath made sute that we should grant our goodnesse to the merchants which are of one Company, and give them free leave to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moscovia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Persia, Casbin, and Charday, and to all other countreys.

1 We John Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) have given and granted to the English merchants, the Governours, Consuls, Assistants & felloship, sir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Haiward Alderman, Joh. Thamworth Esquire, John Rivers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Consuls: Sir Wil. Chester Knight, Edward Jackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, John Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, John Harrison, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, John Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Joh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, Assistants: John Mersh Esquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, & all the rest of their company and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships and other vessels into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & [I. 379.] Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, river or land, even to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Novogorod the great, to Plesko & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narve, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia,

Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes : And wheresoever they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoever.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, & those their wares that come by the way of Narve, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needfull for us. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliver ye same : And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needful for us, before our Chancellour have seene the same. And all other grosse and heavy wares that shall be needfull to our use, not being brought to Mosco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the same wares : And to give a note thereof by name, and how much they leave there, not brought to Mosco : and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their servants & Factors, to convey their wares the neerest way to Ustiug the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needfull for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from us in any case.

And when our Chauncellours shall send our adventure, with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our adventures with them, and to sell, & to barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when we shall sende any adventure into England then our Chauncellour to give them a yeeres warning, that their ships may be provided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leave not their owne behind them.

And to take our adventure yeerely when they goe into Persia.

Neither shall the English marchants receive or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shal send no adventure with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoever English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoever their Marchant or Factors will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sel the ware to our people, either strangers as they may best utter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights under seales.

4 We have granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe servants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shal live at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselves or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: and our Moscovie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoever English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslave, Castran, Novogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Novogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narve, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoever.

6 And whatsoever marchant shall bargaine or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares upon the marchants hands againe, but to give ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to crave the Justice to give right, and to execute the lawe upon the same with all expedition. And when [I. 380.] the English marchants or factors shal travaile from Moscovie after the dispatch of their wares and businesse, then to shew themselves unto our Chancellours, whatsoever wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shew the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants have any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the said goods to be enquired and sought out, and to be given to the English merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, servants, or deputies, of the Company aforesayd, to whom we have granted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the English merchants, factors, servants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at such time, then we wil all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some convenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing these our letters, shall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be restored unto them.

8 Likewise wee have graunted leave to the English merchants, their Governours, Consuls, and assistants,

namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Companie, to builde houses at Vologda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Ivangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as shall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the said house one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not to buy or sell for them.

9 Also we have given and graunted to the English Merchants, their house which they have by our goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houses in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set up hereafter shal be of the ‖ Opressini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opressini.

‖ *Or, chosen side.*

10 And whereas by our goodnes we have graunted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre from the English Merchants house, now we have given them to build a house for that use by the said English house, and have given and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also, we have of our goodnesse given and graunted to the English Merchants, leave to buy them a house at Wichida, and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shal happily find it, there to set up houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse have graunted them woods, five or sixe miles compasse about the sayd houses, to the making of the sayd yron, and not to exceede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the sayde wood, not to set up any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the said yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into Englande, allowing for every pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the said yron to our worke, upon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same: And when the said English Merchants or Factors shal send their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, over land through any Countrey whatsoever, freely to send the same with our words.

13 Also, we of our goodnesse have graunted, that if any man misuse the said English, the Factors or servants, or the saide English Merchants, their Factors or servants abuse any other at Moscovie, or any other out townes whatsoever within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to have upright justice in all such matters of our counsaile the Opressini without all let or delay: But if our Justice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be given, and that only our counsaile at Moscovie, and none of our Captaines, or authorised people, or officers in any other our townes, give judgement upon the said English Merchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shall have matter of controversie with any English Merchant, Factor or servant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrariwise any English Merchant, Factor or servant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Opressini, to give them Justice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, save our Counsaile of the Opressini. 15 And if any man have action against any English Merchant being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawful for any other Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause.

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine or beaten, 17 Or any stollen goods to be found in the said English houses, then our Counsellers to cause the

guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Justice in the cause, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserve punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the said English Merchants, factors and servant, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoever English Marchant, Factor, servant, or deputie, shalbe guiltie of any fault, deserving our displeasure, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie partie to goe under suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, untill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it unto us, that we may command what shall be done therein, and none other to be arrested or have their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same. [I. 381.]

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or servant shall offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe justice upon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or servant, have lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soever shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Marchant, factor, or servant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged unto the English Marchant, factor, or servant, without delay.

21 And whatsoever English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie under arrest to be delivered to the Agent: and if he have no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to cast him in prison, or to deliver him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we have granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorised men, to defende and garde the said Marchants from all theeves, robbers, and evill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or servants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we have granted the saide Merchants to take up Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, have licensed the English Marchants in our Townes of Mosco, Novogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, we have granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leaving with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes have granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leave to Colmogorode, the river of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zelevetskyes Island, the river of Shame, nor to no other haven of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina

by hetherward of Wardhouse, to any haven, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the said English companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes have granted this priviledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leave, shall come with any wares, to the Narve, or Uriogorod.

29 And whatsoever English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoever Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessel, to any of the said havens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narve, or Uriogorod, without the Queenes leave or knowledge, not being of the company above written, we to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to us the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we have granted the said company of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, save onely the company of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoever Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leave, and knowledge, not being of the sayd company, written within those our letters, [I. 382.] mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soveraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be unable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such evill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and

factours, to have free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our privilege given to Thomas Glover, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, John Chappell, and their adherents, we have commanded the same privileges to be taken from them.

34 Also we of our goodnesse have granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successours, servants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreover, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narve, Ivanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they have done beforetime. Given from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of June 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Rusland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Majesties private letters at the sute of M. Randolfe Ambassadour.

RElеasement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty given to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled upon suspition of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence given to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narve and his servant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for justice against them that stole the pearles.

His Majesties favor promised to the Artificers, and livings to be appointed them as they can best deserve.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of favour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant unto the company that at what time soever they send to the discovery of Cataya, they shalbe licenced to repaire unto this countrey, and have such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwise go about to discredit the worshipfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shalbe judged to have deserved.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that served the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission given by us Thomas Randolfe Ambassadour for the Queenes Majestie in Russia, and Thomas Bannister, &c. unto James Bassendine, James Woodcocke and Richard Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint joyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discovery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the river Pechora, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth Anno 1588. The first of August.

Inprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (assoone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the river Pechora, where is an Island called Dolgoieve, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of Hugorie, or the maine land of

Pechora, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seven leagues of the Island Vaigats, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast [I. 383.] of Hugorie, unto the coast of Nova Zembla, which Island Vaigats and Nova Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not need to discover it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the river Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the river Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small rivers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramsy, as in the paper of notes which are given to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the river Ob (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shore) and when you come to the river Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe over unto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd river.

Cara Reca. Naramsi Reca.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leave the sayd coast or border of the land, but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, untill you have sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which travell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leave the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leaving no part of it unsearched, or seene, unlesse it be some bay, or river, that you doe certeinly know by the report of the people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selves may judge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea doth in short space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so to the Southwards. And therefore we would have no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discovery, to be left undiscovered.

But and if the said border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe prove to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so joyne with Nova Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bring us certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so prove to be a bay, and that you have passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe unto that part of Nova Zembla that is against Vaigats, whereas you may from that see the said Island Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Nova Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Nova Zembla doe joyne with the land that sir Hugh Willoughbie discovered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Nova Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it unto you: and if you doe finde that land to joyne with Nova Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion: for we refer the same to your good judgements, trusting that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of August, 56 yer the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her discoverie, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Island

Vaigats, being forcibly driven from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the river Dwina, and arrived at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both sides of the Island Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yeere have discovered the parts that you are now sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might have bene done then: but God hath reserved it for some other. Which discoverie, if it may be made by you, it shall not only prove profitable unto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

Necessarie notes to be observed, and followed in your discoverie, as hereafter followeth.

WHen your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, even as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile, [I. 384.] & make all expedition that may be, unto the mouth of the river Pechora (as your commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina unto Vaigats) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, using as many observations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be observed by you principally.

1 First, that you do observe the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so observe the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst

as you goe, and to use your judgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes use to draw the proportion and biting of the land, aswell the lying out of the points, and headlands, unto the which you shall give some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hilles, or whatsoever: omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serve to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once every glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serve, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at every time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of every foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently observe the flowing, & ebbing in every place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in every place, and what force the same tide hath to drive a ship in an houre, as neere as you can judge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to observe with the instrument which I deliver you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conveniently you may, for it serveth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall journall or rememberance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently observe, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discovery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and understand by the report of any people whatsoever they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turbervile out of Moscovia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Majesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in London, describing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

MY Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee above the rest:
I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did go.
I left my native soile, full like a retchlesse man,
And unacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of drinke:

Such licour as they have, and as the countrey gives,
But chiefly two, one called Kvas, whereby the Mousike lives.
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,
The rest is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they baste. [I. 385.]
And if he goe unto his neighbour as a guest,
He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they use such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
Their Idoles have their hearts, on God they never call,
Unlesse it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roofe is full of sinne.
Besides their private gods, in open places stand
Their crosses unto which they croocne, and blesse themselves with hand.
Devoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was never more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, against our use, her trotting horse bestrides.
In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buskins all, that money have on buskins to bestoe.
Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient use, and some of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very brave, their countenance wise and sadde,
And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of living badde.
It is no shame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,

Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee,
Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie skinne,
She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip, cheeke, & chinne.
Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the land, doe use the like: a man may plainely see
Upon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaister sort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easly be deceiv'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I not a little muse, what madnesse makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the stoove by meere constraint.
For seldome when, unlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee, and other of my friends, which I shall see with sight:
And other stuffe besides, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I ende my loving lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'st a foule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
For I to open shew did love thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whome I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
No better proofe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I should away,
And that the Poste would licence us, no longer time to stay:
Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
Didst crave of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.
It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull vaine, [I. 386.]
More waste and wooddie grounds there are, then closes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they untimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a stacke.
And laying sheafe by sheafe, their harvest so they dry,
They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne destroy.
For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fast by his bed the Mowsike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowsike and his wife.

Seven months the Winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to sowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die unburied lie they then,
Laid up in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground.
And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death assurd of coffins stand.
Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine trothe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any living thing:
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of Spring.
Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it serv's them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes among.
The greatnes of the store doeth make the prices lesse,
Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to dresse.
They use neither broach nor spit, but when the stove they heate,

They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No use of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good.
They use but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
Eache Mowsike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace.
With whitles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chiefest Russies in the land, with spoone and knives doe goe.
Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snow away,
Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth lie:
Which makes them have the more desire, to set their houses hie.
No stone worke is in use, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another fast, their wals are all of tree.
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I never earst have seene
A grosse devise so good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showres away.
In every roome a stove, to serve the Winter turne,
Of wood they have sufficient store, as much as they can burne.
They have no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to serve their present need.
No other glasse, good faith doth give a better light:
And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very slight. [I. 387.]

The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the house himselfe doth never sit,
Unlesse his better come, to whom he yealds the seat:
The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow must beat.
And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,
The stranger lies: a token that his guest he doth esteeme.
Where he is wont to have a beares skinne for his bed,
And must, in stead of pillow, clap his saddle to his head.
In Russia other shift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalsters are but bad.
I mused very much, what made them so to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Unlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,
They feare by nicenesse of a bed their bodies would be mard,
I wisht thee oft with us, save that I stood in feare
Thou wouldst have loathed to have layd thy limmes upon a beare,
As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heaven) we both right well have sped.
Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beastly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who so shall read this verse, conjecture of the rest,
And thinke by reason of our trade, that I do thinke the best.
But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardnesse of the soile, and eke the maners of the men.

They say the Lions paw gives judgement of the beast:
And so may you deeme of the great, by reading ot the least.

To Parker.

MY Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, have leisure to indite:
Wherefore, respecting these, and thine assured love,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen reprove.
And sithence fortune thus hath shov'd my shippe on shore:
And made me seeke another Realme unseene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpose to declare,
And other private points besides, which strange and geazon are.
The Russie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greatest part with bellies bigge that overhang the waste,
Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reason of the stove, and closenesse of the aire:
It is their common use to shave or els to sheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Unlesse perhaps he have his sovereigne prince displeas'd,
For then he never cuts his haire, untill he be appeas'd.
A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,
For every man that viewes his head, will say, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.
Their garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye,

A cap aloft their heads they have, that standeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The best have collers set with pearle, which they Rubasca call.
Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the sleeves with coloured Silks, two inches good and more.
Aloft their shirts they weare a garment jacket wise
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie waste he tyes
[I. 388.] His portkies, which in stead of better breeches be:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.
A paire of yarnen stocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they underlay
With clouting clamps of steele, sharpe pointed at the toes,
And over all a Shuba furd, and thus the Russie goes.
Well butned is the Shube, according to his state,
Some Silke, of Silver other some: but those of poorest rate
Do weare no Shubs at all, but grosser gownes to sight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
These are the Russies robes. The richest use to ride
From place to place, his servant runnes, and followes by his side.
The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very brave, their saddles are but plaine.
No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles be,
Much fashioned like the Scottish seates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they use short stirrups for the warre:
For when the Russie is pursued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,

And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruel way will flee.
They seldome use to shoo their horse, unlesse they ride
In post upon the frozen flouds, then cause they shall not slide,
He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
The horses of the countrey go good fourescore versts a day,
And all without the spurre, once pricke them and they skippe,
But goe not forward on their way, the Russie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet shall you not a paire of spurres in all the countrey see.
The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
Both give a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes their skill.
Againe they dice as fast, the poorest rogues of all
Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those
Which we doe use, he takes them up, and over thumbe he throwes
Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciously,
And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing most apply.
At play when Silver lacks, goes saddle, horse and all,
And eche thing els worth Silver walkes, although the price be small.
Because thou lovest to play friend Parker other while,

I wish thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better farre at home, I wist it well,
And wouldest be loath among such lowts so long a time to dwell.
Then judge of us thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes were glad.
In such a savage soile, where lawes do beare no sway,
But all is at the king his will, to save or els to slay.
And that sans cause, God wot, if so his minde be such.
But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no Saints to touch.
Conceive the rest your selfe, and deeme what lives they lead,
Where lust is Lawe, and Subjects live continually in dread.
And where the best estates have none assurance good
Of lands, of lives, nor nothing falles unto the next of blood.
But all of custome doeth unto the prince redowne,
[I. 389.] And all the whole revenue comes unto the King his crowne.
Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrest well,
And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell.
Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in time decay.
The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I see,
As if I woulde I cannot write ech private point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,
The Realme so stored with Monks and nunnes, and priests on every side :

The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples stuft with idols that defile
The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,
As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
In summe, I say I never saw a prince that so did raigne,
Nor people so beset with Saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Irish are as civill as the Russies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde.
If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Live still at home, and covet not those barbarous coasts to see.
No good befalles a man that seeks, and findes no better place,
No civill customes to be learnd, where God bestowes no grace.
And truely ill they do deserve to be belov'd of God,
That neither love nor stand in awe of his assured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beastly sort
Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefest sport.
A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earst in message went unto that savage King,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring,
To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my penne of paine,
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthur Edwards Agent, John Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from Casbin in Persia by the foresaide Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia in London. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

Worshipfull sir, my duetie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to understand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslave in July 1568. and the 14. of August arrived at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to ayd us for the bringing of her in, & unlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs privilege, as the worshipfull company have bene informed. Our goods brought upon land, we were compelled to open & sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would have bene worse for us. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it so throughly furnished with all maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before us, that no man would aske to buy any one piece of karsie of us, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse us abroade with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwardes, had

Their arrival at Bilbil the 14. of August 1568.

Prince Erasbec.

brought their goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sales wee might have made, being sent abroad in time convenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe unto us to see. To conclude, through our dayly calling upon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfuls servants, to witte, John Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same : and leaving at Shamaki Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsies in their handes, supposed to be solde there or in Arrash before hee should be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, so farre foorth as I can understand, lie for the greatest part unsolde. And being upon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynamom, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

[I. 390.] *Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.*

And being at that present not farre from Teveris, called the principal place in this countrey for uttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreatie I perswaded your Agent to send thither to proove what might be done, and receiving from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for the sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broad cloth and karsies brought thither, some part by the Turkes who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townesmen, who travell unto Venice and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie shawghs for a karsie : and having speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there above the space of seven dayes after my arrivall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, having regard to keepe up the price of the worshipfuls commodities, according to their desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content: neverthelesse, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the hot newes, that Ormuz way was shut up by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true in deed: and againe the desire that the worshipfull hath to have such commodities bought, I thought it necessary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt sent to the worshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

Warre against the Portingals at Ormuz.

The governour of Grozin his Merchant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the governours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle desirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master called Levontie, and offering me so good bands for the paiment of the money or silke to the merchants contentment upon the delivery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a priviledge for the worshipful to travel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had given them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and sold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliverie of the karsies there, having a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any here is to be devised: and upon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with such goods as I bought at Teveris, and to the end hee might cause the worshipfuls servants there to see this bargen accomplished. At whose arrivall there, as I do perceive, the Captaine would not accomplish his bargen to take them, but saith, hee hath no need of them: such is the constancie of all men in this countrey, with whomsoever you shal bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliver the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

The generall inconstancie in the merchants and dealers of those parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teveris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teveris, some for money, and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them up a thousand, and broad clothes to the summe of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceive.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, unlesse the worshipful will finde some meanes to receive of them yerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliver them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey: the examples, as abovesaid, are sent unto you.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not easily to be broken.

At Amadia sixe dayes journey from Teveris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought up yerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two bistes the Teveris bateman, which as your Agent here saith, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it wil not so be proved. Neverthelesse it is supposed much good will bee done by buying of them: which might at this present have partly bene proved, if so be that some could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teveris, [I. 391.] as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is so high that smal gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furnished with money, as I might have bene, if some would, I would have bought some, to the ende the goodnesse of them might have bene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes given out (as your Agent saith) that ye Shaugh would buy all such commodities as he had, and give him silke and spices for the same: but by report the Shaugh never tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as use to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driven off the time, not sending to any other places: by means whereof the worshipfuls goods lie unsold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a litle sory to see.

Babylon 15. dayes journey from Casbin.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes journey, whereas by true report be great store of Dates, and sold for a bisse the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere unto us might easily have bene knowen, if hee, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had bene willing to the same. Cassan also is but seven dayes journey from hence, & a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, over and above any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seen and prooved at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

To travell in this countrey is not onely miserable and uncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victuals in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes journey together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who doe account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of us. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant seven yeeres in this Countrey, as some shall well find at their comming hither.

His voyage to Gilan.

By commandement of the Agent also I went to Gilan, as well to see what harbor was there for your ship, as also to understand what commoditie is there best sold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my pen I am not able to note it unto you: no man travelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to live upon, and they lay not above twentie batmans upon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefest place in all that land, have I seen, and Langro and Rosar also, which be now overrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be so spoiled, & the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to bee bought, is raw silke, and is sold in the Summer time for 38. shaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle above 40. li. waight, and for ready money: also there is to bee had what store of Alom you will, and sold there for one bisse the Teveris batman.

The malice of the Turkish merchants.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which give an outward shew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretly they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner give over our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wish us to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities unsold, where they say we shall have good intertainment in spight of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be sold presently, had we never so many, for twelve duckets, which maketh of this money 165. shaughs: but by such as know the place, market and custome, it is reported to us credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be, are not sold for above 8. duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is so well furnished with good cloth and karsies, and of so brave colour as that place is, supposing it to bee craftily purposed of them, to bring us into trouble, which God defend us from.

The price of spices.

The price of spices be these, at this present enhansed by reason ye way is shut to Ormus, which when God shal send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to advertise the worshipful what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. shaughs the Teveris batman: Cloves 50. shaughs, Long pepper 25. shaughs, Maces large 50. shaughs, Ginger 24. shaughs, ready money all, or els looke not upon them. And the best sort of rawe silke is sold for 60. shaughs the Teveris batman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ende for this time, beseeching God to preserve you in continuall health.

By your obedient servant, Lawrence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the moneth of July 1568. gathered by M. Richard Willes from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards, which was Agent in the same.

[I. 392.]

WHen he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrise, until he came so neere him that he might have touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who knew any such countrey? But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said Londro, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Christendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teveris of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him many things more, as of the realme of England, marvelling that it should be an Island of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared unto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further understood by our traffike in Moscovia and other countreis. He demanded also many things of the Queenes majestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of king Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause

Londro. London.

of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro send to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes of all sorts & colours, as skarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, above two hundred thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine wooll & other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & divers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what means such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right wel sir (said he) by the way of Moscovia, with more safety and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shal please your majestie to grant us free passage into all your dominions, with such privileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our lives, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may have the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the space of two houres: all which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other privileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia,

The Venetians traffike in England.

A.D. 1568.

all written in Azure and gold letters, and delivered unto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priviledge should be sealed & delivered to Laurence Chapman. In this priviledge is one principall article for servants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceive that upon their naughtie doings, they would become Busormen, that then the Agent wheresoever he shall find any such servant or servants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receive and wel entertaine, both with gifts and living, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priviledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughty servants to deceive and rob their masters, that under the colour of professing that religion, they might live among them in such safetie, that you might have no lawe agaynst them, either to punish them or to recover your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a marvelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to favour our nation, and to grant them such priviledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reviled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or misbeleevers. [I. 393.] But after they saw how greatly the prince favoured them, they had them afterward in great reverence, and would kisse their hands and use them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would have the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any stranger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner unknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made unto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subjects.

The Articles of the second priviledge delivered to Laurence Chapman, which are to be annexed unto the former priviledge.

10 Item, that the merchants have free libertie, as in their first priviledge, to goe unto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be given.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall upon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subjects to helpe with all speed to save the goods and to be delivered to any of the sayd merchants that liveth: or otherwise to be kept in safetie until any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his governours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be delivered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselves wil, being countrey people, and that no Kissell Bash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shal receive at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Cariers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, & have given earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to travel, to give them one or more to go with them and see

them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe unto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subjects to give them honest roume, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne uses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Caravan where they will, or shal thinke good.

THe commodities which the merchants may have by this trade into Persia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into ye East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made every yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous Mart towne of all East India, whither al ye merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and rivers through Persia, even unto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscovia by rivers, even unto the citie of Yeraslave, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water even unto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles & precious stones, likewise carpets of divers sortes, with divers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely five hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes journey from Tripoli, where the Venetians have their continuall abiding, and send from thence silks which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

[I. 394.]

The maner how the Christians become Busormen, and forsake their religion.

I Have noted here before that if any Christian wil become a Busorman, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they give him many gifts, and sometime also a living. The maner is, that when the devill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or governor of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his divelish purpose. The governour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if ever after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a servant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faults, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gave himselfe to the devill. If he had become a Busorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then have said that halfe their goods had bene his, they would have given credite unto him. For the avoiding of which inconvenience, it was granted in the privileges, that no Busorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in divers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which have neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or Gossampine.

IN Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past the height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalke like unto a brier, or to a carnation gillifloure, with very many branches, bearing on every branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and sheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth still in bignes untill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round; they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and divers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

ARthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was onely one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters upon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long & narow, about ye length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The private signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed upon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letter seem so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somwhat scribled in maner at adventures. Yet they say that almost every letter with his pricke or circunflexe signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almost in a sheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master Geofrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscovie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionel Plumtree.

The English Barke assaulted neere Astracan by the Nagaian Tartars.

UPon the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themselves at Yeraslave, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12. English men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonaventure of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their use and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thievish and cruel people, made an assault upon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discovered to be about 300. men. They for their parts, although they could have wished a quiet voyage and journey without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to [I. 395.] defend themselves against their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight folowed and continued hot & sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so wel plaied their parts with their calivers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arrived the 20. of August.

Astracan besieged by 70000. Turks and Tartars.

In this towne of Astracan they were somwhat hindered of their journey, and staied the space of sixe weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither upon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to have surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approched, as also, because they had received newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in providing for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, & to leave the town as they found it.

Upon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and using the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shavaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of sholcaves or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and devoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was sent unto them for a present from the governour of the countrey.

Having staied here some three or foure daies in providing of cariages and other necessaries for their journey, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes journey from the aforesayd Shavaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their journey towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious devotion. In this towne of Ardouil they sojourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsmen rose up one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to have borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recoverie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was received and entertained of him with great favour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priviledge or sufferance to transport and cary through his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motion or request that was not so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many karsies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would send his mony for the wares before the wares were delivered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and unhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serve for so holie a use.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arrived, he found M. Ducket well recovered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foresayd Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes journey of the aforesayd Tauris. [I. 396.]

The death of Thomas Banister and Laurence Chapman.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to give order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And having dispatched them away, he went there hence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes journey with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the unwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men unhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediatly came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter upon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recovered from the officers which had seized and sealed up the same, untill M. Ducket had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliverie thereof.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in sute for goods, upon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made provision for a journey to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and having all things ready, departed secretly with a Caravan: but being gone forwards on his way sixe dayes journy, some fifty

Humfrey Greensell burnt at Ormus.

horsemen by the procurement of Humfry Greensell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a journey for feare of divers inconveniences that might follow.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a journey to Cassan, being about foure dayes journey from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his travel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seate of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conveiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of al maner of wrought silkes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the civil and good government that is there used. An idle person is not suffred to live amongst them.

The child that is but five yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law present death.

At this Cashan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Shamaky, and after some time spent in divers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shavaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselves also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it up and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker upon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, having intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with divers boates under the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & slew divers of the Russes that were of the ship upon the hatches: Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being under the Spardecke, did so well behave themselves, that they skowred the hatches, and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the least, armed with calivers and other weapons fit for so villanous a purpose.

The English ship taken by the Cassaks.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid received divers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendring the ship into their hands, having received first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grievously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made great sute to the captaine to have men [I. 397.] and boates set out for the rescuing and recovering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and five hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking up their drums before they were come neere them, the Cassaks discovering the boats, cut their gables and put out to sea, whereupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, 60. boats more were sent out to pursue them againe the second time: & that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recovered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further divers of the Cassaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fifty yards of Sattin and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut & spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loved the English merchants, were put to most cruell torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recoverie: & having gotten some reasonable strength, they then provided boates and went up the river of Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recovered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslave, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and therewithall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserve with much adoe, they conveyed over land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much

Ice in the beginning of October.

of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England.

But Master Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subjects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares provided by them as served for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and having endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arrived at London in the moneth of October, one thousand five hundred seventie and foure, 1574. and so made an ende of an unfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully provided, and painfully laboured for, it had proved the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had ever bene undertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall adventure, but onely the interest and gaine that might have risen by the use of their stocke in the meane time.

[Further

Further observations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffrey Ducket, one of the Agents emploied in the same.

Grosin or Georgia.

SHamaky is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chiefest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, & the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes journey from Shamaky called Arash: and within 3. dayes journey of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, & are thought to be they which are otherwise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, & why he is called the Shaugh, and of other customes.

THe king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the [I. 398.] name of Sophy, because that Sophy in the Persian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies journy in length. The towne is but evil builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The king hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cause is not knowen, but as they say, it is upon a superstition of certaine prophesies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very lusty. And to keepe him the more lusty, he hath 4. wives alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wives that may be found a great way about brought unto him, whom he diligently peruseth, feeling them in all parts, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best service. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof, and in recompense of her, oftentimes he giveth the husband one of his old store, whom he thankfully receiveth.

How strangers are used.

If any stranger being a Christian shall come before him, he must put on a new paire of shooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a causey all the way, until he come to the place where he shal talke with the king, who standeth alwayes above in a gallerie, when he talketh with any strangers: and when the stranger is departed, then is the causey cast downe, and the ground made even againe.

Of the religion of the Persians.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

THeir religion is all one with the Turkes, saving that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Usman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would proove in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should be the successor: and after they had called upon Mahumet to reveale unto them his will and pleasure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and slew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gave them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, upon the which he charged them to lay the body and sword of Mortus Ali, and to suffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the said white camell caried the sword & body of Mortus Ali unto the sea side, and the camell going a good way into the sea, was with the body & sword of Mortus Ali taken up into heaven, for whose return they have long looked in Persia. And for this cause the king alwayes keepeth a horse ready sadled for him, and also of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they say furthermore, y^t if he come not shortly, they shalbe of our beliefe: much like the Jewes, looking for their Messias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for ever, and deliver them from the captivitie which they are now in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength & power comparable unto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundreth thousand men: who after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continueth until this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in suspicion that he would have put him downe, and have taken the regiment unto himselfe.

Their opinion of Christ.

Their opinion of Christ is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like unto Mahumet: saying, that Mahumet was the last prophet by whom all things were finished, & was therefore the greatest. To proove that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had never wife, and therefore could have no sonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia unto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they visite also the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Island of Ormus, situate in the gulfe of Persia called Sinus Persicus, betweene the maine land of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to East India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape as that which [I. 399.] is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portingals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Their money.

Within Persia they have neither gold nor silver mines, yet have they coined money both of gold and silver, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploied in raw silke.

Their bookes and learning.

They have few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in all kind of good sciences, saving in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Such was the law of the Macedonians for treason.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise then pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Dissention for religion. There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I have seene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Teveris, where I have seene a man comming from fighting, in a braverie bringing in his hand foure or five mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they shave their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leave they a tuft of haire upon their heads about 2. foote long. I have enquired why they leave the tuft of haire upon their heads. They answer, that thereby they may easiler be caried up into heaven when they are dead.

For their religion they have certaine priests who are apparelled like unto other men. They use every morning and afternoone to go up to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching have they none. Their Lent is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drinks, untill the day be off the skie, but then they eate somtimes the whole night. *Their priests and preaching. Their Lent.* And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesse thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it untill they have seene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, untill they have seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time.

Their saints and holy men. They have among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their ancestors have bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, *Pilgrimage.* for whosoever goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his posteritie are ever after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and have no lesse opinion of themselves. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeved, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie never so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed up with his owne opinion of holinesse. These Setes do use to shave their heads all over, saving on the sides a litle above the temples, the which they leave unshaven, and use to braid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Their praier & worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Every morning they use to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themselves toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in travell on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselves to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their swords and beads, and so standing upright worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beads, or somwhat els that lieth before them.

Washing and outward clenlinesse.

The men or women doe never goe to make water, but they use to take with them a pot with a spout, and after they have made water, they flash some water upon their privy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water the men do cowre downe as well as the women.

Their swearing.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will sweare by the Shaughs head, in saying Shaugham basshe, you may then beleeve him if you will.

The kings magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time untill they have knowen his pleasure whether hee will com-

[I. 400.] maund them any thing or not. Hee is watched every night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee useth to send into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beat any of them to death.

Pursuivants.

The kings company with his wives and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstove, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him five or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wives and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they ever esteeme their kings, if they have reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the favour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or adversitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reverence, because he hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of ye kingdom.

I have sayd before that hee hath foure wives, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chance to have any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wives dieth, the concubine whom hee so favoureth, he maketh one of his wives, and the childe whom he so loveth best, he ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumcision.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I have declared before. They use circumcision unto children of seven yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houses (as I have said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they have but litle furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke: for all their kettles & dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Tailors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roume wherein he sitteth is wholy covered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes covered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie upon them all night.

Their houses and maner of eating.

They have many bond servaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they use to feele them in all partes, as with us men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne use as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or five yeeres, twelve, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne use, and if hee find her to be false to him, and give her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

Women bought & sold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or traveller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or somtimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they use to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horses.

There is a very great river which runneth through the plaine of Javat, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere unto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marveilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the uttermost bounds of all Persia: it serveth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

Abundance of oile issuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they use to cary it throughout all the Countrey upon kine & asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or five hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a thing like unto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we have made the proofe, that in our ships it serveth well in the stead of tarre.

Oleum Petroleum.

Two sorts of kine.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like unto ours in these partes: the other are marveilous evill favoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire upon them: their milke is walowish sweete: they are like unto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seven deare yeeres: for a leaner or more evill favoured beast can no man see.

Foxes in great plenty.

In the countrey of Shirvan (sometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere unto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall have about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marveilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shal scape them hardly but they will have part with you.

[I. 401.] The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of wind it swelleth up very high: the water is very salt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great river of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marveilous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could understand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, having very great rumpes with much fat upon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Moscovie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOst mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narve three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the sayd felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and untill such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelve or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote unto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gave the said sir William and his Companie advise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they have according to his advise sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 13. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, unto whom there was given in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoever robbers and theeves that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd William with his fleete, met with sixe ships of the Freebooters neere unto an Island called Tuttee, which is about 50. versts from Narve, unto which Freebooters he with his fleete gave chase, and tooke of them the Admirall,

Five ships of Freebooters taken.

wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods upon Tuttee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him : out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselves willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these five ships were left but 83. men.

The said Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narve, finding here Christopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present unto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we delivered here unto Knez Voivoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we have kept by us, whose name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cause why we have done it is this : When wee should have delivered him with the rest of his felowes unto the Voivodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees unto us, requesting that he might be reserved in the ship, and caried back into England : and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their lives saved, with great favour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will cary him home with us into England, wherein we request your majesties favour : notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe observed.

Wee have also sent our servant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as wee found in those shippes : whereby your Majestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee have commended unto Knez Yorive your Majesties Voivoda at Plesco, by our servant. And have requested his furtherance for the safe deliverie of them to your majesties hands: which writings when you have perused, we desire that they may be returned unto us by this our servaunt, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now have here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we have not goods to lade above the halfe of them. And the cause is, we have this winter (by your majesties order) bene kept from trafiquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your [I. 402.] majestie will hereafter have consideration thereof, and that we may have free libertie to trafique in all partes of your majesties Countries, according to the priviledge given unto us, we pray for your majesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narve the 15 of July, Anno 1570.

Your Majesties most humble and obedient,
Christopher Hodsdon. William Borough.

A letter of Richard Uscombe to M. Henrie Lane, touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar: written in Rose Island the 5. day of August, 1571.

1571.

Master Lane I have me commended unto you. The 27. of July I arrived here with the Magdalene, and the same day and houre did the Swalow and Harry arrive here also. At our comming I found master Proctor here, by whom wee understand very heavie newes. The Mosco is burnt every sticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May last, and an innumerable number of people: and in the English house was smothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Waverley, Greenes wife and children, two children of Rafe, & more to the number of 25. persons were stifeled in our Beere seller: and yet in the same seller was Rafe, his wife, John Browne, and John Clarke pre-

The citie of Mosco burnt by ye Crimme.

Englishmen smothered at the burning of Mosco.

M. Glover and M. Rowley preserved.

served, which was wonderfull. And there went into that seller master Glover and master Rowley also: but because the heate was so great, they came foorth againe with much perill, so that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they escaped blindfold into another seller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preserved. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one side, and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to mistresse Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all our friends.

Yours to command, Richard Uscombe.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Jenkinson, Ambassadour from the Queenes most excellent Majestie, to the Emperour of Russia, from the time of his arrivall there, being the 26. of July 1571, untill his departure from thence the 23. of July 1572.

THe said 26. day I arrived with the two good ships called the Swalow and the Harry in safetie, at the Baie of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesayd, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediately I sent away my interpreter Daniel Silvester in post towards the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his majestie might as well bee advertised of my arrivall in his Dominions, as also to know his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remaining at the sayd Island two or three dayes, to have conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceive by the wordes of the sayd Agent and others your servants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard said at the Mosco, that the princes displeasure was such against me, that if ever I came into his countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other words of discouragement. Whereat I was not a litle dismaid, not knowing whether it were best for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ships for the safegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to have offended his Majestie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsly surmised: and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to justifie my true dealings, and to reproove my sayd enemies as well here as there, who have not ceased of late by untrue reports to impute the cause of the sayd Emperors displeasure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Majestie, and by his owne words to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the providence of God to prosecute the charge committed unto me, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the words of such, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be sent over with such credite, whereby I might sift out their evil doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore, leaving the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the seaside, and the first of August arrived at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Majestie. [I. 403.]

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in every place was shut up, that none might passe in paine of death: My messenger being eight hundreth miles upon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende unto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to advertise the Governour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Majestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would advertise his highnesse as soone as he might conveniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaid,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an unknowen way through wildernesse, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooved contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his journey, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe provided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many have felt the smart thereof which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe unto me.

And thus was I kept without answere or order from his Majestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, untill the 18. of January following, neither having a Gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grievous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiving the same, used towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Majestie that I should have poste horses, and bee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslave neere to the Court, his Majestie being newly returned from the said warres.

A.D. 1572.

And I arrived at the said Peraslave the 3. of February, where I remained under the charge of a gentleman, having then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so straitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende unto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the said Peraslave, and to remaine there untill his Majesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marveiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Majestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did understand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Majestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gave gratious audience unto my Oration, gratefully receiving and accepting the Queenes Majesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration, too long here to rehearse, and delivered her highnesse letters, and present (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood up and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health? to whom I answered, God doth blesse her Majestie with health, and peace, and doeth wish the like unto thee Lord, her loving brother. Then his Majestie sitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and avoyde the chamber, saving the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counsell, and willing me to approch neere unto him with my Interpretor, said unto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with us heere, wee did commit unto thee our trustie and secret Message, to be declared unto the Queenes Majestie herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming unto us againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse.

And in the meane time there came unto us at severall times three messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narve about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne unto us againe: but those messengers could tell us nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with evil words, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And understanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many unlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieved, & would suffer none of those rude messengers to have accesse unto us: and shortly after wee were infourmed that one [I. 404.] Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambassadour from the Queene, and we sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Mosco, at which time we looked that thou shouldest have returned unto us againe. And the said Thomas being arrived at our said Citie, wee sent unto him divers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell, whereby we might understand the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed unto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our saide Citie was visited with plague, the saide Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, foorthwith wee gave him accesse and audience, but all his talke with us was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our Princely treasures: But first Princes affaires are to be established, and then Merchants. After this the said Thomas Randolfe was with us at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires,

A.D. 1572.

whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Majestie and us might bee established for ever, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambassadour and us, and thereupon wee sent our Ambassadour into England with him to ende the same: but our Ambassadour returned unto us againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt us, and your said Ambassadour.

Thus when his Majestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me graciously, and to give me leave to speake without offence, and to beleeve those wordes to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted, and these were my words.

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by mee unto the Queene her most excellent Majestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediatly, and so soone as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truely unto the Queenes Majestie her selfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddest commaund mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Majestie did sende unto thee, Lord, her highnesse Ambassadour Thomas Randolfe, whose approoved wisedome and fidelitie was unto her Majestie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission not onely to treate with thy Majestie of Merchants affaires, but also of those thy Princely and secret affaires committed unto mee. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe, was, for that I was imployed in service upon the Seas against the Queenes Majesties enemies, and was not returned home at such time as Master Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Majesties Countrey, otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Majestie saith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission: which was: First to deale with thy Majestie thy selfe, which order is commonly used among all Princes, when they send their Ambassadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the saide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded upon matters at the same time, and promised the same should bee perfourmed by the Queene her Majestie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England, for answere thereof: It may please thy Majestie to understand, that as the saide Thomas Randolfe doeth confesse, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highnesse, and counsell divers times about princely affaires: even so hee denieth that ever hee did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwise then it should please the Queene her Majestie to like of at his returne home, which hee did justifie to thy Highnes Ambassador his face in England. Wherefore, most mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambassador did untruly enforme thy Majestie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambassador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well understood: and how thankefully the Queene her Majestie did receive thy highnes commendations, and letters sent by thy Majesties Ambassador, and how gratiously shee gave him audience sundry times, using him with such honour in all points for thy sake, Lord, her loving brother, as the like was never shewed to any Ambassador in our Realme, and how honourably with full answere in all things, her Majestie dismissed him, when hee had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her highnes letter unto thee Lord, by her messenger Robert Beast, and her Majestie did suppose that that thy Ambassador would have made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would have bene satisfied in all things: otherwise she would have sent her Majesties Ambassador with him unto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiving that thy Majestie is not fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambassador, nor by thine owne Ambassador Andrea Savin, nor yet by her Majesties letter sent by the said Andrea: and also understanding thy great griefe and displeasure towards sir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Majesties dominions, hath thought good to send mee at this present unto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to know the just cause of thy Majesties said displeasure towards the said company of merchants: and hath commanded me to answere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth suppose thy Majesties indignation to proceede rather upon the evill, and untrue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Majestie, and their Countrey, then of any just deserts of the said merchants, who never willingly deserved thy highnesse displeasure, but rather favour in all their doings and meanings. And since the first time of their traffiking in thy Majesties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the said merchants have bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to serve thy highnesse of all things meete for thy Treasurie, in time of peace and of warre in despite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stoppe the sound, and the way to the Narve, and have brought, and do bring from time to time such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Majestie doeth not suffer to be transported foorth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great losses the said sir William Garret, with his company hath sustained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by false servants it is manifestly knowen: and what service the said companies Ships did unto thy Majestie against thy enemies, two yeeres past

Andrew Savin Ambassadour from the Emperour.

[I. 405.]

A.D. 1572.

in going to the Narve, when they fought with the king of Poles shippes Freebooters, and burnt the same and slew the people, and as many as were taken alive delivered unto thy Captaine at the Narve, I trust thy highnesse doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty prince, the premises considered, the Queene her most excellent Majestie thy loving sister, doeth request thy highnes to restore the said sir William Garret with his company into thy princely favour againe, with their priviledges for free traffique with thy accustomed goodnes and justice, to be ministred unto them throughout all thy Majesties dominions, as aforetime: and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, and thy highnesse commaundement or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. And further that it will please thy Majestie, not to give credite to false reports, and untrue suggestions of such as are enemies, and such as neither would have mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Majesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your countries. And such rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, seeking to sowe dissentions betwixt your Majesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goods riotously, and will not come home to give up their accompts, advancing themselves to be merchants, and able to serve thy highnes of all things fit for thy treasurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themselves to do thy Majestie any service at all: the Queenes highnes request is, that it would please thy Majestie to commaund that such persons may be delivered unto me to be caried home, least by their remayning here, and having practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friendes, their evil doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from sir William Garret and his company, who have true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serve thy highnesse at all times, using many other words to the advancement of your credits, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then sayd his Majestie, We have heard you, and will consider of all things further, when wee have read the Queene our sisters letters: to whom I answered, that I supposed his Majestie should by those letters understand her highnesse full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his Majestie seemed to be wel pleased, and commaunded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his Majestie said these words unto me, It is now a time which we spend in fasting, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Novogrod, wee can not give you answere, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tary us upon the way, where wee will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and have your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready drest sent me from his Majestie, with great store of drinkes, of divers sorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforesayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Majesty, sent unto mee a Gentleman, to signifie unto mee, that the Emperours Majesties pleasure was, I should immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforesaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming unto a place called Staryts, three score miles from the sayd Otwer.

Then I sent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretary, requesting him to further, and shew his favour unto our saide merchants in their sutes, which they should have occasion to move in my absence: who sent me [I. 406.] word againe, that they should be wel assured of his friendship, and furtherance in all their sutes. And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arrived at the said Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained til the eight of May folowing. Then I was sent for to come unto his Majestie, to the said Staryts, where I arrived the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said unto me these words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doeth perceive her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Majesties pleasure is, that you let me understand what sutes you have to move in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that to morrowe you shall have accesse againe unto his highnes, and shall have full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of divers matters I gave him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests, which I had drawen out ready, as foloweth:

1 First the Queenes Majestie her request is, that it would please the Emperors highnesse to let me know the just cause of his great displeasure fallen upon sir William Garrard, & his company, who never deserved the same, to their knowledge.

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to give credite unto false and untrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissention, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Majestie.

3 Also that it would please his Majestie to receive the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his favour againe, and to restore them to their former priviledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Majesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priviledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may have justice of all

his subjects, as well for money owing unto them, as other their griefes and injuries, throughout al his dominions suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by severe justice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Majestie would understand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by divers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be paide, and answered the same, except his highnes pitie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payde all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due unto them by his Majestie, for wares, as well English, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Majestie to understand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Majesties countrey of Astracan, and would have come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Majestie to direct his princely letters unto his Captaines and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the river Volga, and over the Mare Caspium, to fetch the sayd English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the sayd Persia, into his Majesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes streightly to

command, that when the sayd Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, shal arrive at the sayd Astracan, his Majesties Captaine there, and in all other places upon the river Volga, shall so ayde and assist the sayd merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to understand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, have bene ill used by his Majesties Customers, both at Astracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the sayd Customers did not only exact, and take much more custome then was due by his Majesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same as a pawne. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie unto them his great goodnes againe restored unto the said English merchants, as also to command them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, up to the [I. 407.] Mosco, they paying such custome for the same, as shall be by his Majestie appointed.

9 Also that it would please his highnesse to grant, that sir William Garrard with his companie may establish their trade for merchandise at Colmogro in Dwina, and that such wares as shal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasurie might be looked upon, and received by his officers there: and that his Majesties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the saide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the saide English merchants avoyding great troubles and charges, in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Majesties subjects.

10 Also if it seemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewise from Persia, Boghar, and all other those Countreys beyond the Mare Caspium, might be established at Astracan, the ancient Marte towne in times past, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Majesty, and subjects, as I am well able to proove, if it will please his highnesse to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11 Also forasmuch as it pleased his Majestie, immediatly after the burning of the Mosco, to command that the said English merchants should give in a note into his Treasury, for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for sir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire did amount to the summe of 10000. rubbles and above: It may please his highnes of his accustomed goodnes and great clemencie to consider of the same, and to give the said company so much as shal seeme good unto his Majestie, towards their said losses.

12 Also that it will please his highnesse to understand that the Queenes most excellent Majestie, at the earnest sute and request of Andrea Savin his Majesties Ambassadour, did not onely pardon and forgive Thomas Glover his great and grievous offences towards her highnesse committed, onely for his Majesties sake, but also commanded sir William Garrard with his company, to deale favourably with the said Glover in his accompts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their servant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said sir William Garrard with his company counted with the said Glover, and ended all things even to his saide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the said company 4000. rubbles and above, and bound himselfe both by his solemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the same immediatly after his returne into Russia with the said Andrea Savin, unto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the said com-

pany of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres past, since the said agreement, and that the said Nicholas hath divers and sundry times requested the said money of the said Thomas, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleadging that his Majestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the premisses, It may please his highnesse to give order that the said Glover may be payd, and that he may discharge his debt to the said company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found such mercie and favour in England, onely for his Majesties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Majestie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to sir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, living of the spoyles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their servant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Majestie doth understand, that the said Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe dissention, and breake amitie betwixt their Majesties, and to overthrowe the trade of the said merchants: Her highnes request is, that the said Ralfe with his complices may be delivered unto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Majesties subjects, not being of the societie of the said Sir William Garrard and his company, to be suffered to traffike within his highnes dominions, but to be delivered to their Agent to bee sent home: for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous servants, did first finde out this trade, and have continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas divers masters and artificers of our

Nation are here in his Majesties service, and do finde themselves grieved that they cannot have licence to depart home into their native Countrey at their will and pleasure : the Queenes Majesties request is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Majestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the service of his highnes, to have free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serve his Majesty, to have free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Majesty to understand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, [I. 408.] attending his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse, I with my company have not onely bene ill used and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Mysserevy his Majesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonoured me, and smitten my people, and oweth the saide merchants much money, and will not pay them : but also the saide Besson hath spoken wordes of dishonour against the Queenes Majestie. Wherefore it may please his highnesse to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to search foorth his evill behaviour towards her Majestie, as towards me her highnesse Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly : and also that it would please his Majestie to sende downe his letter of justice, by vertue whereof the said Besson may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the sayd merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his highnesse to understand, that sir William Garrard with his company understanding of the great dearth in his Majesties dominions, by licence of the Queens Majestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his highnesse Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Majesties subjects, then for any gaine : yet the good wil of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sel the said corne, to their great discourage-

ment hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his highnesse, to tender the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the saide corne, as in all other things, ready to serve his Majestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the saide merchants with their company, to sell the said corne by measure, great or small at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being delivered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforesayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should have accesse unto the presence of the Prince, as well to receive answere of all things, as to bee dismissed to goe home. At which houres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Majestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a riche Crowne upon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highnesse commanded me to approch very neere unto him, and sayde unto me these wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our loving sister her letters wee have caused to be translated, and doe well understand the same, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to us declared wee have well considered, and doe perceive that our secret message unto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were advertised to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully satisfied. And when wee did sende our Ambassadour into England, about those our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene our sister, our Ambassadour coulde ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was dismissed unto us againe, with letters of small effect, touching the same, and no Ambassadour sent with him from the Queene: which caused us to thinke, that our princely affaires were set aside, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieved: for the which cause, and for the evill behaviour of your merchants, resident in our dominions (who have divers wayes transgressed and broken our lawes, living wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heavie displeasure upon them, and did take away from them their priviledge, commaunding that the same throughout all our dominions, should be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our sister, touching our griefes.

The causes of the Emperors displeasure.

And nowe her highnesse hath sent unto us againe, you her Ambassadour, with her loving letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receive, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely, and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leave of all those matters, and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise changed, but hereafter when occasion shall moove us to the like, wee will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene our loving sister, to sende unto us at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendship with us for ever (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the same) wee of our goodnesse for her highnesse sake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our displeasure towardes the same Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had never offended us) but also will restore them to their priviledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the said merchants do traffique, and we will shewe them favour as aforetime, if they deserve not the contrary. And if the Queene our sister [I. 409.] had not sent thee Anthony unto us at this present, God knoweth what we should have done to the said merchants, or whether we would have called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Majestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, unto the Queenes Majestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offendors might receive just punishments for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgive, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Majesties displeasure might fall upon them at home. Notwithstanding I did after understand some part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Majestie proceeding in talke, said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the marchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliver unto our Secretary, we have not onely read the same our selfe, but also have appointed our said Secretary to declare unto you our mind, and answere to the same. And for that we are now upon our journey towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to ye Queene our loving sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman one of our houshold with you to safe conduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes will give you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Majestie standing up, and putting off his cappe, said unto me these words. Doe our hearty commendations unto our loving sister, Queene Elizabeth, unto whom we wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Majestie caused me to sit downe, and commaunded wine and drinkes of divers sorts to be brought, whereof he gave me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

A.D. 1572.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsel with him, who at our meeting said unto me these words: We are appointed by the Emperor his majesty, to give you answere from his Highnes, touching your requests delivered in writing, which his Majestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Majesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Majestie did not accomplish and ende with his ambassador, his secrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behaviour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Majestie did himselfe yesterday declare unto you.

2 To the second, his Majesty willeth you to understand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moved to breake friendship with the Queenes Majesty, without good and just cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperors Majestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and favour againe unto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of privilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his majesty hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing unto me his Majesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other injuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall have justice truly ministred throughout all his Majesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his majesty doth not know of any debts due unto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be given: and hereafter his majestie would not have the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his majesty hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares received into his treasury, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Mosco) and such as is due, & found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or servants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his majesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Majesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, upon the river Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, over the Mare caspium, to fetche Thomas Banister, and Geofry Ducket, with their company, and goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arrive within his Majesties dominions, to aide and assist them, and see them safely conducted up the river Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his majestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so deteined by them for custome, & to take custome for the same, according to his Majesties letters of privilege. [I. 410.]

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Majestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleventh, as touching an inventorie given into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Majesties pleasure was to understande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glover, his Majestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the

Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes received in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garrard, & his company, & the said Glover, or what he doth owe unto the said merchants, his Majestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing unto him by the Emperour, his Majesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, & growing upon wares delivered unto the treasurie, out of the time of his Majesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited unto his Majestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Bennet, accompted traitors unto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be delivered unto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Majestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the Queenes request: even so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Majesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written unto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Majesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of privilege, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Majestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their native countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Besson Messerivey, the Emperors majestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his

ill behavior, aswel for speaking of undecent words against the Queens majestie as you have alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the said Besson being found guilty, to be imprisoned & punished by severe justice accordingly, and after to put in sureties to answere the Emperors high displeasure, or els to be brought up like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answere his offences before his Majestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes would doe the like upon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent thither two yeres past, and of all others for their ill behaviour towards his majestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Silvester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanor of such lewd persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their majesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his majestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to give you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I received a full answere from his majestie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counsel, to the 16 articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes majesty. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of privilege granted by his highnes unto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it had pleased his majesty to command to be payd, might be delivered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of privilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can have them with you, for they must be first written and shewed unto the Emperor, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot bee done with speede, for that his majesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooveth himselfe to morrow towards Novogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched upon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we have not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherfore the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperor to Novogrod, & let him repaire unto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his majestie to be paied after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your servants with [I. 411.] me at that present (although I had earnestly written unto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne servants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your servants to mee hither, to follow all such sutes as I should commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leave Daniel my interpreter with him, aswel for the receit of money, as for the speedy dispatch of the letters of priviledge, but it would not be granted in any wise that I should leave any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leave with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came unto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and provide boates, men, post horses and victuals for me all the way to the sea side, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe justice of the sayd Bessone, as aforesaid. And he said unto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the said Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd.

And passing a great part of my journey, I arrived at the citie of Vologda the last of the sayd May, where I remained five daies as well expecting a messenger to bring unto me the new letters of priviledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours majestie himselfe commanded before my face should bee sent unto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosco for the same. Neverthelesse the said Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to have redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I used my indevour, and sent a messenger John Norton one of your servants from Vologda to Novogrod, where the court then lay, expressely with letters, as well to advertise his majestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent unto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priviledge and receit of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne unto me againe before the departing of the ships. And the first day of June I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arrived the 21 of June aforesaid, and remained there untill the 23 of July, looking for the said John Norton to have returned unto me in al that time, which had respite fully enough in that space both to go to the court to dispatch his busines, and to have returned againe unto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after understand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare unto your worships the occasion thereof.

Neverthelesse, I am well assured before this time your Agent hath received into his hands the sayd letters of priviledges, and shall have dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his majesties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes majestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grievous displeasure from you, and restored you againe into his favour, so your Agent and others your servants there resident may behave, & endevour themselves to keepe & augment the same, whose evill doings have bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I Anthony Jenkinson have travelled unto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of England, untill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

First, I passed into Flanders, and travelled through all the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing over the Alpes I travelled into Italy, and from thence made my journey through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I have throughly journied.

I have also travelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I have sailed through the Levant seas every way, & have bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and divers others.

I have bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stoode.

I have travelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and divers other countries in Asia minor.

I have passed over the mountaines of Libanus to Damasco, and travelled through Samaria, Galile, Philistine or Palestine, unto Jerusalem, and so through all the Holy land.

I have bene in divers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

[I. 412.] I have sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we have had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that navigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I have travelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscovia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, even to the Mare Caspium.

I have bene in divers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Mahomeans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordoviti, Vachin, Nagaia, with divers others of strange customes and religions.

I have sailed over the Caspian sea, & discovered all the regions thereabout adjacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shascal, Shirvan, with many others.

I have travelled 40 daies journey beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through divers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe over the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence travelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, unto whom I delivered letters from the Queenes majestie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed through divers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my service hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her majestie and the rest by whom I have bene imploied.

A letter of James Alday to the Worshipfull M. Michael Lock, Agent in London for the Moscovie company, touching a trade to be established in Lappia, written 1575.

I Have in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certeinly I have something marveiled that in all this time the right wor. your societie have not given order that some little conference (by you, or with some other) might have bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & more, by which meanes reason would that I should have learned something. But the cause why they have not desired to conferre with me (as I judge) resteth only in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselves so throughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be spoken therof, or that they have no lust more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so untrusty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I should beare more affection to others then to them, & so discover their secrets: or els they think me of so simple understanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answere as followeth: First, if they think themselves so throughly certified as more need not to be spoken: certeinly I something marvel by whom it should be: for in ye winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, viz. Christopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, and I: for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the understanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke upon him very much to his owne harme

He marvelleth the company do not conferre with him of Lappia.

1574.

5 English men wintered in Lappia.

Christopher Colt a simple marchant.

& others I doubt, for he used himselfe not like a marchant, neither shewed diligence like a worthy servant or factor, but lay stil in a den al ye whole winter, having wares lying upon his hand, which he would not imploy to any use: although sundry waies there were that he might have put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great adventure, which money would have bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes & fishermen at the spring, then any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, & yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdained, so that men perceiving his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peradventure then most men think of. Wherfore if Colt have written or said any thing touching those countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest yong man, & right carefull of his busines, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by hearesay he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, so am I sure that Tunstal the Cooper hath not yet bene spoken with, so that of those parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no English man living that hath like knowledge in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may: he in the winter travailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made somthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions & customs of the people, but also he learned of al kind of commodities in those regions how they may be bought at the most advantage, that gaine may

Good trade in winter in Lappia.

Henry Cocknedge honest, but ignorant.

[I. 413.]

Roger Leche expert of Lappia.

be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath given intelligence to the right Wor. company, then have they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I wil alwaies open unto them. But the effect of ye beneficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answere, that if they deale not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to prevent others yt mean to deale there, although not English men, let them then not thinke long to have any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade with advantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and likewise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to bee considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen from the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that strive for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwise, but in such order, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be justly and utterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselves without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish to them from the bottome of my heart, as ever I wished wealth to mine own person: And thereby hold me excused in the third case I write of. And for the fourth as touching my judgement, as I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not utterly without understanding (although I be poore) & therfore peradventure holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his gifts as it pleaseth him. I

If the companie do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others wil prevent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can say somewhat though not much.

have seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men have more knowledge then they can utter by speech, which fault was once objected against me by a great learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soever my utterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wish in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a false dissembler. It greeveth me to see how of late they have bin brought to great charges, beating the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yere having in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much above 300 barrels of traine oile, yet am I sure there was bought besides them of the Russes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, besides 27 barrels Colt sold to Jacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconvenience springing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled up, which for love & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wishing as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus love hath compelled me to write this advertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will have written it.

1183 *barrels of oyle bought by others. Colt sold* 27 *barrels to a Hollander.*

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

FOr the provision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, passing from England. How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, cordes, axes, hatchets, knives, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettail, and whether they bee set on trivets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be staved for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ship for 4 moneths time. [I. 414.]

For the common mariners and officers to governe the ship, we shall not neede any out of Biskaie, but onely men skilful in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper skilfull to set up the staved caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serve as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

THere must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for every man.

250 hogsheds to put the bread in.

150 hogsheds of Cidar.

6 kintals of oile.

8 kintals of bacon.

6 hogsheds of beefe.
10 quarters of salt.
150 pound of candles.
8 quarters of beanes and pease.
Saltfish & herring, a quantitie convenient.
4 tunnes of wines.
Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.
A grindstone.
800 empty shaken hogsheds.
350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.
800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.
10 Estachas called roxes for harping irons.
10 pieces of Arporieras.
3 pieces of Baibens for the Javelines small.
2 tackles to turne the Whales.
A halser of 27 fadom long to turne ye whales.
15 great Javelines.
18 small Javelins.
50 harping irons.
6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2 doozen of machetos to minch the Whale.
2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
3 paire of Can hookes.
6 hookes for staves.
3 dozen of staves for the harping irons.
6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
10 great baskets.
10 lampes of iron to carie light.
5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
1000 of nailes for the pinnases.
500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.
18 axes and hatchets to cleave wood.
12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
2 beetles of Rosemarie.
4 dozen of oares for the pinnases.
6 lanternes.
500 of Tesia.

Item, gunpouder & matches for harquebushes as shalbe needfull.

Item, there must be caried from hence 5 pinnases, five men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, received of master W. Burrough.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6 ladles of copper.
A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
500 great nails of spikes to make their house
3 paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
8 calve skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred unto him concerning the Narve, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subject, made the 23 of June, 1576.

These articles seeme to have bene ministred upon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscovie company, for his trade to the Narve without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie. First, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narve, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of privilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectively were (as presently they be) of the jurisdiction, and subject to the mightie prince the Emperour of [I. 415.]

Russia: and whether the saide Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe lord and governour respectively of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and between the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the said privilege, it is forbidden to any other subject to have traffike, saving to the societie aforesaid.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narve, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said privilege (as he judgeth) were reputed respectively to be under the jurisdiction, & subject to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the said grant, unto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectively they were (as presently they be) of the jurisdiction, and subject unto the mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe governour respectively of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, betweene the East and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and privileges of the said companie of merchants for the discovery of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subject to have traffike saving to the societie aforesaid.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by divers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or every yeere once, hath had one of his subjects or more by him selfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and divers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the said Lappies have willingly given to winne favour of the saide prince, and to live quietly by his subjects, the people of Finmarke which border upon their countrey, whereof Wardhouse is the strongest hold, & bordereth neere unto them. Hee hath also hearde that in the time of peace betweene the saide Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia unto divers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes servant useth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but since the late warres betweene the saide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather give tribute to all those that border upon their countrey, then by denying it have their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent saith, that the saide mightie prince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and governour of the saide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are observed by them, hee takes toll and custome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Christians it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controversie betweene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselves, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their highest Court, and there have it ended. Betweene the place specified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforesaide in Lappia, is the monasterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and use the Russe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Pechingo abbey.

Also in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the said Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assembly of people at a mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians on the one side subjects to the said mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Norses and people of Finmarke subjects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chief government of the said Mart, and tooke toll of those people y^t were subject to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse had then the government of the people subject to his master the king of Denmark. He saith also, that betweene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, upon the border of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene upon the shore at divers places, where fresh rivers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subjects of the said Emperour, and he the said Emperour received yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith that it hath bene further credibly reported unto him, that there is not any such river or creek of fresh water which falleth out of the said countrey of Lappia into the sea, between the said abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and every of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiveth the rent for them.

The second Interrogatorie. [I. 416.]

Item, whether as well before, as also within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the said letters patents any of the English merchants (saving the merchants of the said societie) subjects of this realme of England, have commonly exercised or frequented businesse or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narve, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subjects of this realme before the graunt of the said letters patents did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or trade to any of the said places called the Narve, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reasons to disswade the use of a trade to the Narve aforesaide, by way through Sweden.

THe merchandise of the Narve are grosse wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place standeth upon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden: for all these merchandises that are brought thither come from Plescove, Novogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For transporting those merchandises from Narve to Stockholm, or what other place shall bee thought convenient in Sweden, it must be in vessels of those countries, which wilbe of smal force to resist Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarel or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to cary the same by river or lake a part of the way, and againe to be unladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for transporting of goods from Narve to Newles by way as aforesaid, besides the spoile by so often lading and unlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shalbe so brought to Newles it wil be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Moreover, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, forasmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage unto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater advantage may he *Note.*

performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, through the displeasure that the Emperour may conceive by our trade with the Sweden to Narve is also to be considered.

A remembrance of advise given to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola abovesaid. 1578.

WHereas you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore used, which is after this maner. First of all we have hired the ship by the great, giving so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the shippe, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if shee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay fourescore pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ship our selves, and doe ship all our men our selves, shipping no more men, nor giving them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to have our men to fish with one boate, & costing us no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing saving the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to us in money with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides al this, our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I doe suppose, it is not the use of London to take ships to fraight after that order before prescribed, neither I think that the mariners wil take such paines as our men will: Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hul or Newcastle, for I am sure that you may have them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Besides al this, one may have such men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it shal please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profit for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can devise, and most for your profite, [I. 417.] and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessarie for such a voyage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leave off the trade of Cola which may easily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would use the matter so that they should either leave off the trade, or els cary light ships with them home againe.

Hull the best market of England for sale of fish.

A dedicatorie Epistle unto the Queenes most excellent Majestie, written by Master William Burrough late Comptroller of her Highnesse navie, and annexed unto his exact and notable mappe of Russia, briefly containing (amongst other matters) his great travailes, observations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those Northeastern parts.

To the most high and renowmed Princesse ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c.

MY minde earnestly bent to the knowledge of navigation and Hydrographie from my youth (most excellent my dread Soveraigne) hath eftsoones beene moved by diligent studie to search out the chiefest points to them belonging: and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience in divers discoveries and other voyages and travailes to practise the same. I was in the first voyage for discoverie of the partes of Russia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then sixteene yeeres of age) also in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coastes of Samoed and Nova Zembla, with the straightes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coast of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly discovered. Since which time, by my continuall practise in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Russia, or to the Narve, and to some other countreys also by Sea: as likewise in passing from S. Nicholas to Mosco, and from Mosco to Narve, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in those countreis for the companie of English merchants for discoveries of new trades) setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true observations & notes of al those countreys, Islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the artes of Navigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and descriptions of the wayes, rivers, cities, townes, &c. as I passed by land: I finde my selfe sufficiently furnished to give report unto your Majesty, and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of every leagues distance that I have passed & seene in all those my travels. The places herein described, which I have not seene and tried my selfe, I have set downe by the best authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the rest: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eastward to Narve by sea, and from thence to Mosco and to S. Nicholas by land: also from hence Northwards and Northeastwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the straight of Vaigatz (first craving humbly your highnesse pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I trust without suspect of arrogancie, since truely I may say it) I have here set it open to the view, with such exactnesse and trueth, and so placed every thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he travaileth, as I have done. For as it may be truely saide of navigation and Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth convenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Astronomie and Cosmographie, much lesse without these two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie: so none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematicall, without convenient practise at the sea can make just proofe of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason upon practise and experience. Albeit there are divers both learned and unlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of navigation will enter deeply and speake much of and against errours used therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such also have written therof, pretending singular great knowledge therein, and would so be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and sufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it shall not be amisse in defence of rules builded upon reason, and in practise allowed, thus much to say for answere. It is so, that there are rules used in navigation which are not perfectly true: among which the streight lines in sea-cardes, representing the 32. points of the compasse or windes, are not holden to be the least, but noted of such talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned Gerardus Mercator used them in his universal mappe. But such as condemne them for false, and speake most [I. 418.] against their use cannot give other that should serve for navigation to better purpose and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to say it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with some part of my studie, I am the rather moved (in this my plot) to make some triall unto your majestie: for that

I perceive that such attempts of newe discoveries (whereunto this noble Island is most aptly situated) are by your royall maintenance so willingly furthered: beseeching your highnesse so to accept of these my travailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall service to your majestie, whose healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightie. Amen.

Your Majesties most humble subject
William Burrough.

The Queenes Majesties letters to Shaugh Thamas the great Sophi of Persia, sent by Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, and Peter Gerard appointed Agents for the Moscovie companie, in their sixt voyage to Persia, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the most noble and invincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shirvan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great Governour of the Indies.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most noble and invincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shirvan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great governour even unto the Indies, sendeth greeting. Most noble and invincible Prince, it is now ‖ tenne yeeres since, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambassade of the noble man Anthony Jenkinson our welbeloved subject, to your most noble and invincible father performed) we laboured to bring to passe by Thomas Bannister and Gefferey Ducket merchants, our subjects, that throughout all the kingdomes subject to his empire, free power might be given to Will. Garrard, Thomas Offey, William Chester knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket,

‖ 1568 *pag.* 394.

William Allen, Thomas Bannister, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and unto their societie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exercise & use their trade of merchandise, and from thence likewise after exchange or sale made of those wares, which they should bring with them with his like good leave and favour, to carie from thence those things wherwith his dominions do abound & with us be scant. Which our petition the most noble prince your father took so thankfully and in such good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leave, as was desired: but the same he would to bee unto them most free and beneficiall, and to have continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our subjects did enjoy with such humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reason of wars more and more increasing in those partes, by the which our subjects were to make their journey into Persia, they were debarred and shut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the said societie being eftsoones desirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they have now sent into Persia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their associats, whom we beseech your invincible majesty to entertaine with that favour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Bannister & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchise their whole societie with that freedome, that neither they through any their misdemeanours towards your subjects, may thereof seeme unworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our selves otherwise enjoy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards us, and with the like favourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it selfe & tract of time shall sufficiently prove the foresaid maner of traffike unprofitable to neither of us. For so hath one God the chiefe governor of all things disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should need other. And as for our people & subjects of the English nation, in verie deed your majesty shal find them made and fashioned so pliant to the perfourmance of all dueties of humanity, that it can never repent you to have graunted them this franke traffike, nor shame us to have obteined it for them at your hands. That therefore it may please your majesty to yeeld unto them this at our request, most earnestly we beseech you. And we (as it wel beseemeth a prince) if ever hereafter we may, wil shew our selfe not to bee unmindfull of so great a benefit. We wish your majesty wel & prosperously to fare. Given at our palace of Westminster the 10. day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

[I. 419.] Advertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discoverie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, servant to the saide companie, and sent to his uncle Master William Burrough.

FIrst it is to be understood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors and merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed from Gravesend the 19. of June, 1579. which arrived at S. Nicholas in Russia the 22. of July, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandise were discharged & laden into doshnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence up by river unto Vologda. And the 25. day of ye said Julie, the doshnikes departed from Rose Island by S. Nicholas up the river Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, in poste, by continual sailing, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to

Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Julie up the said river Dwyna, and came to Ustyoug (which is at the head of the river Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their cassacks or barkmen, & so departed thence the same day up the river Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Ustioug) the 15. day, where they shifted some of their cassaks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of August, where they landed their goods, and staied at that place till the 30. of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Yeraslave the said 30. of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the river Volga over against Yeraslave, with 25. Telegas laden with the said goods the seventh of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barks provided to transport the saide goods to Astracan (where they should meete the ship that should carie the same from thence into Persia) came over from Yeraslave unto the same side of the river Volga, and there tooke in the said goods. And having prepared the said barks ready with all necessary furniture they departed with them from Yeraslave downe the river of Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznovogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperors letters to passe free without paying any custome, and taried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September at five of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new cassaks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after

Yeraslave.

noone, and arrived at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oveak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Licoris: the soile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oveak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire stone castle called by the name Oveak, & adjoyning to the same was a towne called by ye Russes, Sodom: this towne & part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swalowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the castle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it seemeth have bin laid noble personages: for upon a tombe stone might be perceived the forme of a horse and a man sitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a scutchion also upon one of the stones, which had characters graven on it, whereof some part had beene consumed with the weather, and the rest left unperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we judged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were graven also upon another tombe stone. Nowe they departed from Oveak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to Peravolok the 10. day about eleven or twelve of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This worde Peravolok in the Russe tongue doeth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the river Volga, at that place, to the river Don or Tanais, is counted thirty versts, or as much as a man may well travell on foote

Great store of Licoris.

Peravolok.

in one day. And seven versts beneath, upon an Island called Tsaritsna the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

1 The first is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Peravolok 120, versts. [I. 420.]

2 The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first 50. versts.

3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120. versts distant from the second.

4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. versts distant from the third.

5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verst distant from the fourth, and Ichkebre to Astracan is 30. versts.

Astracan.

The 16. of October they arrived at Astracan, with their three stroogs in safetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ship provided for the Persia voyage in good order & readinesse. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were invited to dine with the chiefe diake or secretary of Astracan (Vasili Pheodorovich Shelepin) who declared then unto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia : and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did possesse the greatest part of Media : also he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they should put out with their ship to the sea, they should bee constrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne : whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all Winter to learne further of the state of those countreis.

Peter Garrard.

Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.

The 19. of November the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the river : the next day being the 20. of November the ice stood in the river, and so continued untill Easter day.

The 22. of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the ship.

Anno 1580. Thursday the 7. of January betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of January being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice upon the river Volga, & hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiers of the towne shot off their smal pieces upon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castel being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalovich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the river, was shot off all the ordinance of our ship being 15 pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconets, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other small pieces made for the stroogs to shoote hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of January there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualty was set on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of seven thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiers in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiers, and are not put to any other service then the use of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiers which alwaies keepe the castle, and the cassaks also using their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and town: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came upon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was said that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captain of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receive them: and taking a great shot or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tel them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captives, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a litle without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do usually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the said Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captaine of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their comming was onely to seeke two of their

Astracan situate upon an Iland.

[I. 421.]

bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were delivered to them: which favour the said captaine commonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at libertie. The 13. day they brake up their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13. *deg.* 40. *minuts.*

The 17. of April the variation of the compasse observed in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that the queene of Persia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had given them a great overthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, & the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company consulting upon their affayres, determined to leave at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on their purposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there: where, if they could not find safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a province nere the Caspian sea bordering upon Persia: and therupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandize of Tisiks or Persian merchants.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthony Marsh, the companies servants were sent from Astracan by the said factors, up the river Volga to Yeraslave, with letters of advise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England for mainteining the trade purposed for Persia, untill further triall were made what might be done in those parts.

May.

The first day of May in the morning, having the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors invited the duke Pheodor Micalovich Proiocoorow, and the principall secretary Vasili Pheodorovich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the duke to a banket aboord the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three versts, & then ankered, having with them a pavos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The second day at foure of the clocke in ye morning they weyed & plyed downe the river Volga toward the Caspian sea. The seventh of May in the morning they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the river as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three versts further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said tree is a place called Uchoog, that is to say, the Russe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe the weare. This Uchoog is counted from Astracan 60. versts: they proceeded downe the said river without staying at the Uchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the pavos: the 11. day they sent backe to the Uchoog for an other pavos: This day by mischance the shippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pavos, whereby the company had sustained great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layde into the pavos: for notwithstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heaving out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the pavos came to them from the Uchoog, whereby they lighted the shippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a small boat, sent by the captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great industry and travell they got their ship

Uchoog.

Shoald water.

Flats.

cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day untill then: they were forced to passe their shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Island of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty versts from Uchoog, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bare off into the sea, and being about twelve versts from the Foure hillocks, riding in five foot and a halfe water about eleven of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pavoses into the shippe, and filled their shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day in the morning about seven of the clock, the pavoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at Southeast, they road still with the shippe, and observing the elevation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the wind Southeast, they road still. The 20. day the winde at Northwest they set saile about one of the clocke in the morning, & stered thence South by West, & Southsouthwest about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and a halfe water, about nine of ye clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the elevation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. having the winde at Northwest, they set saile, and stered thence South by West, and South untill eleven of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they observed the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47 minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noonetide untill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe: then had they five fathoms and a halfe and brackish water: from that till twelve at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues: then had they eleven fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they sayled three & fifty leagues, then had they sixtene

Chetera Bougori.

The Caspian sea.

45 *degrees* 20. *minuts. The first observation in the Caspian sea.*

[I. 422.]

Brackish water farre within the sea.

fathome water: from thence they sayled until noone South and by West seven leagues and a halfe, the latitude then observed 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that untill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence untill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude observed was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seventeene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude observed was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till seven of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost covered with snow, and the mids of them were West from the ship, being then about twelve leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed Southwest until midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude observed, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northwest, they set their sailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed untill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two til foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land plaine, which was

43. *degrees* 15. *minuts.*

41. *degrees* 32. *minuts.*

40 *degrees* 54. *minuts.*

not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about five leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the port Bilbill, where they should have put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Shervan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seven or eight persons, two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arrivall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Shervan, and how that the Turks Basha remained in Derbent with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisikes (or merchants that went over with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companies servants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the captaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to have quiet and safe traffike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes journey, on foote easily to be travelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way over land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the said captaine gave him very friendly intertainment, and after he understood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to rejoyce much thereat: who gave the said Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which

Bilbill.

Bachu port.

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Nouo zemla
Vay gattes
Col goyeue
dolgoyene
Pechora
Suati noze
morgeenets
Canynoze
C O N D O R A
Assumption point
North cape
skatnenesse
ongonge
C good hope
Svard hows
Doms haff
kkegon
pechengam monestary of Russes
mecanovlok
St mary ness
kilduin Ilond
C sowerbear
Kola flu
St peters Ilonds
St pawls I.
Cameskey flu
St Georges Ilonds
Nocoyeua ostroue
C comfort
St Iohns Ilonds
C Gallant
lombosshok
Corpus xpi p
knok Iohn
C St Iohn
Tree ostrouy
morzovets
C race
ponoy flu
C grace
Cros Ilond
powlogue flu
Tetrene noze
Niconenske noze
Stresna flu
chauon
varziga flu
cape good forteune
Lampas
Mezena flu
kedwy flu
kedwey
point paynticost
Tona flu
Fox noze
posda flu
koska noze
Sugha mom
Solofka
Onega flu
Neno noze
Owna
St Nicolas
St myghels
pinigo flu
Micola
Colmogro
Vaug
Dwyna flu
L A P P I A
N O R W E Y
Zenam
loffort
Fayre yce
Rust Ilonds
Helga land
Nomendale
Drontham
Scala Miliarium
Russia myles
Englesh myles
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80
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130
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William borough

CHART OF THE NORTHERN OCEAN BY WILLIAM BURROUGH answere the said Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set up at shoare neare the shippe, against the comming of the sayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him, in shirts of male, and some of them had gauntlets of silver, others of steele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gave him for a present a garment of cloth [I. 423.] of velvet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request unto him, that he would helpe them to the speech of the Basha, who answered that their demand was reasonable, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Basha remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither, and certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Basha to provide for them: and therefore willed the factors to consult together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantity they would have provided: so whilest the factors were consulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant that came over in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to have returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maister of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors

Thomas Hudson of Limehouse, maister of the English barke.

came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Basha, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their requests willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their journey to Derbent. They were unwilling to go that night with him, because their provision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine sayd it was reported unto him, that they ment the night before to have gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of loosing his head: for which cause he requested to have some one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpretour: that night they road from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare unto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not conjecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceived we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? answere was made, it was so: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainety. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen sate round about him talking together. Their sitting is upon the heeles, or crosse legged.

M. Christopher Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate.

A.D. 1580.

After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled withall: after all which, came a sheepe rosted whole, which was brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his servitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof upon divers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gave to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he cast meat from the platters which were before him. Divers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the use was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their use was to lie in houses: whereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to Derbent, sending by them that went tenne sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a Stove, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stove, whilest they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the M. of the shippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they went to Bachu: but Christopher Burrough returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that travell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which [I. 424.] had the captaine of Bachu his letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and travelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English merchants comming, who receiving the letters, and understanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receive them certaine souldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reverence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise having done their salutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receive them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conveyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their journey, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when ye factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his privilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Majestie to have any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be delivered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly give them his privilege: yet for that he regarded their safetie, having

The receiving of the English into Derbent.

come so farre, & knowing the state of his countrey to be troublesome, he would have them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would provide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence unto them, so that they should not be injured by any: wherupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for ye ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, & came to the ship at Bildih the 11 day of June. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from ye Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by divers observations is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrayned to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes untill the 16. day of June foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arrived at anker against Derbent East and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of June at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke up their ordinance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and having the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29. day their goods were unladen and carried to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking

The latitude of Bildih 40. deg. 25. min.

The variation of the compas 10. deg. 40. min.

for custome of every five & twenty karsies, or whatsoever, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obtained the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very favourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of karsies, seven broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of shaffe. There went with the same of the companies servants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, whereof one was an interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the said barke the 19. of July, and arrived at Bildih the 25. day: their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factors sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to understand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a daies journey from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeves, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeves horses with his caliver, and shot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the sixt day of August the factors being advertised at Derbent that their ship was [I. 425.] so rotten & weake, that it was doubtfull she would not carry them backe to Astracan, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Jacob, for a barke called a Busse, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Astracan, *Zere Island.* and was at that instant riding at an Island called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more safety, they ment to have with them in their returne to Astracan, and therupon wrote unto Wincoll and the rest at Bachu, that they should receive the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first boate, which was observed by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the sayd Busse at Bildih, and being ready to have departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsers were broken, and their vessell put a shoare, and broken to pieces against the rockes: every of them that were in her saved their lives, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheste, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had received for the commodities of the company, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost, other things that were more profitable they saved.

The English suffer shipwracke.

The 18. of August, the Factors received from the Basha 500. Batmans of raw silke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Basha according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was delivered them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due unto him or not, which grieved the Factors: and thereupon M. Turnebull answered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Bashaes pleasure: But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast up their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast up their reckonings. The 21. they went to have spoken with the Basha, but were denied audience.

Arthur Edwards dieth at Astracan.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from Astracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Astracan with the moietie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the   of

The 23. day the Factors received more from the Basha 500. Batmans of silke. *September.* The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was set on by theeves (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of Derbent, where the Armenian Christians do usually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Busse which they had bought of Jacob the Armenian as before, was cast away at Bildih, but they received no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ship 40. bales of silke. From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ship, bread, water, and other necessary provision for their sea store : the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded upon the suddaine to avoide their house, and get them with their provision out of the towne : Whereupon they were constrained to remove and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden avoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceived) was for that the Basha had received newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboord the ship : and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leave of him, unto whom they recommended those the Companies servants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making accompt to leave them behinde in the Countrey : who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be injuried of any. After this leave taken, the Factors went aboord purposing presently to have set saile and departed towards Astracan, the winde serving well for that purpose at South Southeast : And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the ship a man, who weved : whereupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mishap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and such things as they saved with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village : Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next wind that would serve them, against the place where they were, & take them in, if they could : which stay and losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwardes sustained through yce, &c. entring the Volga as shalbe declared.

The Armenian village.

[I. 426.]

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still : This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to provide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tisike or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundreth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen : the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and received the same with great joy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay : there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not

The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

payed them their due. The treasure came in seven wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashaes hands: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, for which he gave but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had provided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they could not have had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and travaile by land so dangerous, he used them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported unto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Persians differed litle from the truth: for the Turkes armie with aide of the Crims, (being in number by ye information of two Spaniards that served in those wars, about 200000) invaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke understood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) governour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, unto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his service and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where he thought convenient, the armie was dissolved and sent backe: When the Persians understood that the Turkes armie was dissolved and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and overranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoever they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoever els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so overrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long indure to withstande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leaving therein neither living creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and setled themselves about Teveris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians having intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselves together in a great armie and encountring the said Turkes, set upon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This overthrow of the Turkes grieved the Basha of Derbent, and made him to have the more care for his owne safetie. Moreover, newes was brought unto him that the Kisel Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set upon him, and that neere unto Bachu there lay an army readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

The variation of the Compasse.

The latitude of Derbent (by divers observations exactly there made) is 41. deg 52. min. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30.

miles. From Bachu to Bildih five or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800. foot. [I. 427.] There are yet to be perceived of the ruine of those wals, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceive the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the castle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnortheast they wayed ancre, and set saile from Derbent, being alongst the coast to the Southwards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in seven fathom water, the ship being very leake, and so rotten abaft the maine mast, that a man with his nailes might scrape thorow her side.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the yere was far spent, the ship weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leave them behinde, bent themselves directly towards Astracan: and sailing Northnortheast untill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthwest, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their sailes, saving the fore corse, with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West, and Southsouthwest. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfort: for in her they hoped to save their lives if the ship should have miscaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had sight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longst the coast to the Southeastwards unto Nezavoo, where they came at ancre in three fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 versts to the Westwards of Nezavoo, the place whereagainst they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceived by them in the shippe, whereupon they hoised out their skiffe, and sent her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods be taken into the ships. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the sea towards the said village, and ancred. The 10 day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde served, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said village. This day it was calme.

Nezavoo.

The 11 day the winde Northwest they rode still. The 12 day the winde Southeast they wayed ancre, & bare against & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the skiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at shore were like to be spoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the skiffe sent backe againe to charge them at any hand they should hasten aboord the ship whatsoever it cost them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the same day saving Richard Relfe and two Russes, but assoone as the skiffe was returned aboord the ship, the winde blew at Southeast, and the sea was growen, so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode stil till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoised out of the ship, and sent to shore to fetch the said Relfe and the two Russes, which were ready at the shore side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captives at the Goletta in Barbary, which served the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charity) they brought also aboord the ship to redeeme them from their captivity, which were brought over into England, and set free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheast, faire weather. The 14 day they sent the skiffe to shore, and filled fresh water. The 15 day they rode still, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eastsoutheast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towards Astracan, and the same night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about five miles from the shore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnorthwest from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very stormy, they rode still all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeast about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and sailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheast sixe leagues, then they might see the land Northwest about tenne leagues from the winde Southeast: from thence they sailed til midnight Northnortheast twelve leagues. From thence till the 19 day seven a clocke in the morning they sailed Northnortheast eight leagues: the winde then Eastsoutheast, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, and sand, being (as the Master judged) about the head of Shetly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeast with small

Two Spaniards delivered by our English men.

[I. 428.]

raine, they tooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21 day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Westnorthwest, and sailed from thence till sixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft oze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and set saile, being litle winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shore about sixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, having perfect sight of the low land (sand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nerest land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceived to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50 versts, or 30 English miles to the Southwest, or Southwest by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillavar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shore, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe unto the Uchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliver Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to provide Pavoses to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Uchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Easterly and Northeast, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they wayed, and set saile to the Northeastwards: but the ship fell so on the side to the shorewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they never removed her. That day they shared their bread: but in their want God sent them two covies of partridges, that came from the shore, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

A strange accident of provision for their reliefe.

November.

The 4 of November the skiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 versts from them to the Northeastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and delivered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to understand of the ships arrivall, & of the state they were in, and their request for Pavoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pavoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pavoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Islands aforesayd, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to request Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pavoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes, rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boat the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had received and were satisfied for the victuals they brought: the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare unto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5 untill the 9 day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pavoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori five dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pavoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the foresayd skiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pavoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at Northeast with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Riall, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freese) returned to Astracan. Amos Riall declared that he sent the carpenter backe from [I. 429.] the Chetera Boogori in a small boat on the 10 day, and marveiled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and overshot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Uchooge, and there stayed. Presently upon the comming of the Pavoses to the ship they used as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and provision, as much as they could.

Ice the 13 of November in the mouth of the river of Volga.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to provide victuals and cariages to relieve and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Islands, but was there overtaken with yce, and forced to leave his boat, and from thence passed poste to Astracan, finding at the Uchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill journey, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leaving the ship at ancre, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pavoses, to provide victuals for themselves and the rest, & therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to undertake for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be given them if they did it: and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Islands being about eight versts Southwest from them, the winde then at Northeast, did freese the sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre or remove the said lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And so they continued driving with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of forty houres, and then being the sixteenth day the yce stood. *The 16 day.* Whiles they drove with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driven one upon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere unto the lighters, that they expected it would have overwhelmed them to their utter destruction: but God who had preserved them from many perils before, did also save and deliver them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layde it on the yce, and covered the same with such provisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leave all the goods there upon the yce, and to go to the shore: and thereupon brake up their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleddes for every of them to draw upon the yce, whereon *Travaile upon the yce.* they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conveniently cary, and so they departed from the sayd goods and Pavoses very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and travailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could judge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Islands so called) unto the same they directed themselves, and there remained that night.

Chetera Babbas.

The goods and Pavoses which they left on the yce they judged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Islands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudson) whereby wandering upon the yce foure or five dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had bene travailed, which crost backwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two days travaile it brought them to a place called the Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Red cliffe, which divers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, having nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the ship to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about five miles before they came to the sayd Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their lives.

The English ship cut in pieces with yce.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 versts of the Uchooge, they met

[I. 430.] Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also 65 horses with so many Cassacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought provision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy unto them.

The factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the sayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the sayd Factors and their company marched on to the Uchooge, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arrived the last day of November. *December.* These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors travailed the same day untill they came within 10 versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared unto them in what sort they had found the sayd goods.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could find upon the said sleds, and with all convenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came showting and hallowing with a great noise, but our people were so invironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter upon them, but ranne by, and shot their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those cariages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arrived in safety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good happe to have escaped so many hard events, troubles and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almighty, who had so mercifully preserved and delivered them. They remained the Winter at Astracan, where they found great favour and friendship of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

Their returne to Astracan.

In the spring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken up, and cleare gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Aprill, having all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouse gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the Surgean, Rob. Golding, Joh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, having also 40 Russes, whereof 36 were Cassacks to row, the rest merchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the sayd Stroog and goods up the Volga towards Yeraslave. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods & merchandise there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tisiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne up to Yeraslave that Summer, when the Emperors carriage should passe up the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Peravolok, but made no stay at that place: for they had beene much

The breaking up of the yce.

Morgan Hubblethorne dier sent into Persia.

troubled with yce in their comming from Astracan. The May. 3 of May about noone they came to Oveak, and from thence proceeding up the river, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a small boat, and went before towards Tetusha to provide victuals, and send downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 versts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull sent from Tetusha, and the same day they arrived with their Stroog at Tetusha, where they stayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to provide necessaries from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26 day they arrived with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of June: the Factors sent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of June they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arrived at Yeraslave the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

The 23 day they provided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day having the goods laden upon Telegos, they departed with the same towards Vologda, and remained there five versts from Yeraslave.

[I. 431.] The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in safety, and good order. The same 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda post by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, having their goods laden in a small doshnik, they departed with the same from Vologda towards Rose Island by S. Nicholas, where they arrived in safety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Russia, and in the rode the ships sent out of England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ship Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Susan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudson, and others. The goods returned of the Persia voyage were laden into the ship, William and John, whereof was Master, William Bigat, and in her with the same goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of August, the same ship being laden and dispatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies fraighted ships, called the Tomasin, whereof was M. Christopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had some foule weather, and were separated at the sea, the William and John put into Newcastle the 24 of September: from whence the sayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arrivall of the ship.

The 25 of September both the sayd ships arrived at the port of London in safety, and ankered before Limehouse and Wapping, where they were discharged, 1581.

Observations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of divers places in Russia, from the North to the South: Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.
  Meridian altitude observed at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minuts.
  The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.

The English house in Colmogro.
  The English house in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m.
  The meridian altitude there observed, the 29 of July, 42. d. 15. m.

Recola.
  Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41. d. 40. m.
  Declination, 16. d. 6. m. 64. d. 20. m.

Yeegris.
  Meridian, 4 of August, 41. d. 50. m.
  Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m. 62. d. 59. m.

Towlma.
Meridian altitude, the 15 of August, 40. d. 45. m.
Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m. 60. d. 17. m.

Vologda.
Meridian altitude, the 20 of August, 40. d.
Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m. 59. d. 17. m.

Vologda.
Meridian altitude, 21 of August, 39. d. 36. m.
Declination, 8. d. 56. m. 59. d. 20. m.

Yeraslave.
Latitude by gesse, 57. d. 50. m.

Swyoskagorod.
Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d.
Declination, 2. d. 56. m. 56. d. 4. m.

Ovslona Monastery.
Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m.
Declination, 2. d. 56. m. 55. d. 51. m.

Tetuskagorod.
Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m.
Declination, 5. d. 35. m. 55. d. 22. m.

Oveek.
Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m.
Declination, 8. d. 18. m. 51. d. 30. m.

Astracan.
Astracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m.
Declination, 14. d. 16. m. 46. d. 10. m.

Astracan.
Meridian altitude, 1 of November, 26. d. 35. m.
Declination, 17. d. 16. m. 46. d. 9. m.

Certaine directions given by M. Richard Hackluit of the Middle Temple, to M. Morgan Hubblethorne, Dier, sent into Persia, 1579. [I. 432.]

1 FOr that England hath the best wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme have no good vent, if good dying be not added: therfore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent over at the charge of the city: and therfore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooves you to have care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to devise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by saving of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be used in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soever.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities & townes you must repaire to, and you must use meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can staine: and if you may attaine to that

cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they have great colouring of silks, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying & silke dying have a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They have a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most lively colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint yourselfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endevour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dry into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoever you have learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that

come death or life your countrey may enjoy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and travell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence every of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable river in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good workeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission given by sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen and governours of the company of English Merchants, for discovery of new trades, unto Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discovery of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

[I. 433.]

IN the Name of God Almightie, and everlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Governours of the company of English Merchants, for discovery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said company, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middlesex, Captaine, Master, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second partie, and Charles Jackman of Popler, in the said Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Master and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the river of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said Governours, and company have hired the saide Arthur Pet, to serve in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewise the said Charles Jackman, to serve in the said barke, called the William, with five men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoveries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Island Vaigats, Eastwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same unto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them.

Burroughs streits.

The which passage (upon authoritie of writers, and great reason) is conceived to bee from the Vaigats Eastwards, according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Burrough, whereof either of the saide Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, have one delivered unto them, and also one other sailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Asia doth not stretch it selfe so farre Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we have appointed you with these two barkes to make triall of the same: wishing you both to joyne in friendship together, as most deere friends and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise order your companies, that they of the one barke may have such love and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and brothers would doe: so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bend your selves to the uttermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you observe good order in your dayly service, and pray unto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would have you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting we thinke it requisite, that you call unto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you shall buy or sell, barter or change) to the ende that whatsoever God should dispose of either of you, yet they may have some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shal at every time agree upon, we would have you to note them in the paper bookes that wee give you for that purpose, unto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Jackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wish may be such, as you should never lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discover about an Island, or in some river, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the same to your discretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would have you with the next good winde and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and convenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this river of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to have sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Nova Zemla, [I. 434.] keeping the same landes alwayes in your sight on your larboordsides (if conveniently you may) to the ende you may discover, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Nova Zembla, or not: notwithstanding we would not have you to entangle your selves in any Bay, or otherwise, so that it might hinder your speedy proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

The land of Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would have you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is over against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwayes in your sight (if conveniently you may) untill you come to the mouth of the river Ob, and when you come unto it, passe over the said rivers mouth unto the border of land, on the Eastside of the same (without any stay to bee made for searching inwardly in the same river) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwayes on your starboordside in sight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) untill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can to arrive to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conveniently come to either of those places, or shalbe driven to remaine & winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by all meanes possible to winne favour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatsoever, but therein to be innocent as doves, yet wilie as serpents, to avoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall have gotten friendship through your discreete ordering of your selves, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Majesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Majestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you have also written in English, for your owne understanding thereof.

The Queenes letters.

The same her Majesties letters you shall procure to deliver unto the same mightie Prince, or Governour, with some present to be given, such as you shall thinke meete and convenient, using your selves in all points according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this Summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, unto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priviledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discover somewhat further then you had discovered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke convenient, with regard had, and alwayes provided, that you may returne home hither, to give us advise of your proceedings the same Summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter overtake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adjoyning unto it navigable, doe you then proceed on your discovery (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, having care in the travel to finde out some convenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it convenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we have before advised you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they have a prince or chiefe governour, do you procure to deliver unto the same Prince or governour one of the Queenes Majesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter & obtaine letters of priviledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee such, that by using trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial unto us (as we hope you may) the same wil be some good liking unto us: notwithstanding we would have you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongest that tract of land to Cathay, if you see likelihood to passe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly desire to discover) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and upwards, which you may very wel make to serve you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to adventure in proceeding upon your discovery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you shall atchieve the Countrey of Cathay, & deliver to the prince there, one of her Majesties letters, bringing from thence the same princes letters answerable: and so in the yeere of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely unto us the adventurers in this voyage, but also to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

[I. 435.] But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the river Ob, extende it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to saile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discover this Summer, having care to finde out by the way a convenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may discover the same lande of Asia this Summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and upwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the river of Ob, or as neere the same river as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforesaide, and if you can learne that they have a prince or chiefe governour amongst them, doe you deliver him one of her Majesties letters, and procure thereof an answere accordingly: do you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall cary with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to have, &c.

The Queenes letters.

If you so happen to winter, we would have you the next Summer to discover into the river Ob, so farre as conveniently you may: And if you shall finde the same river (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be also navigable and pleasant for you, to travell farre into, happely you may come to the citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place habited upon or neere the border of it, and thereby have liking to winter out the second winter: use you therein your discretions.

The Citie of Siberia.

But if you finde the said river Ob to be sholde, or not such as you may conveniently travell in with your barkes, do you then the next summer returne backe through Boroughs streights: And from that part of Nova Zembla, adjoyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tract of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starbord side, and the same alwayes in sight, if conveniently you may, until you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound you shall not happen to discover and trie whether the said Willough-

Willoughbies land.

bies land joyne continent with the same Nova Zembla, or not. But if you shall then prove them to be one firme and continent, you may from Nova Zembla direct your course unto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conveniently: and from Willoughbies land you shall proceed Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) even so farre as you may or can travell, having regard that in convenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making observations in the same, we referre you to the instructions given by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed unto the first part of this Indenture under our seale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the second part of this Indenture, under our seale also, for you Charles Jackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed unto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with us the saide companie, sealed and subscribed by you the said Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman.

And to the observing of all things contained in this Commission (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet doe covenant by these presents to performe them, and every part and parcell thereof. And I the said Charles Jackman doe for my part likewise covenant by these presents to performe the same, and every part thereof, so neere as God will give me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof these Indentures were sealed and delivered accordingly, the day and yeere first above written. Thus the Lorde God Almightie sende you a prosperous voyage, with happie successe and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be observed in the purposed voyage for discovery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman: given by M. William Burrough. 1580.

WHen you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serve you to goe a seabord the sands, doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the saide Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint such course as you shal thinke good, according as the wind serveth you: and from that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, under saile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of every 4. glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did prove, and could finde no ground (this note is to be observed all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come upon any coast, or doe finde any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to use your leade oftener, as you shal thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depthes into harboroughs, rivers, &c. [I. 436.]

How to note downe in his Jornall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other observations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of every foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be used) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagge of the sea, to leewards, accordingly as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde upon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of every foure glasses, I would not have you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of every watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently observe the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare upon any land) noting the same observations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

For noting the shape and view of the land at first discovery, &c.

When you come to have sight of any coast or land whatsoever, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your judgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares unto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you have sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and upon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first observed, if you can well perceive or discerne them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, upon the land that you may then see, and could not perceive at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth unto you, and so the third time, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and every coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of every Bay, and entrance of every harborow or rivers mouth, with the lying out of every point, or headland, (unto the which you may give apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoever, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serve to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the observations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceive howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof observed, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest : and also how farre the one part was from the other, and upon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

And when you come upon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in every place, and the slake or still water of full sea, and lowe water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to drive a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can judge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde upon any coast the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same duely, how it setteth in every place, and observe what force it hath to drive a ship in one houre, &c.

For observing of tides and currants.

Item, as often and when as you may conveniently come upon any land, to make observation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for trying of distances, observe the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conveniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently observe, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I have given you your whole travell, and description of your discovery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, understand or perceive of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnesse of every place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they have, and what they most

To take the platformes of places within compasse of view upon land.

covet and desire of the commodities you cary with you. It behoveth you to give trifling things unto such people as you shall happen to see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their love and favour towardes you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to revenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selves out of their dangers.

[I. 437.] Thus I beseech God Almightie to blesse you, and prosper your voyage with good and happie successe, and send you safely to returne home againe, to the great joy and rejoycing of the adventurers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

Certaine briefe advises given by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, to bee observed in their Northeasterne discoverie, Ann o 1580.

IF we recken from Wardhouse to Colgoieve Island 400. miles for almost 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere East and West, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieve to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude also: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole course, or shortest distance being East and West) in the latitude likewise of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is summa totalis from Wardhouse to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. English miles. Therefore allowing in a discovery voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is evident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may bee sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time, both by helpe of winde prosperous, and light continuall for the time requisit thereunto.

M. Dee gave them a Chart of his owne making, which here he refers them unto.

When you are past Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart sheweth, or two, three, foure, or five degrees further Easterly, it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward, in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous river Oechardes, or some other, which yet I conjecture to passe by the renowmed Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it selfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the saide rivers mouth, or els that you shall trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the province Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay haven, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for distinctions sake, from the other better knowen.

And in or about either or both of these two warme places, you may to great good purpose bee occupied the whole winter, after your arrivall in those quarters, as sometime by sea, sometime in notable fresh rivers, sometime in discreet view and noting downe the situation of the Cities within land, &c. and ever assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also have opportunitie to saile over to Japan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Jesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may have great instruction and advise for you affaires in hand.

[Notes

Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Jackman, sent by the Merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discovery of the Northeast straight, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discovery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

WHereas the Portingals have in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to divers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to have by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may devise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Savages or civill Princes may in any sort annoy us in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serve) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

[I. 438.] And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the Northeast navie, the navie of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to us there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the navie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conveniently saile unto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fal out well. For so, besides lesse danger and more safetie, our ships might there unlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, having ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of havens and harborowes.

AND if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Nova Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come unto Cambalu, and unlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Nova Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Nova Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to have regard: for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the

A good consideration.

ende we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whalefishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

AND if the aire may be found upon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and divers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling us.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Navie, as plentifully as Eastland doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, gravelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and rivers or not, and what wilde beastes they have in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the havens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

AND if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soever shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall have the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subjects onely, or to enjoy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enjoy of his straights, by suffring the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the havens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes prevent us not of the same, after our returne upon the disclosing of the Mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Savage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants. [I. 439.]

IF you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to devise what commodities they have to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may have something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable river, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, mastes, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people have no use of them, they may be brought perhaps to use.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

YOu must have great care to preserve your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRing home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other civil place, one or other yong man, although you leave one for him.

Also the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arrive at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you have the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there before it was devised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

IF you arrive in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Navie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they have any calivers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armour they have.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bils.

What horses of force, and what light horses they have.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make conjectures by.

TO take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so give a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they have.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

[I. 440.]

KArsies of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Spanish blankets, Baies of al colours, specially with Stamel, Worsteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Rash, &c.

Felts of divers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Levant taffeta of divers colours, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of divers colours for men and for women.

Garters of silke of severall kinds, and of colours divers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and ungilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of velvet.

Gloves of all sorts knit, and of leather.

Gloves perfumed.

Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spanish leather of divers colours, of divers length, cut and uncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Velvet shooes and pantophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and faire.

Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Christall trimmed with silver, and otherwise.

Hower glasses.
Combes of Ivorie.
Combes of boxe.
Combes of horne.

Linnen of divers sorts.

Handkerchiefs with silke of severall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.

Knives in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of every kind.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather

A.D. 1580.

and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of every kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisedom, and of certaine government setled here.

All the severall silver coynes of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the governours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subjects in worke, which you must have in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more woorth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

First, the sweetest perfumes to set under hatches to make ye place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arrive at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie, & not among Savages.

Marmelade. } { Figs barrelled. [I. 441.]
Sucket. } { Raisins of the sunne.

Comfets of divers kinds made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolve.

Prunes damaske. } { Walnuts.
Dried Peares. } { Almonds.
Smalnuts.

Olives to make them taste their wine.

The apple John that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke. } { Sacke.

Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghests withall, after their comming aboord.

Suger to use with their wine if they will.

The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stieped in the same do make a banketting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamon water }
Imperiall water } is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arrive the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the river be drawen full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not amisse: and if need were, to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marveilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to have the view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAke with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may pricke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in small roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we have plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we have great mines of it, and have no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may have, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron. [I. 442.]

To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquavitæ.

By new devises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caveat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indevour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they have any ample use there for it, for that we may lade whole navies of it and have no use of it unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumists use: of this you may have two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Juniper to avoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the use.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they have not the use of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse civil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would have you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they use in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses : and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they use about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serve this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne use.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come : so false and Sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage, An. 1580.

[I. 443.]

Literæ tuæ (vir humanissime) 19. Junii demùm mihi redditæ fuerunt : vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multò magis tempestivæ instructionis jacturam factam esse. Optassem Arthurum Pet de quibusdam non levibus ante suum discessum præmonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sanè per Orientem in Cathaium est navigatio : & sæpè miratus sum, eam fœliciter inchoatam,

Ingens Sinus post Insulam Vaigats & Novam Zemblam.

Tabin promontorium ingens.

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eò directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deviat.

desertam fuisse, velis in Occidentem translatis, postquam plus quàm dimidium itineris vestri jam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats, & Nova Zembla continuò ingens sequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ universam Regionem Sericam perluentia, utque existimo, in intima continentis usque magnis navigiis pervia, facillimam rationem exhibent quaslibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæterísque circumfusis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temerè eam navigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum & Moscoviæ obstaculum aliquod interjectum fuisse. Quod si verò cum illius gratia ulterior illac navigatio detur, suaderem profecto non primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, sed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in iisque portum aliquem commodissimum, stationémque Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps majore opportunitate, minoribúsque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnavigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & aliis scriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè ultra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis observationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilémque & periculosam navigationem existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc navigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum esse. Quia verò Magnes alium quam Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte respicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticum magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deviat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano, qui per utrumque polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis est hæc varietas, & quæ navigantem plurimùm fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam nôrit, & ad poli elevationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit instructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, ut deprehenso errore eum invenire & castigare possit, timeo ne devias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & semiperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur : Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod si contingat : hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, ut in eo sinu, iisque fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine Serenissimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat : quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima commercia. Opinor ab ostiis Bautisi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, usque ad Cambalu Regiam summam Chami, non ultra 300. milliaria Germanica esse, & iter sumendum per Ezinam urbem regni Tangut, quæ 100. tantùm milliariis Germanicis ab ostiis distare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Bautisus & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æstus maris in eo Moscoviæ portu, quem vestri pro statione habent, & in aliis versùs orientem locis usque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc districtu semper in unam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an verò pro ratione æstuum fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi sex horis in occasum, & iterum sex in ortum fluat, an verò semper in eandem partem : aliæ enim speculationes non parum utiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiscero in occidentem observari. Quod ad Sinum Merosro, & Canadam, ac Novam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quæ à quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, & illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiensi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum situm attinet & poli elevationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui

Postulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

extensam, aliam præterea particularem Novæ Franciæ littoribus adjunctam, qua depravatæ latitudines, occasione erroris Magnetis ibi commissæ, castigarentur. Jacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis itinerarium per omnem Asiam, Affricam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antverpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum communicavit, eo usus sum, & reddidi: post multos annos eundem ab amico repetii, & reminisci ille non potuit à quo accepisset. Gulielmi Tripolitani & Joannis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, [I. 444.] tantùm excerpta ex illis quædam in aliis scriptis libris inveni. Abilfadæ Epitome gaudeo verti, utinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putavi: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, ut quæ ex utriusque navigationis cursu observata nancisci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si forte ad pulcherrimum, utilissimùmque orbi Christiano hoc navigationis institutum aliquid opis & consilii adferre possint. Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Clivia, 28. Julii 1580.

Dulce mare inter Novam Zemblam & Tabin suspicatur.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quæ optavi, & num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum salsum invenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Nova Zembla, & Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus quantus sum,
Gerardus Mercator.

The same in English.

SIr, I received your letters the 19. of June: it grieved me much that upon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not give any convenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I have oftentimes marveiled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that

A great gulfe is beyond Vaigats, whereinto mighty rivers descend.

more then halfe of your voiage was discovered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats and Nova Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great rivers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke navigable with great vessels into ye heart of the continent, may be an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that navigation was not intermitted, but upon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscovie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so be that with his grace and favour a further navigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and rivers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some convenient port and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discovered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawen :) and that the pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I have learned by the certaine observations of the Loadstone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approch. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come unto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the

The best course to be taken in discoveries.

Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceive the Sailer, unlesse hee know the unconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the elevation of the pole somtimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well provided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiving the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering up and downe he lose his time, and be overtaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frozen every yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could give for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those rivers whereof I have spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes majestie, which I beleeve will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty rivers Bautisus and Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince the Can, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the sayd rivers, and is subject to the great Can.

The mouthes of Bautisus and Oechardus 300. leagues from Cambalu.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moscovia where your men do harborow, and in other Easterly places unto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as may backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance. I would wish M. Frobisher to observe the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes,

[I. 445.] *Upon the observations of the tides depend great speculations.*

they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the elevation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: For the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Jacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had used it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Joannes de Plano Carpini I never saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilfada is translated, I would we might have it shortly.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, craving this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoever observations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoever I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie unto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light unto this most excellent enterprise of navigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Cliveland, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I have requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for

I suppose the Sea betweene Nova Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The discoverie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Jackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigatz, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580. Written by Hugh Smith.

May.

UPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe untill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

June.

The next day being the first of June, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest.

Kene an Island of Norway.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be elevated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not above.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeast: the same day at sixe in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee past Skites beare nesse, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee halled Southeast, and Southeast by East. *The North cape doubled.*

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our comming in was to seeke the William, whose companie wee lost the 6. day of this moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to us in good safetie, and all her company in good health. *Wardhouse.* [I. 446.]

The 24. the wind came to the East Northeast. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we delivered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West northwest for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about sixe in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South. *July.*

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in morning the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to master Jackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Verove Ostrove, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast. *Willoughbies land.*

The 3. day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees, 46. minuts. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Kegor. *50. leagues from Kegor.*

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be elevated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at Northwest, we hald East and East by South: this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northwest, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare us of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

A sight of perfect land.

The seventh day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by East northeast. This day there appeared more land North from us being perfect land: the ice was betweene us and it, so that we could not come neerer to it.

The same morning at sixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many pointes of our compasse, but we went most an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North northwest, we continued our course, and at five in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At sixe in the after noone we cleared our selves of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to us East Northeast, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiving that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

This day at 2. in the afternoone wee sounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. *70. deg. 3. min.*

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we haled East and by North, which course we set, because at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did see land, and then wee sounded having 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and prove the land. [I. 447.]

The same night we came with our ship within an Island, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water. *An Island.*

The maine land. The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from us to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or river that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Island in the midst.

The 12. of July the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gote to land and escaped from us, where we named the bay Bearebay. *Bearebay.* This day at 7. in the after noone we set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared up wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did us much trouble, and the more because of the fog, which continued untill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, y^t we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: *70. deg. 26. min.* we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Nova Zembla. *The supposed maine of Nova Zembla.* About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe upon that boorde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along under the ice. About seven in the afternoone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of us, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South southwest: wee cast about and lay to the Eastwards: the winde did Wester, so that wee lay South southwest with a flawne sheete, and so we ranne all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounded, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelve of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day unto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many overfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, so that we coulde not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleere our selves of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee elevated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

Many overfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth aforesaid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showre and thunder came to the Southwest, and then wee ranne East Northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Islands. There are also overfals of water or tides. We went between the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found

They had sight of Vaygatz. the pole elevated 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeast, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day untill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and ran South and South southwest all the same day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate away to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way [I. 448.] but to goe backe as we came in, having the wind Northwest, so at twelve at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we hald along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaygatz, as wee found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking *An Island having store of wood & water.* water and wood bare within an Island where wee founde great store of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly sounds. Under two points there was a crosse set up, and a man buried at the foote of it. Upon the said crosse Master Pet did grave his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise upon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might have knowledge that wee had beene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that wee lay North along the land.

The 23. day at five in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great overfals, as great streames or tides: we halde Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour us if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather. About twelve of the clocke it became very calme upon the sudden, and came up to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed under a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelve at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the shore, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

6. faire islands.

This Island is to ye Eastwards of Vaigatz, 4 or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and even and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you have but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shore, all this morning we halled East southeast. This day we found the pole to be elevated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some

An Island to the East of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to have some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when wee sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and us, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag upon her foretopmaste in token that she did see us: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile & mainetopsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow us, we put out our flagge to answere her again with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The William and the George meete againe.

The 25. day about five in the morning, the William came to us, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang clean besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable under her sterne, and with our capstaine did wind up her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would give us leave, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gave his majestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast upon a piece of ice: the winde was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that we coulde not tell which way to passe. Windes wee have had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee coulde goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were constrained to moare upon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell over. All the same day after foure of the clocke, [I. 449.] and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day Master Jugman did see land East Northeast from us, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges have many times deceived us.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seven in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with us, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice untill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and Southsouthwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Jackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for us, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At *Their returne.* 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped until 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, untill the next morning.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at five in the morning to plie

The currant runneth with the winde.

into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afternoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William beeing incumbered with ice, and perceiving that shee did litle good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe us. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seven afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to us tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued untill the next morning.

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would have done if ye William had bene by us, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day wee did our best to seeke our way as the ice would give us leave, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued untill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ship fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came up to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest untill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, we set saile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not give us leave. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best untill ten of the clocke, and then perceiving that we did no good, and being inclosed with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice:

All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South & by East, we lay to the Westwards, as Southwest and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued until 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice al the same night. This day we found the pole elevated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

The first day of August was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at West Northwest. About twelve the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge. *August.*

The second day the winde was at Southwest all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with ice, the winde being at West Northwest, this ice did every day [I. 450.] increase upon us, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be delivered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the after noone we set sayle, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southwest, and Southsouthwest, & West, as we might finde our way for

A whole land of yce.

the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further: here we moared our ship to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The sixt day having no opening of the yce wee lay still, the winde being at West, and West by South: here we had sixty three fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West Northwest.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came upon us. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southwest: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

70. degr. 4. min.

Frost.

The appearing of the starres, signe of Winter.

The 9. day the winde was at Northwest, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose us. This day we found the pole elevated seventy degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the same: and we were in doubt that if it should have freezed so much the night following, we should hardly have passed out of it. This night there was one star that appeared to us.

Much snow.

The tenth day the winde was at East Northeast with a very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce: about five in the morning we set saile: sometime wee laye Southwest, and sometime South, and sometime West, as wee might best finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to fresh: about sixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeast with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much.

The eleventh day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weakenesse of man Gods strength most appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southwest, we were forced to make our shippe fast to a piece of yce, for we were inclosed with it, and taried the Lordes leasure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeast not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the West Southwest: all the day was very darke with snowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we set saile the winde being at the North Northeast: all this night we bare away Southwest, and Southsouthwest, as well and as neere as the yce would give us leave: all this night we found the yce somewhat favourable to us, more then it was before, wherupon we stood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeast, and Northeast and by East: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was marveilous that the ship was able to abide them: the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with us: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe.

Great store of snowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and let her drive with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our steerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threescore and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the same night.

The 15. day we set saile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeast. At 9. aforenoon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were most glad, and not without great cause, and gave God the praise. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southwest all the morning untill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we halled West, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northwest, for so the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had sight of the [I. 451.] land, which wee might have had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day: for when wee had sight of the lande, wee were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole elevated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, pepered sand. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks.

69 degrees 49 minutes.

They are thwart against Vaigats.

The 16 day the winde was at East: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it: for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelve of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great store of yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare upon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and sometime North and by East, for so doth the land trend.

Sands.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeast, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to stay for us, and sent some of their men to help us, but before they came we were under saile, and as we came to the William we did stowe our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Islands, and haled Westsouthwest. *The Islands.*

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course Southwest and by South: so we ranne Southwest untill twelve at night, the wind came to the Northnortheast, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Westnorthwest. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eastnortheast: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red sand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeast, and Northnortheast: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelve of the clocke we were upon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not have her aflote. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyeve: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high above 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeast, and Southwest. *Shoales off Colgoyeve.*

The 21 day the wind was at Southwest, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was possible for us to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southwest did help us, for it caused it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be elevated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both set saile to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, having 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the sand which was without us. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had but sixe fadoms, which was off the sands head, which we were a ground upon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

They lost the William here.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William under our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we have not seene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelve of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Westnorthwest, and West by North, all the same night following.

The land of Hugry.

The bay of Morzovets.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eastsoutheast, we haled Westnorthwest: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelve of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms sand. This day we ranne West and by North, and came to five fadoms off the bay of Morzovets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay Northnortheast off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and [I. 452.] thus we lay till we came to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty fadoms, then the wind at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and haled Northwest along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northwest, the winde at Northnortheast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be elevated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northwest, and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The towne of Hungon.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboord.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran Westnorthwest.

They double the North Cape in their returne.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The second day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlnesse, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southwest, and we went Northwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the

Fowlenesse. countrey Foulenesse. It is within ful of small Islands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you have fayre sand at 20 fadoms.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the sound aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not above 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote. The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of us, but the road was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of us: this day was stormie with raine.

The sound of Romesal. The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound called Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Islands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eastnortheast we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, having a goodly gale untill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeast, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at sixe of the clocke we came into a very good rode, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is elevated 63 deg. 10 min.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blastes. *October.*

The 7 day we set saile: for from the first of this moneth untill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not thinke that it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow: for after the breaking of our [I. 453.] cable, we did drive a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7. day at night we came to an anker until the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe: and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm drove us upon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to save her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safetie abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine untill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeast, and at 8 of the clocke we set saile. This sound is called Moore *Moore sound.* sound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth Southsoutheast. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a sound which is called Ultar sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmark put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of us, that came out of Island: ye wind was contrary for us at Southsouthwest.

The 12 day of November we set saile the wind being at the East Southeast, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie: which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the Southwest, so that we could doe no good, so that we moared our ship betweene 2. Islands until the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, & went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the Southwest, and Southsouthwest, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw us put to sea, & came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ship in an utter sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is elevated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay stil for a wind untill the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buquhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch: the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeast, so that we lay still untill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Tinmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the skarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeast & Southsoutheast untill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a Southeast wind, we thought we should have bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled Southeast: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to sease Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Nativity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Oldhaven, and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porshet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Jackman arrived at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Rostock in October 1580. and there did winter: And from thence departed againe in Februarie following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island: and since that time he was never heard of.

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discovery of new trades, unto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, John Backhouse, William Freeman, John Haly, and James Woodcock, &c. masters of the 9 ships, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe: which ships being now in the river of Thames are presently ready to depart upon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serve thereunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was joined M. Christopher Carlisle with the Tyger. The 1 of June 1582.

Forasmuch as the number of shippes which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Russia is greater then at any time heretofore wee have sent thither, as also for that some speeches are given out that you shall be met withall by such as with force & violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good

[I. 454.] order may be established among you for keeping together in company, and uniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your navigation, as also for your more safety and strength against the enemie, we have thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and every one particularly shall be bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre, consult and agree upon the courses and directions that shall be used in this voyage, and it shall be lawfull unto the master of the Admiral, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and observe the same without straying or breaking of company at any time upon the penalty before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and those men to consult and agree upon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly observe the premisses.

6 Item, we have thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conveniently from time to time, you do assemble and meete together, to consider, consult, and determine upon such articles as you shall

think necessary to be propounded touching your best safety and defence against all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as also homewardes bound, and that which you shall agree upon, or that which most of you shal consent unto, cause it to be set down in writing for record, which may serve for an acte amongst your selves to binde you all to observe the same.

7 We have appointed James Woodcock in the smal barke to attend upon you, & to receive his directions from you. You are therfore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching ye sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serve, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to give your order and direction unto him, as the time and place shall require.

8 Item, if you shall understand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what advise hath bene given you for your stay at Berozova Ustia, till you have by espials viewed and understood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

Berozova Ustia.

9 And if in the sea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall be assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoever, you are to defend your selves with such forces as you may or can : trust not too farre, neither give place to inconvenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view and understand what you can at that place, and to shew your selves, to see if there be any there that have a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumspect and carefull to have your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwaies, and upon all suddens.

The greatest danger unto you in that place will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without danger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selves such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and forme as you shall thinke best and most convenient. And while they shall be in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which have not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those ships that shall have labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ships to the shoare, or from shore to the shippe with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall have neede of.

[I. 455.] 12 Remember what hath bene said unto you touching the moring of your ships, &c. for using advantage against the enemie, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serve God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selves upon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, ayde, or helpe may be given by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voyage and safe returne.

The opinion of Master William Burrough sent to a friend, requiring his judgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards S. Nicholas in Russia.

WHereas you request me to perswade the company not to send their shippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the same so good a course for them to observe: for you know that the sooner wee sende them hence, the sooner we may looke for their returne. If wee sende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the same moneth: and by that time the greatest parte of your lading of necessitie must bee come downe, especially the flaxe: but if it should fall out so lateward a breaking up of the river of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ships can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the shippes be kept backe any time, the losse and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the shippes, and yet will the Owners put that in adventure, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

The Russian fleet best to be set forth in the beginning of May.

Now seeing by sending our shippes hence in the beginning of May, their arrivall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the same moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the last of June, and returne home hither by the 10 of August with commodities to serve the market then, it cannot bee denied but we should reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be objected, that if all our shippes be sent then to returne as aforesaid, you shall not be able to send us in so much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwise you should doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be sent in them as you would doe.

For answere thereunto this is my meaning: though I wish the greatest part of our shipping to go as aforesaid, yet would I have one good ship or two at the most well furnished in al points that should depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of June: and the same to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the first arrivall there untill the middest of August, or to be dispatched thence sooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the same: by this order these commodities following may ensue.

1 You may have our commodities there timely to send up the river before it waxe shallow, to be dispersed in the countrey at your pleasure.

2 The greatest part of our goods may be returned hither timely to serve the first markets.

3 Our late ships remaining so long here may serve to good purpose, for returning answere of such letters as may be sent over land, and received here before their departure.

4 Their remaining so late with you shal satisfie your desire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring such cordage, Waxe, Oile, & other commodities, as you can provide before that time: and chiefly may serve us in stead to bring home our goods that may be sent us from Persia.

Now seeing it may be so many wayes commodious to the company to observe this order, without any charge unto them, I wish that you put to your helping hand to further the same.

A copie of the Commission given to Sir Jerome Bowes, authorizing him her Majesties Ambassadour unto the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Universis & singulis præsentes literas visuris & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm Serenissimus Princeps, Joannes Basilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Russiæ, Volodimeræ, Moscoviæ, & Novogrodiæ, Rex Cazani, & Astracani, Dominus Plescoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Ugori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus [I. 456.] Dux Novogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotscoæ, Ratsaviæ, Yeraslavæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condensæ, & gubernator in tota provincia

Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus charissimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spisemski, nuper ad nos ablegaverit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiscum agenda, quæ honorem utrinque nostrum quàm proximè attingunt, quæque rectè definiri concludíque nequeunt, nisi Ambassiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum serenissimum principem amandaverimus: Hinc est, quòd nos de fidelitate, industria, provida circumspectione, & satis magno rerum usu, prædilecti nobis famuli nostri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domesticis nostris unius, plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, nostrum verum & indubitatum Ambassiatorem, Oratorem, & Commissarium specialem facimus, & constituimus per præsentes. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori nostro tenore præsentium, authoritatem, & mandatum, tam generale, quàm speciale, ita quòd specialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas specialitati, nomine nostro, & pro nobis, cum præfato serenissimo principe, ejusque consiliariis, & deputatis quibuscunque de præfatis negotiis & eorum singulis, tractandi, conferendi, concludendi, appunctuandíque, prout præfato Oratori nostro æquum, & ex honore nostro videbitur: Nec non de, & super hujusmodi tractatis, conclusis, appunctuatísque, cæterísque omnibus & singulis, præmissa quovismodo concernentibus, literas, & instrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine nostro, & pro nobis tradendi, literasque & instrumenta consimilis vigoris & effectus, ex altera parte petendi, & confici, & sigillari debitè procurandi, & recipiendi, & generaliter omnia, & singula præmissa qualitercunque concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, in, & eodem modo, sicut nos ipsi faceremus, & facere possemus, si essemus præsentes, etiamsi talia sint, quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & singula, quæ per prædictum Ambassiatorem, & oratorem nostrum appunctuata, promissa, conventa, concordata, & conclusa fuerint in hac

parte, nos rata & grata, & firma habituras & observaturas, & superinde literas nostras patentes confirmatorias, & approbatorias in forma valida, & autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cujus rei testimonium, his præsentibus manu nostra signatis, magnum sigillum nostrum regni nostri Angliæ apponi fecimus. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenwici quinto die mensis Junii, Anno Dom. 1583. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quinto.

The same in English.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and singular, to whom these presents shal come to be seen and red, greeting. Whereas the most excellent prince John Basiliwich king, and great duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscovie, and Novogrod, king of Cazan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Ugor, and Permia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Novogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsco, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudor, Obdor and Condensa, and governour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our most deare brother and friend did of late send unto us one Feodor Andrewich Spisemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with us in certaine speciall businesses, respecting very neerely the honour of either of us, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the foresaid most excellent prince, cannot be sufficiently determined and concluded: For this cause we having great confidence in the fidelitie, industrie, provident circumspection and convenient experience of our welbeloved servant Jerome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our housholde, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Jerome Bowes knight our true & undoubted Ambassadour, Orator and special commissioner, giving and graunting to the same Jerome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement, as wel general as special, so that the special shall not prejudice the generall, nor on the other side the general the special, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for us with the foresaid most excellent prince and his counsellers and deputies whatsoever, concerning the foresaide businesses, and ech of them, according as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresaide Orator, as also of and upon such things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things, any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliver in our name and for us, sufficient and effectual letters and instruments, and to require letters & instruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and sealed, and then to receive them, and generally to doe, execute, and dispatch al and singular other things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selves would and might do if we were present, although they be such things as may seeme of themselves to require a more speciall commandement: promising in good faith and in the [I. 457.] word of a prince, that we will hold and observe all and singular the things which by our Ambassador aforesayd shall be appointed, promised, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need shall require, will give our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witnesse whereof, we have caused our great seale of our kingdome of England to be put to these presents, and signed them with our owne hand.

Given at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the five and twentieth.

[A Letter

A Letter sent from her Highnesse to the sayd great Duke of Russia, by sir Hierome Bowes aforesayd, her Majesties Ambassadour.

Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Joanni Basilio, Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, &c. Regi Cazani, &c. Domino Plescoæ, &c. Domino & magno Duci Novogrodiæ, &c. & Gubernatori in tota Provincia Siberiæ, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Joanni Basilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, Moscoviæ, & Novogrodiæ, Regi Cazani & Astracani, Domino Plescoæ, & magno Duci Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Ugori, Permiæ, Viatskæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Novogrodiæ in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotscoæ, Rostovæ, Jaroslavæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condensæ, & Gubernatori in tota provincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico suo charissimo, Salutem.

Serenissime princeps, frater & amice charissime, ex iis quæ nobiscum egit S. V. illustris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus satis, si legatum aliquem cum mandatis instructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem instituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod est honestè postulatum, ut non nisi præstita re, possemus nobis quoquo modo satisfacere. Atque cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus nostris Domesticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem inpræsentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cujus prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid est, quod ad Serenitatum mutuò nostrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere posse arbitramur, commisimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam sit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in iis persequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, si essemus præsentes. Prætereà, cùm nobis multum charus sit Robertus Jacobus medicus, quem superiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. misimus, rogamus ut eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatissimum, & singulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum esse, boni principes censent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegavissemus, nisi amicitiæ nostræ, & studio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuissemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non nisi optimè de bonis vestris meritis in præfatum Jacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, ut S. V. salvam conservet, & incolumem. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenovici 19 die mensis Junii, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò nostri vicessimo quinto. 1582.

S. vestrae bona soror.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the most excellent Prince and Lord, John Basiliwich, by the same grace of God, King and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscovie, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Ugor, and Permie, Viatsca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the lowe countrey, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Jaroslave, Bealozera, Lifland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condensa, and Governour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her dearest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most excellent Prince, most deare brother and friend, by those things which the worthy ambassador of your excellency declared unto us, we have understood how kindly it would be taken, if we should send to your

[I. 458.] excellency an ambassador from us, with commandement and instructions. In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased us, that we could not any maner of way satisfie our selves, except we performed the same. And having purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembred Jerome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our householde, a man very much beloved of us, whom at this present we send unto your Majesty, and to whose wisedome and faithfulnesse we have committed all, whatsoever we take to apperteine to the advancement of both our honors indifferently. In the discharge of which service, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be used on his part, so that we intreat your Majesty to give him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from us in commandement, no lesse then to our selfe, if we were present. And whereas *Doctor Jacob.* Robert Jacob doctor of physicke is a man very deare unto us, whom the last yere we sent unto your excellency, we desire that he may have that favor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man woorthy of: for had we not caried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indevour to gratifie your Majestie, we should in no case have parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe even promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesses towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preserve your Majesty in good safetie and health. Given at our pallace of Greenewich the 19 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the five and twentieth.

Your Majesties good sister.

A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Jerome Bowes knight, her Majesties ambassadour to Ivan Vasilivich the Emperour of Muscovia, in the yeere 1583.

THe Emperour of Russia that then lived, by name Ivan Vasiliwich, having deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renued betweene him and her sacred Majesty of England, with such further immunities and privileges for the honor and utility of both their dominions, and subjects of the same, as upon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented unto: sent over into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient discreet gentleman of his householde called Pheodor Andrevich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be delivered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter under the Emperours signature, addressed to her Majesty: he had in speciall charge to sollicit her Majesty to send over with him to his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Majesty very graciously inclining to the Emperors motion, and at the humble sute of the English merchants trading those countreys being caried with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of sir Jerome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending upon her Majesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and favor by the credit of this negociation.

Pheodor Andrevich Phisemsky the Emperors ambassadour.

After he had received his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions apperteining to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leave of her Majesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of June, and with the other ambassadour, with their severall companies, embarked themselves at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a stormy voyage at the Sea, they arrived both in safety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of July next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassador was lodged and well intertained by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Rose Island.

The Russe ambassador having reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leave of the English ambassador, and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or five dayes, when having made provision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went forward [I. 459.] upon his journey towards Mosco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure score miles distant from S. Nicholas.

The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

You must here understand that before the English ambassadors going into Russia, there were divers strangers, but especially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys. Notwithstanding a privilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants. These Dutch men had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the chiefest counsellers to the Emperour to be their

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assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanovich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for besides dayly gifts that they bestowed upon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at five and twenty upon the hundred, as they payd to some one of them five thousand marks yeerely for the use of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The ambassador having now spent five weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperor to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him up the rivers towards Mosco, and to deliver him provision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that service of purpose, as afterward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassador: for you must understand that the chancellor and the other two great counsellors (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselves directly against her Majesties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassador a thousand miles up the rivers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where received him another gentleman sent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furnished after their maner.

At a city called Yeraslave upon the river Volga there met the ambassador a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperor, who presented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more easie conveying of him to Mosco, from whence this citie was distant five hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco there met the ambassador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horse: who after a litle salutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperor, and would have had him light on foot to have heard it, notwithstanding themselves would still have sit on horsebacke: which the ambassador soone refused to doe, and so they stood long upon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed upon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being delivered, and after having embraced ech other, they conducted the sayd ambassador to his lodging at Mosco, a house builded of purpose for him, themselves being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all provisions, and to be used by him upon all other occasions.

The ambassador having beene some dayes in Mosco, and having in all that time bene very honorably used from the Emperor (for such was his will) though some of his chiefest counsellors (as is sayd) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in use: He was sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and sumptuously arayed, & in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward five or sixe thousand shot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold, and rich furres, their caps embroidred with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which passage there stood along the walles, and sate upon benches and fourmes in row, seven or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whose office is there held great : and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor sate in his state, having three crownes standing by him, viz. of Moscovia, Cazan, and Astrakan, and also by him 4 yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding upon their shoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Gallogals axe of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the steale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there sate about the chamber upon benches and other low seats, above an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassador being thus brought to the Emperor to kisse his hand, after some complements and inquirie [I. 460.] of her Majesties health, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place provided for that purpose, nigh ten pases distant from him, from whence he would have had him to have sent him her Majesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperor : in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would have taken his letters : to whom the ambassador sayd, that her Majesty had directed no letters to him ; and so went on, and delivered them himselfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after, having thus delivered her Majesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where having had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere unto him, and all his company at another boord by, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor used many favors to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing up) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which divers times raised many jarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to every thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly misliking these speeches, & being very unwilling (how dangerous soever it might proove to his owne person) to give way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Majesty: and finding also that to subject himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his Mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoever, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either shee had, or should have cause to be enemy unto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Mistresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answere misliked the Emperor yet so much more,

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as that he tolde the ambassadour, that were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a Mistresse who (he doubted not) would be revenged of any injury that should be done unto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reverence then such usage required, saluted the Emperor, and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar somewhat setled, but he delivered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the favor of the ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his Mistresse, and therewithall wished himselfe to have such a servant.

The ambassadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behavior of the ambassador (for he wanted not wit to judge) that he had found what was the Emperors case, sent his principall secretary unto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great love that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and have a resolution of all the matters in question: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolved to send a greater noble man home with him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then ever he yet at any time sent out of his countrey: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man unto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counseller that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassador had found himselfe grieved, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

[I. 461.] Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Savio Frollo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour often times sought to have it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

One bushell of fine meale for three dayes.
One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
Two live geese for one day.
Twenty hennes for the day.
Seven sheepe for a day.
One oxe for three dayes.
One side of porke for a day.
Seventie egges for a day.
Ten pound of butter.
Seventy peny white loaves of bread.
Twelve peny loaves of bread.
One veather or gallon of vineger.
Two veathers of salt cabiges.
One pecke of onions.
Ten pound of salt.
On altine, or sixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
Two altines of tallow candles.
One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
As much of Mallynovomead.
Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
One veather of sodden mead called Obarni.
Three veathers of sweet mead.
Ten veathers of white mead.
Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.

Foure veathers of sweet beere.
Fifteene veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
Three sollitincks or ounces of saffron.
One sollitincke of mase.
One sollitincke of nutmegs.
Two sollitincks of cloves.
Three sollitincks of sinamon.

Provender,	One bushell of oats. One load of hay. One load of straw.

Now he began so much to discover his purpose and affections towards her Majesty & her countrey, as he sent to the ambassador, intreating him that his ‖ preacher, and doctor Jacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in use in England, which the ambassadour caused to be done accordingly, and sent them unto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before divers of his councell, and many others of his nobility.

M. Cole.

Now he drew hotly againe in question to marry some kinsewoman of her Majesties, & that he would send againe into England, to have some one of them to wife, and if her Majestie would not upon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must understand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Majesty by his ambassador to have had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now so farre growen into the Emperors favor, & his affection so great to England, as those great counsellers that were the ambassadors great enemies before, were now desirous of some publike courtesies at his hands for their advantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselves twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abusing the ambassador, had (to shew his favor towards him) beaten Shalkan the chanceller very grievously, and had sent him word, that he would not leave one of his race alive.

Now whilest the ambassador was thus strongly possest of the Emperours favor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countreymen, and so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Private sutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambassador.

LEave for Richard Fransham an English man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

[I. 462.] He obteined like leave for Richard Elmes an English man one of the Emperours surgions.

He also got leave for Jane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physician to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promise of recompense for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery upon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of five hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Russia (into the Emperours receit) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure yeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Majesty.

He obteined that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperors Northren coasts and countries, from the Wardhouse to the river of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselves here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obteined of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Dutchmen and strangers being remooved, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde privilege ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be delivered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell sicke of a surfet, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondrously altered with the ambassador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to have growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the love he bare to her Majesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanovich and Andre Shalkan the chanceller, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall government upon themselves, and so presently caused the ambassadour to be shut up a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly used by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected some further mischiefe to have followed : for in this time there grew a great uprore in Mosco of nigh twenty thousand persons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counsellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a special man in the old Emperors favor : who was now notwithstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperors chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in government, five hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained ever since, and never as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe aswell as he could, for his defence : yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to have his dispatch, and to take his leave of the Emperor : whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chanceller and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither : and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which passage there were such outrages offered him, as had he not used more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chanceller had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Majesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it conteined nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpretor, being yet unwilling [I. 463.] (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperor and other should know how dishonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble brave gentleman, one Boris Pheodorovich Godenoe, brother to the Emperor that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes use the ambassadour most honorably, and would very willingly have done him much more kindenesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithstanding he sent often unto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable favours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Majesty, so there might be love and brotherhood twixt him and the ambassadour. Saving from this man, there was now no more favour nor friendship left for the ambassadour in Moscovia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long journey, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden revenge to be done upon him, for so he understood it was threatned before his comming from the Mosco, & therefore with resolution provided by all the meanes

The great friendship of L. Boris Pheodorovich.

he might, by himselfe and his servants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leave him, although he commanded them in her Majesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceived was thought to make his passage the safer. So afterward being driven to disgest many injuries by the way, at length he recovered S. Nicholas, where remembring his unfortunate losse of the old Emperor, and his ill usage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgracefull present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Majestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so providing as he might to prevent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the uncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be delivered him or left at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worsse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recovered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receive the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelft day of August, and arrived at Gravesend the twelft of September following, and attended her Majestie at the court at Otelands, where, after having kist her Majesties hands, and delivered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Loshe, the Red deere of the countrey, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Majesties presence drew a sled and a man upon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeast from Russia, and were that yeere come over the sea in the winter season upon the yce, in their sleds, drawen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour bought of them seventeene, whereof he brought nine alive into Kent.

The maner of the preferring of sutes in Russia, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

JOhn Basiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William, sonne of Thomas, with his company sue unto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Majesties treasurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of us for thy use 12. poods of loafe sugar, prised at 8. robles the pood, which sugar was sent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of us for thy Majestie 200. reames of paper, prised at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

‖ *The Emperours house of recreation.*

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of us for thy Majesty copper plates, for the summe of 1032. robles and one fourth part unpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Majesties diakes called Ivan Blasghoy, and Ivan Sobakin tooke of us for thy use, sundry commodities, and have not payd 630. robles, the rest of the money due for the said goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Majesties treasurer Peter Gholoven tooke of us for thy Majestie, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles. [I. 464.]

In the 88. yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Istomay Yevskoy tooke of us lead for thy Majestie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Majesties diak Boris Gregoriwich had for thy use 15. broad cloths of diverse sorts, prised at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are unpayd.

Also in the said 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from us 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Majesties appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from us for thy Majesty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Majesties order or no, because that thy authorized people do yeerely take away from us, neither do they give us right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd us out of thy Majesties treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from us by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd us which is owing for our goods, as also that which hath beene taken from us: extend thy favor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, conteining a briefe discourse of that which passed in the Northeast discovery for the space of three and thirtie yeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so have I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I have briefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discover by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priviledge from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian Cabota, then governor for discoveries with sir Andrew Judde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthony Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Majesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, having three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonadventure, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonadventure, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steven Burrough Maister, having discovered Wardhouse upon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. *M. William Burrough was then yong, and with his brother in this first voyage.*

Newnox is from the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35 *miles.*

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide baye fell upon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a River immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made caves and stoves. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent unto by English Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonadventure (although robbed homewardes by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discovery of the countreys even to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a privilege written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes

Anno 1554.

seale, the other two shippes looked for and unknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1555. An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discoverie upon a new supply, sent thither againe with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonadventure, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Majesties by their letters to the said Moscovite, recommended sundry their subjects then passing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arrivall at the Bay, and passing up Dwina to Vologda, went first up to Mosco, where, upon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and [I. 465.] shortly permitted to the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes have bene in England, sutable with caps, jewels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moscovites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

The King and Queenes letters.

Then entring into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number above an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reverence, they all stood up, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene massie silver and gilt plate, some like and as bigge as kilderkins, and washbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe standing upon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitane, with divers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate over against him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middest of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the service, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is above specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set over all in massie fine golde, delivered every time from him by name to them, by their severall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread and sundry drinkes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receive each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached over the table, & pleasantly delivered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foot and two inches of assize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and dishes of meat dressed, to our lodging.

M. Killingworths beard of a marveilous length.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent unto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

Anno 1556. The company sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the river of

Anno 1556.

Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Joseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chanceller in the Edward. But so it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Masters and Mariners, never were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, unstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also divers Russes merchants, and servants of the ambassadour. A third shippe the Edward aforesayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, upon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chanceller, with divers other, drowned. The sayd Russe ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, & some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably enterteined and received at London.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discovery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the river of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw snowe out of their said pinnesse, with shovels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. Anno 1557. The company with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe ambassadour, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discovery, Master Anthony Jenkinson, who afterward anno 1558, with great favour of the prince of Moscovia, and his letters passed the river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke [I. 466.] Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of uncivil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Urgeme, travelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Jenkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscovie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, & burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narve in Livonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Russia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & rivers, were sent unto by divers servants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and delivered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Revel, of old time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narve was hitherto concealed from us by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Boghar voyage.

1560.

The first trade to the Narve. 1560.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Jenkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the river of Volga to Astracan, and over the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Jenkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not prevented by roving theeves) had altogether salved and recovered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By unitie small things grow great, & by contention great things become small. This may be understood best by the company. The frowardnesse of some few, and evill doing of some unjust factors, was cause of much of the evill successe.

Alcock slaine in Persia. Bannister died in Media. Edwards died at Astracan.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Jerome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoveries, freedomes, and privileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and adventures this way (as divers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henry Lane.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of || Pheodor Ivanowich, Emperour of Russia &c. the tenth of June, in the yeere 1584. seene and observed by Master Jerom Horsey gentleman, and servant to her Majesty, a man of great travell, and long experience in those parts: wherwith is also joyned the course of his journey over land from Mosco to Emden.

|| Or Theodor.

The death of Ivan Vasiliwich 1584. Apr. 18.

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

WHen the old Emperour Ivan Vasiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the citie of Mosco, having raigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult and uprore among some of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Knez Ivan Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Ivan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich & Bodan Jacovlewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperors Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, & was brother to the Empresse, who was a man very wel liked of al estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure & wisedome: all these were appointed to dispose, & settle his sonne Pheodor Ivanowich, having one sworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoever. In the morning ye dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich of all Russia &c.) Throughout all the citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and policie was in this case used was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kasan, Novogorod &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent up. As upon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoever: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation [I. 467.] in the government: but especially the terme, and time was agreed upon for the solemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time ye Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Ivanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was given unto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, having allowance of apparell, jewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning after their use being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being upon the 10. day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Master Jerom Horsey was

The old Empresse, her father, and her yong sonne sent to Ouglets.

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments upon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaveshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and service were used, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also used the like prayers, and service: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of majestie placed, wherein his Auncestors used to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and unvaluable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degres, his imperiall Crowne was set upon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Justice, to injoy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had given him, and used these words following.

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liveth, and giveth life to man: that our only God which enspireth every one of us his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord

Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish us to keep the right Scepter, and suffer us to raigne of our selves to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse upon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Majestie, having upon him an upper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne up by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne upon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an unicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581, and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Jewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Ivanowich Godonova, the Emperors uncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors uncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Ivan Vasiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God save our Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich of al Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a covering of imbrodered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote above ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spred under foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, velvet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, every man desirous to have a piece, to reserve it for a monument: [I. 468.] silver and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with al sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonovaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Ivan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Majesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed upon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserve our noble Empresse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him upon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of silver, called Kindry, with scepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted every man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was served by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and silver round, from the ground up to the vauts one upon the other: among which plate were many barrels of silver and golde: this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and used: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counseller to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Governor or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor given him many revenues, and rich lands, as there was given him, and his for ever to inherite a province called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely revenue out of that province, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely revenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in velvet, coloured silke & stammels, discharged their shot also twise over in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaves of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shal suffice, to understand that the like magnificence was never seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order every one in his place, and degree brought rich presents unto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and joy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Jerom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as servant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Majestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gave him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subject) called John de Wale, was in like sort called for. *John de Wale.* Some of the nobilitie would have preferred this subject of the Spaniard before Master Horsey servant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would have his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Soveraigne the Queenes Majesty of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subject, or any other whatsoever. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiving the controversie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Ivanowich Galavyn, and Vasili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who delivered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech : whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English Merchants trading thither, a present wishing him joy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperors hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and avouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as [I. 469.] ever his father had ben : and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresayd subject of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull and serviceable unto him, then the Queene of Englands subjects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines subjects should receive favour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empresse very devoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and upon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselves to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted upon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of devotion tooke this journey on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000, her chiefe counseller or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her uncle of great authoritie called Demetri Ivanowich Godonova. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of souldiers and gunners, who were received into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski prince of Siberia taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Judges, Justices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooved, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, under severe punishment to surcease their old bribing & extortion which they had used in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true justice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before layd upon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholy remitted, and no punishments commanded to be used, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deserving death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were under displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration universally in the government folowed, and yet all was done quietly, civilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subject: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accomplished by the wisedom especially of Irenia the Empresse.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes arrival at Mosco.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers upon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince having brought with him his wives also, received of the Russe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offring their service to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offred service. And assoone as the report of this new created Emperor was spred over other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors to wish him joy and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the

Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemie of his hath prevailed in his attempts.

The new Emperor Pheodore Ivanowich his letters and requests to the Queene.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which service he thought no man fitter then M. Jerome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subjects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens majestie and her subjects, with other private affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

M. Horseis voiage from Mosco to England overland. [I. 470.]

Master Horsey having received the letters and requests of the Emperour, provided for his journey over land, and departed from Mosco the fift day of September, thence unto Otver, to Torshook, to great Novogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Livonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, and brought foorthwith before a Cardinall called Ragevil, but yet suffred to passe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arrived at her majesties roiall court, and having delivered the Emperors letters with good favour, and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her majestie to the Emperor, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperors letters, and withall requesting the favour and friendship, which his father had yeelded to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselves of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arrived in Mosco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And 1586.

for ye merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially favoured by ye noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And having obtained priviledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens majestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her majestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those privileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his servants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long journey; at every towne that he came unto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land five hundred miles, he received the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and provision were given him upon the river Dwina at every towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was received of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isvenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their use, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull provision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & so he was brought to his lodging at the English house upon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the favour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further provision upon the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things folowing.

16. live oxen.
70. sheepe.
600. hens.
25. flitches of Bacon.
80. bushels of meale.
600. loaves of bread.
2000. egs.
10. geese.
2. cranes.
2. swans.
65. gallons of mead.
40. gallons of Aquavitæ.
60. gallons of beere.
3. yong beares.
4. hawkes.
Store of onions and garlike.
10. fresh salmons.
A wild bore.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were received in order by John Frese servant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman : which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables. This Gentleman hath observed many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more convenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Ivanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of privilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by M. Jerome Horsey. 1586.

THrough the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in ye Trinitie, one only God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loveth and giveth life to man, That

[I. 471.] our onely God, which inspireth every one of us his onely children with his word, to discerne God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish us to keep the right Scepter, and suffer us of our selves to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the ofspring of John, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscovia and Novogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Novogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraslave, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the North-side, and lord of many other countries.

I have gratified the merchants of England, to wit, sir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith esquire, Jerome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I have licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and unto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscovia.

And the english merchants sir Rowland Haiward & his societie desired us, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscovia, and into our heritage of great Novogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they allege that they had great losse and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, have gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscovia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities: also I have commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoever: That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing over bridges, nor for ferying over at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soever.

Only they shal not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subjects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe servants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy up commodities, but into what citie they themselves shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Novogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and every one of our officers shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage over any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoever name they have.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and wheresoever they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I have gratified them and given them free leave to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or custome whatsoever.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile : That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholy, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and velvet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale : also they shall sel wines by the pipe : and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselves, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shal they themselves convey or cary through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne : and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or [I. 472.] Vologda or Yeraslave, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and every of our officers shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter : and throughout all our dominions and cities they shal hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoever the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shall sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and shall deliver it into our Treasurie, and with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and every of our officers shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also whensoever the English merchants shall have sold their own goods & bought themselves commodities, & wil depart out of Mosco, then they shal manifest themselves to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkalove, in the office where the Ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, have had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our countrey: then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Justice, and to be given to the English people, which at that time shall bee here resident in our countrey: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme: then wil we cause these goods to be laid up in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be delivered to the sayd English people.

Also we have gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Urie here in the Mosco right over against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwel in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the haven of the sea, & they shal dwel in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we have commanded, that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatsoever for those houses, neither shal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townsmen of those places, & in every one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall have men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or give order, whereby they be not deceived by them.

So likewise I have gratified them with their house at the sea haven, at the mouth of Podezemsky, & we have commanded that they shal not cary their goods from thence to the new castle S. Michael the archangel, but shall arrive, and doe as they have done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall unlade their commodities out of their ships, and shal lade them againe with Russe commodities, even there at that their house without interruption: onely they shal permit our officers of Colmogro & sworn men to write up those commodities, both the commodities of England, and those of Russeland, what the merchants shal declare themselves, & no otherwise, but they shal not overlooke their commodities, neither shal they unbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatsoever, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people so ever they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shal send those their people, not without our kingly majesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carying any commodities with them, and they shall have a letter of passe given unto them, out of the office where the Ambassadors have alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoever hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controversie, either concerning merchandize or injuries, then they are to be judged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadors office to do justice between both parties, & to seek out the trueth of matters in al things, and whatsoever cannot be found out by the Law, shalbe tried by othe and lots: whose lot soever is taken foorth, him to have right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soever they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controversie, either concerning merchandise, injuries or otherwise, that they have occasion to set upon any man by lawe, or that any seeke upon them, concerning what matter soever in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers shall give them Justice, and shall minister [I. 473.] all true justice betweene them, seeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot: whose lot soever is taken out, him to have right accordingly as before, and the Judges or Justices shall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is given in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seven thousand fourescore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Civil Law, sent from her Majestie to Theodor the Emperor of Russia, Anno 1588.

IN the yeere 1588. was sent Ambassador from her highnesse into the countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Civil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Ivan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our Englishmen there. Who notwithstanding at his first arrivall at the Mosco, found some parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late navall victory which was there reported to have fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceived against the privileged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteously and honourably dismissed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted unto him by the said Emperor, were these :

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highnesse and the sayd Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Ivan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former privileges of the Companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter, viz. That the state of the privilege granted before in the names of some private and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowship of English merchants for the discoverie of new trades.

3 That upon every surmise and light quarel, the said privilege be not revoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That justice shall be administred to the said Companie and their Agent without delay, upon such as shal offer them any despite or injurie, or shal exact or impose upon them any paiment, taxation or imposition whatsoever, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the said Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie,

either for the use of the said Emperor or of his officers. But in case they have need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said Companie be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman resiant in that countrey, to be any factor, servant, or dealer in the said Companies affaires, but such as the Agent shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entered in all such places of the land where the sayd Companie have residences to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall so be inregistred be no longer continued in record, nor themselves reputed as factors or dealers for the said Companie, then the Agent shall thinke good. But in case the said Agent in his discretion shall thinke meet to strike out of the Register any name of such as have bene imploied in the Companies service, the said person to be held as private, & whose acte in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said Companie.

9 That if any English man within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set upon the * Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be convicted by plaine and evident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent over to the Queene of England.

** It is rosting to death.*

10 That the said privilege with the additions, shall be published in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the said Companie have traffike.

11 That the said Companie shall be permitted to use a sole trade through the Emperours countries, by the river Volga into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said Companie

[I. 474.] the summe of 23553. markes of debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiment whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Further also 2140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt.

The said Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I understand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographicall description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.

2 Of the soile and climate.

3 Of the native commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.

2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.

3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that state.

4 Of the maner of governing their provinces or shires.

5 Of the Emperours privie counsell.

6 Of the Emperors customs & their revenues, with the practises for the increase of them.

7 Of the Russe communaltie and their condition.

8 Of their publike justice and maner of proceeding therein.

9 Of the Emperors forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.

10 Of their maner of mustering, armour, and provision for victuall.

11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.

12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.

13 Of their borderers with whom they have most to doe in warre and peace.

14 Of their church offices and degrees.

15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church service.

16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.

17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.

18 Of the maner of solemnizing their mariages.

19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or private behaviour of the Russe containing these chapters.

1 Of the Emperors houshold officers, and order of his house.

2 Of the private behaviour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

THe countrey of Russia was somtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into divers smal, and yet absolute governments, not depending, nor being subject the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or devide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Varivus devided among them the North parts of the country. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr. etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two rivers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Russia.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was devided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the side of Liefland: as the provinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Ustiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Novogrodia, &c whereof Novogrod velica was the Metropolite or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some have thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses & Josephus cal Asarmathes sonne to Joktan, & nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. *Gen. 10. Joseph. l. 1. ca. 14.* But this seemeth to be nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Joktans posteritie is described by Moses to have bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the river Euphrates: [I. 475.] which maketh it very unlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in ye North & northwest countries. *The borders of Russia.* It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean. On the Southside by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eastward they have the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrey on the East side of Volga towards the Caspian sea. On the West and Southwest border lieth Lituania, Livonia and Polonia.

The Shires of Russia. The whole Countrey being nowe reduced under the government of one, conteineth these chiefe Provinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, because their house came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosco, Nisnovogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Novogrod velica (or Novogrod of the low Countrey) Rostove, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Ustuga, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall shires perteyning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countreys or provinces which the Russe Emperours have gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these he hath under him the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since. As for all his possession in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narve and Dorp in Livonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Provinces are reduced all into foure Jurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourthparts.

The Provinces or Countries got by conquest.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about 4260. verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola unto the River of Tromschua, that runneth a hundred verst, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that have divers Townes there, aswell as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: every one of them clayming the whole of those North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narve side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his garrisons) is 4400. verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000. pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

Pechinga.

whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be over mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Of the Soile and Climate.

THe soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie moulde, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeast towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desert woods by reason of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewise along the River Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Astracan: where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitfull) it is all unhabited, saving that upon the river Volgha on the Westside, the Emperour hath some fewe Castels with garisons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwel there, (living a wild and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almost 1700. verst from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Mosco, and so towards the South part that bordereth upon the Crimme, (which conteineth the like space of 1700. verst or there abouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, yeelding pasture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeast from Mosco) to Novogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the Northwest. So betwixt Mosco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southwest towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would marveile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Russia. The whole

Countrey in the Winter lieth under snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are all frosen up a yard or more thicke, how swift or broade so ever they bee. And this continueth commonly five moneths, viz. from the beginning of November till towardes the ende of March, what time [I. 476.] the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the aire you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast up into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stoaves bee) your fingers will friese fast unto it, and drawe off the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and even stifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Divers not onely that travell abroad, but in the very markets, and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes; many travellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Divers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes issue by troupes out of the woods driven by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and ravening all they can finde: so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their lives. And yet in the Sommer time you shal see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and medowes so greene and well growen, (and that upon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyse of birdes (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more

The colde of Russia.

variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread over the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolveth it into water) doeth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mould, and then shineth so hotely upon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to over much heat, specially in the moneths of June, July and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watred with springs, rivers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and more every way from any Sea, yet it is served with faire Rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60. 80. 100. and 200. miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Rivers of Russia.

The chiefe Rivers are these, First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verst above Yaruslave, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that divideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan

Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azov. By this River (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) over a little Isthmus or narrowe slip of land, a few versts overthwart. Which was proved not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the River of Moscua, and so into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat over into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solovetsko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas. This River, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the River Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seventh Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscua, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosco, and giveth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long river that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these [I. 477.] are rivers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more, besides divers others. The Pole at Mosco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The native commodities of the Countrey.

The fruits and graine of Russia.

FOr kindes of fruites, they have Apples, peares, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muske millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouse) rasps, strawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in every wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an overplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime for two alteens or ten pence starling the Chetfird, which maketh almost three English bushels.

Their rie is sowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in desert places, are served from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this last yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. shillings five pence starling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practise of their Nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe.

The chiefe commodities of the countrey.

1 Furres.

The native commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serve both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & substantiall. First, furres of all sorts. Wherein the providence of God is to be noted, that provideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconvenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furres are these, Blacke fox, Sables, Lusernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniver, Bever, Wulverins, the skin of a great water Rat that smelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray squirrel, red squirrel, red & white fox.

These Rats are in Canada.

Besides the great quantitie spent within ye Countrey (the people being clad al in furres the whole winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendom, to the value of foure or five hundred thousand rubbles, as I have heard of the merchants. The best Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The best Wulverin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Minever, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Novogrod and Perm. The Beaver of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furres and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

Momgosorskoy perhaps Molgomzaia.

2. Waxe.

The second commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene shipped into forreigne countreys (as I have heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50000. pood yeerely, every pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

3. Hony.

The third is their Honie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other uses, some good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Severskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. Tallow.

Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater men use much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their stoaves, and cut into long shivers, which they call

Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslave, Ouglits, Novogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide. An other principall commoditie is their Losh and Cow hide. Their Losh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great store of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostove, Wichida, Novogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan.

6. Trane oyle. [I. 478.] *The maner of hunting the Seale fish.* An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawen out of the Seal fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leave their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates over the sea yce, they use them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which divide themselves into divers companies, five or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselves together upon the yce, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they invade them every man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water upon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they have killed what they can, they fall to sharing every boate his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaveth to the skin. This they take with them, leaving the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The uppermost and purest is sold, and used to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary. Likewise of Ickary or Cavery, a great quantitie is made upon the river of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Severiga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hempe and Flaxe. The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I have heard merchants say) at the port of Narve a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely. Now, not past five. The reason of this abating and decrease of this & other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting up of the port of ye Narve towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden.

Likewise the stopping of the passage overland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse provident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the province of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. *Salt.* The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararovse in very great quantitie, where they have great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it up into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3.d. Russe upon every hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solovetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, save at Solovetsky, which lieth neere to the sea. *Nonocks.*

10. *Tarre.* Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they have divers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is used both among themselves, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, knives, and sword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for divers other uses. Some use the powder of it against poison, as the Unicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece. 11. *Ribazuba.*

12. *Slude.* In the province of Corelia, and about the river Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare

it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so use it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giveth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslave & Ustiug, and some smal store of brimstone upon the river Volgha, but want skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, & Ustiug Thelesna. Other mine they have none growing within ye realme.

13. *Saltpeter and brimstone.*

[I. 479.]

14. *Iron.*

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild horse, the beare, the wolvering, or wood dog, the Lyserne, the Beaver, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset or Minever. They have a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like unto feathers with a far broader taile then have any other squirrels, which they move and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like unto a wing. They skise a large space, & seeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in Sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrel into gray, whereof commeth the Calaber.

The strange beastes, fish, foule, &c., that breed in Russia.

They have fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goats very great store. Their horses are but smal, but very swift & hard, they travell them unshod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but smal & beare course & harsh wool. Of foule they have divers of the principal kinds: First, great store of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawk, the tassel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke y^t breedeth in the country, is counted ye gerfaulcon. Of other foules their principal kinds are the swan tame & wilde, (whereof they have great store) the storke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger & liveth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they have very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bignesse, more ugly to behold then ye owles of this country, with a broad face, & eares much like unto a man.

For fresh water fish, besides the common sorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they have divers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgion, the Severiga and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgion, but not so thicke nor long. These 4. kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plenty, and served thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caveary as was said before.

They have besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, or white salmon, which they accompt more delicate then they do the red salmon, whereof also they have exceeding great plentie in the Rivers Northward, as in Duyna, the river of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or lake neere a towne called Perislave, not far from the Mosco, they have a smal fish which they cal the fresh herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Novogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the Emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Sommer, but sende it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe cities of Russia are Mosco, Novogrod, Rostove, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko, Jaruslave, Perislave, Nisnovogrod, Vologda, Ustiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though *Mosco.*

the first founder be unknowen to the Russe. It seemeth to have taken the name from the river that runneth on the one side of the towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other prophane stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, & Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the river whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part & list of Europe, bordering upon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Ivan or John, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into King: though that honor continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was invested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, & better knowen to the world: insomuch that not only the province, but the whole Countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscovia the Metropolite city. The forme of this City is in maner round with 3. strong wals, circuling the one within the other, & streets lying betwene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the river Moscua, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperors castle. The number of houses (as I have heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a litle before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperor for his garison

[I. 480.] of souldiers, to whom he gave priviledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a maner as large, is the *Novograd.* citie Novograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians servants, that tooke armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Novograd & the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wives and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Novograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on & lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Novogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ye rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Astracan, as lying upon the borders. But for situation Jaruslave far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth upon the famous river of Volgha, & looketh over it from a high banke very faire & stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Jaraslave in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimer sirnamed Jaruslave, that maried the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sveno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

Jaruslave.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. *pag.* 187.

The other townes have nothing yᵗ is greatly memorable, save many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of paving are planked with fir trees, plained & layd even close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one upon another. They are fastened together with dents or notches at every corner, & so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Every house hath a paire of staires that lead up into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder & more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Wherof the providence of God hath given them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconvenience of their wodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt up.

The manner of Russe building.

[Of

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities used at ye Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth upon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch w^t the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into ye church, begin to sing: Many yeres may live noble Theodore Ivanowich, &c: Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the cleargy answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount up the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, & then placing himself by him upon another seat provided for y^t purpose, boweth downe his head towards ye ground, and saith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy servant David, & annoynt him for King over thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, & looke from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations, anoint him with the oile of [I. 481.] gladnes, protect by thy power, put upon his head a crowne of gold & precious stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Justice, strengthen his arme, make subject unto him all the barbarous nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an evill faith, and all errour, and shewe him the salvation of thy holy and universal Church, that he may judge thy people with Justice, & protect the children of the poore, and finally atteine everlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, and then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be unto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selves together with us, and pray to him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Justice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for ever and ever. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: Oh most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answere singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken up by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is invested at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

THeodore Ivanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreis, &c.

This stile conteineth in it all the Emperours Provinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they have a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that have any matter to deliver to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cavill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperor, and to repeate the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much vz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Novogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to have their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called still upon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperors stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gave honour to the rest &c. But all would not serve till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen : because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For every souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors : so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is ever a gentleman, and a souldier withall, & professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade or great Constable, and there present themselves : who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enjoyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are ever certain, annexed to this office without improving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperor have sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and have nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be devided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

[I. 482.] *Souldiers by birth and inheritance.*

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners,

Degrees of horsemen.

1. *Prætoriani or such as attend the Emperors person* 15000.

that have some an hundred, some fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none under 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These have sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none under fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some have but 25, some 20, none under 12. Wherof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they have any wars, & are imploied in service. When they receive their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to every one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not unlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and have their names registred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they have yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselves, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field every yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar (except they be appointed for some other service) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peradventure somewhat dangerous for some state, to have so great forces under the command of Noblemen to assemble every yere to one certain place. But the matter is so used, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, & changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they have their livings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small revenue, and receive this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be payd forth againe to the souldiers that are under them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the wars, save when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are ever in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he have neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he enterteineth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giveth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field every man a proportionable number of his servants (called Kolophey, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the just number that he intendeth to make. Which the service being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their servile occupations againe.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to have them in the field, and receive for their salarie or stipend every man seven rubbles a yeare, besides twelve measures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they have at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are under the Polonians) about 4000, wherof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Doutches & Scots about 150:

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they use onely upon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe [I. 483.] the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to use their service upon the contrary border.

The chief captains or leaders.

1. The Voiavod or General.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyavoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general under the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiavod or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Ivanowich Methisloskey, Knez Ivan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next unto the Voiavod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, & most used in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great service (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next under the Voiavod and his Lieutenant general are foure other that have the marshalling of the whole army devided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

2. Lieutenant general.

3. Marshals of the field foure.

Every man hath his quarter, or fourth part under him. Whereof the first is called the Prava Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Levoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad upon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshovoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Every one of these foure Marshals have two other under them (eight in all) that twise every weeke at the least must muster and traine their several wings or bands, and hold and give

Foure marshals: deputies eight.

justice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receive & deliver the pay to the souldiers. Under these eight are divers other Captaines, as the Gulavoy, Captaines of thousands five hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Five Coronels under Captains.

Besides the Voiavoda or general of the armie (spoken of before) they have two other that beare the name of Voiavoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiavoda) who hath divers under officers, necessary for that service. The other is called the Voiavoda gulavoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range & spie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. Al these Captains, & men of charge must once every day resort to the Bulsha voiavoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, & to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Sixe Masters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Of their mustering, and levying of forces, maner of armour, and provision of victuall for the warres.

WHen wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly every yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of every Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a border where the service is to be done, at such a place, & by such a day, and there present themselves to such, & such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that have commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high

Their order of mustering.

Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & punished very severely. As for the General & other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission & charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present service. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, under their several Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) under their foure great Leaders, which also have the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case under his right arme, & his quiver & sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Javelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The under captains wil have commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie wil have their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed & tasselled with gold, & silk fringe, bestudded with pearle & precious stones, themselves in very faire armor, which [I. 484.] they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet covered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans furniture.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, & his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made caliever-wise, but with a plaine & straite stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & unartificially made, very heavie yet shooteth but a very small bullet. As for their provision of victual, the Emperor alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither provideth any for them except peradventure some corne for their money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serve his turne for foure moneths, & if neede require to give order for more to be brought unto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they have, that for lodging and diet every Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains & other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better provision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise, as he is hard to beare out toyle and travell, or were otherwise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Provision of victual.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

THe Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, save that the foure Polskey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is devided) keepe themselves severall under their ensignes, & so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of S. George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, have every man a small drum of brasse

Horsemens drummes.

at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giveth the charge, or onset.

The horsmans maner of charging.

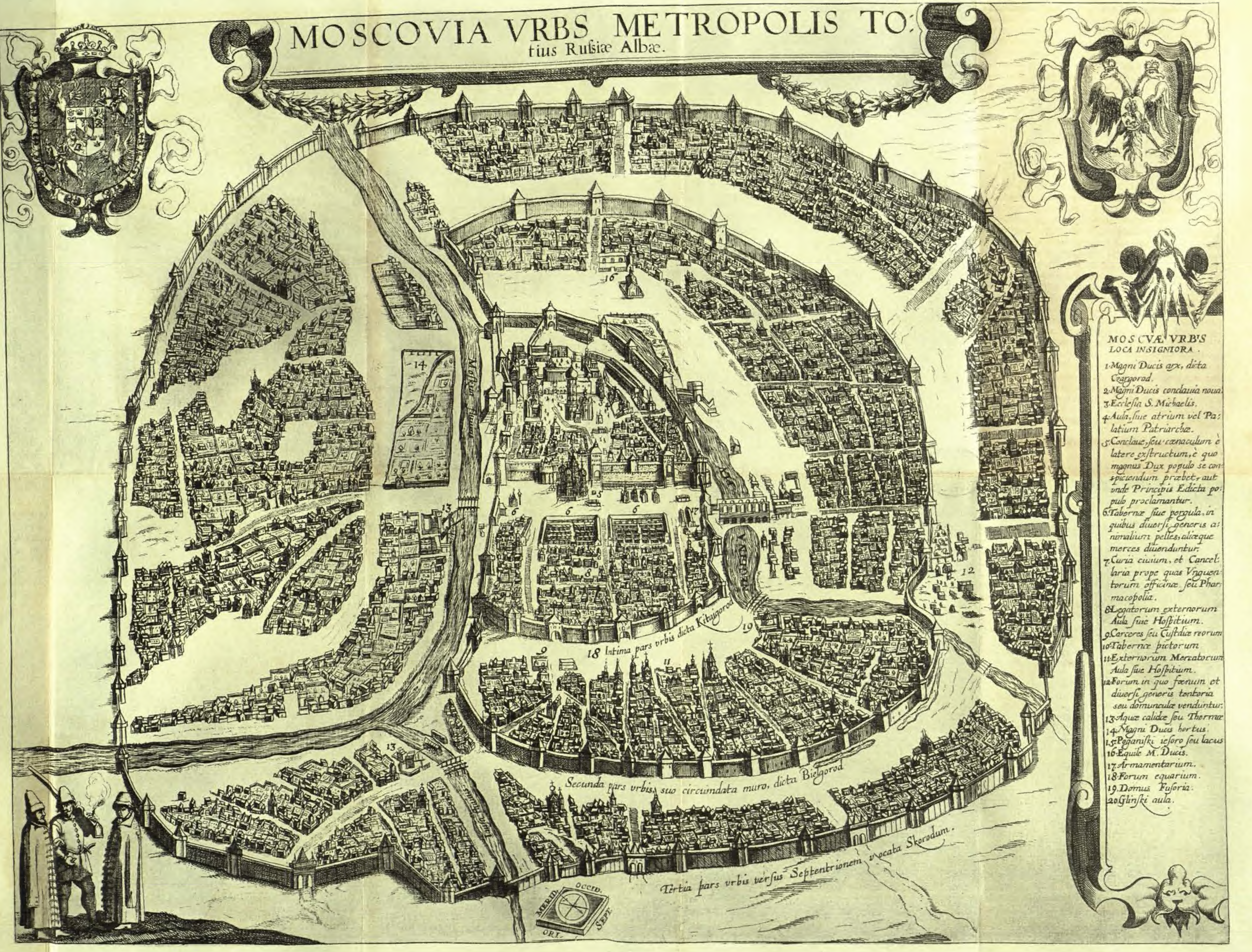
They have drummes besides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them upon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, every drumme having eight strikers, or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they give any charge, or make any invasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they use in a braverie to shake, and brandish over their heads, before they come to strokes.

The footmans charge.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemie, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great invasion be made upon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within ye running or moving Castle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiavoda gulavoy (or the walking General) whom I spake of before. This walking or mooving Castle is so framed, that it may be set up in length (as occasion doeth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seven miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and have roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to use their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their piece, or to push foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie wheresoever it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layde on cartes sparred together, and drawen by horse that are not

The walking Castle.

MOSCOVIA VRBS METROPOLIS TOTIUS RUSSIAE ALBAE.


18 Intima pars vrbis dicta Kitaigorod
Secunda pars vrbis, suo circumdata muro, dicta Bielgorod
Tertia pars vrbis versus Septentrionem vocata Skorodum.
MERID.
OCCID.
ORI.
SEPT.
1
2
5
6
7
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11
12
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17
19

MOSCVÆ VRBIS
LOCA INSIGNIORA.

1. Magni Ducis arx, dicta Czargorod.
2. Magni Ducis conclauia noua.
3. Ecclesia S. Michaelis.
4. Aula, siue atrium vel Palatium Patriarchæ.
5. Conclaue, seu cœnaculum è latere exstructum, è quo magnus Dux populo se conspiciendum præbet, aut vnde Principis Edicta populo proclamantur.
6. Tabernæ siue pergula, in quibus diuersi generis animalium pelles, aliæque merces diuenduntur.
7. Curia ciuium, et Cancellaria prope quas Vnguentorum officinæ, seu Pharmacopolia.
8. Legatorum externorum Aula siue Hospitium.
9. Carceres seu Custodiæ reorum
10. Tabernæ pictorum
11. Externorum Mercatorum Aula siue Hospitium.
12. Forum in quo fœnum et diuersi generis tentoria seu domunculæ venduntur.
13. Aquæ calidæ seu Thermæ
14. Magni Ducis hortus.
15. Poganiski iesoro seu lacus
16. Equile M. Ducis.
17. Armamentarium.
18. Forum equarium.
19. Domus Fusoria.
20. Glinski aula.

seene, by reason that they are covered with their cariage as with a shelfe or penthouse. When it is brought to the place where it is to be used (which is devised and chosen out before by the walking Voiavod) it is planted so much as the present use requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the timber is so framed to claspe together one piece within another: as is easily understoode by those that know the maner of the Russe building.

In this Castle standeth their shot wel fenced for advantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, save his sword, and bow, and arrowes. [I. 485.] They have also within it divers field pieces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie provisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery house at Mosco, where are of all sortes of great Ordinance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practise of his warres, and namely at the siege of Vobsco, about eight yeres since: where he repulsed 1580. the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to have ever the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

Reward for valure.

If any behave himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of service, the Emperor sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeves, & set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive, for any service they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests, or purchases by force.

THe Russe Emperors of late yeres have very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, & Dukedome of Novogrod on ye West, and Northwest side: which was no smal enlargement of their dominion, & strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Ivan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperor, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach upon the countries of Lituania and Livonia, but the conquest only intended, & attempted by him, upon some part of those countries, was pursued & performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie & dukedom of Plesko, afterwards the citie & dukedome of Smolensco, & many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging unto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in 1580. the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieved rather by advantage of civil dissentions, & treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Ivan Vasiliwich, about 8 or 9 yeres past, upon composition with ye Polonian king Stephan Batore: wherunto he was forced by the advantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had given him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that side his countery, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsco, Chernigo, & Bealagorod in Lituania. In Livonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground. *Lituania.*

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natives to keepe their possessions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, under the governement of his Russe Captaines. But by their conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming upon them the second time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gave or sold to the Tartars that served him in those wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might overmatch the rest, with certaine garisons of strength besides. Wherein notwithstanding this oversight was committed, for that (taking away with him the upland, or countrey people that should have tilled the ground, & might easily have bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driven afterwards many yeres together, to vitaile the countrey (specially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast, and untilled.

Narve. The like fell out at the port of Narve in Liefland, where his sonne Ivan Vasiliwich devised to build a towne, and a castle on the other side the river, (called Ivangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in subjection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was furnished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But having left the natives all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betraied, and surrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

On the Southeast side, they have got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Ivan Vasiliwich, the one about thirtie five, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath layed unto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the river of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a divers people and language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Siberia and Ob.

[I. 486.]

Conquest of a 1000 miles.

Permia and Pechora.

Means of holding chiefe townes.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsel not of greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which have more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to governe in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Provinces. These he changeth sometime every yere, sometime every second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except upon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his service: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemie (as some have done) being so farre out of sight.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, & store of munition, and have garisons within them, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victual if any siege should come upon them, for the space of two or three yeres before hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now under him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got. vz.

rather by shewing, then by using of armes. First, he hath stored the countrie with as many Russes as there are natives, & hath there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them under. Secondly, his officers & Magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, vz. every yere twise or thrise: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innovation. Thirdly, he devideth them into many smal governments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so y[t] they have no strength being severed, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he provideth that the people of the countrie have neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to relieve themselves.

Siberia.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath divers castles & garisons to the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes & Polonians, & sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leave his own country by offers of great entertainment, and plesanter life with the Russe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperor at Mosco well enterteined.

The kings brother of Siberia.

1588.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of Russia, with whom they have most to doe in warre, and peace.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

THeir neighbors with whom they have greatest dealings & intercourse, both in peace & war, are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, wherunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches:

which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians & Swedens are better knowen to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from us (as being of Asia) and divided into many tribes, different in name, and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often invasions, commonly once every yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or resistance at al, for that the Russe Emperor (then Ivan Vasiliwich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, save certeine out roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & so pressing every man to prevent another, wedged themselves so fast within the gate, and streetes neere unto it, as that three rankes walked one upon the others head, the uppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire & the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The Chrim Tartar.

The firing of Mosco by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

[I. 487.]

The principall cause of this continual quarell betwixt the Russe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe perteineth to his right. Which seemeth to have bene true by the report of the Russes them selves, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Russe Emperour every yeere to the great Chrim or Can, the Russe Emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Ivan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with this raunsome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards also was denied to be paide by this Emperors father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

Hereupon they continue ye quarrel, the Russe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, ye Chrim Tartar invading him once or twise every yere, somtime about Whitsontide, but oftner in harvest. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short & sudden rodes into the countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, invading and retiring where they see advantage.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make divers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner (spoken of before) save that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and use to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some wil have a horsmans staffe like to a

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

bore speare, besides their other weapons. The common souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morseys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe over a river with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tailes of their horse: so sitting on the poles they drive their horse over. At handie strokes (when they joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any civil practise.

The subtiltie of the Tartar.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to devise stratagems upon the sudden for their better advantage. As in their warre against Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they invaded with 500000. men, and obtained against him a great victorie. Where, among other, having slaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings privy seale. Whereupon they devised presently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should convey themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leave the countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemie, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselves in all reprochful maner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recover that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the savage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose having written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians that were now flying away with their goods, wives, and children, upon the rumour of the kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit letters, staied at home. And so were made a pray, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they use all maner of hostilitie, and crueltie. This they doe upon a rule they have, vz. that justice is to bee practised [I. 488.] but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto (having once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemie into it if they can. But the Russe beeing well acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a roving with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfaite shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shoute, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe us, God help us. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are seene when they are slain to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turk commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to save his life, by offering himselfe bondslave.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captives, specially young boyes, and girles, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets made like bakers panniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leave him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captives and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they have certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appoynted of purpose to receive and keepe the captives and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Russe borderers (being used to their invasions lightly every yere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, save swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor drive away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Judge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: having felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azov and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperor of the Crims for the most part is chosen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to passe, that the Crim Tartar giveth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they have certaine idole puppets made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Janusses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they have among them for that and like uses. They have besides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at every stage when the army marcheth: and this every one must bend and bowe unto as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much given to witchcraft, and ominous conjectures upon every accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages they have no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he have a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Under the Emperour they have certaine Dukes, whome they call Morseis or Divoymorseis, that rule over a certaine number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any use of them to serve in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, every man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaile is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

The Tartar diet.

1588.

This last yeere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that nowe is (whose father was Emperour before)

[I. 489.] accompanied with 300. Tartars, and his two wives, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe maner, hee had sent unto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat horses, ready flayed in a sled. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marveile) though they serve all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great heards of kine, & flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the use of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some use they have of ryse, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They use sometime as they travel by the way, to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but have walking houses, which the latines call Veii, built upon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoever they goe, driving their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their carte houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moveth with him whithersoever hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building used in other countreyes, they say they are unwholesome and unpleasant.

They begin to moove their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And so driving on till they have grased all up to the farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung up againe, to serve for their cattell as they returne From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they have a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they have no use at all, and therefore prefer brasse and steele before other mettals, specially bullate, which they use for swordes, knives, and other necessaries. As for golde and silver they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which giveth them great advantage against all their neighbors, ever invading and never beeing invaded. Such as have taken upon them to invade their Countrey (as of oldetime Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the East and Southeast side) have done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any will invade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they have drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe up the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all speede hee could towardes the river Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and cariages.

Pachymerius. In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine under Cazan the Emperor of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to have taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other jewels sent unto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall, for what use they served, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they have ever, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the use and necessitie for which they serve.

For person and complexion they have broade and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired upon the upper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their childhood, seldome going afoot about anie businesse. Their speech is verie sudden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine up their children from their verie infancie, not suffering them to eate till they have shot neere the [I. 490.] marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turks took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is *Laonicus Calcocondylas.* Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greek Historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee
1 followeth divers verie probable conjectures. The first taken from the verie name it selfe, for that the worde Turk signifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars have ever beene noted, being called by the Greekes *σκύθαι νόμαδες* or the Scythian shepheards.
2 His second reason because the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Caria,

Phrygia and Cappadocia, spake the very same language
that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the river Tanais
or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well
knowen) are these Tartars called Crims. At this time
also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in
their common speech from the Tartar language. Thirdly 3
because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree so well
together, as well in religion, as in matter of traffique
never invading, or inurying one another: save that the
Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroched upon
some Townes upon the Euxin Sea, that before perteined
to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules sonne 4
to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the first of name of
the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts
of Asia, upon the next borderers, till hee came towardes
the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee overcame
the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the
name and territorie of the Turkish nation, till hee came
to Eubæa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This
is the opinion of Laonicus, who lived among the Turkes
in the time of Amurat the sixt Turkish Emperour, about
the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was 1400.
more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit
the trueth.

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest.

The Chircasse the civillest Tartar.

There are divers other Tartars that border upon Russia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwest, towardes Lituania, and are farre more civill than the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them have subjected themselves to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lieth Eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie savage, and cruell above all the rest. The Cheremessen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two

The Cheremissen Tartar of two sorts: the Lugavoy and the Nagornay.

sorts, the Lugavoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. These have much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, under pretence of giving a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Divoymorseis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which also they are bound to serve them in their wars, under certaine conditions. They are said to be just and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in al their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very unwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Mordwit Tartar ye most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worship for God, that living thing y^t he first meeteth in the morning, & to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoever els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and having flayed off the skinne hee carieth it on high upon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe saieth) that his friend may have a good horse to carie him to heaven: but it is likelier to declare his love towards his dead friend, in that he will have to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, syndon, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to revive the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme

The reviving of silkwormes.

sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them under their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrymson) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into Persia, and Bougharia downe the river of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there. Which he accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might prove indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly used.

Chrinisin a kind of silkworme.

Liberty to trade downe the Caspian sea.

[I. 491.]

The whole nation of the Tartars are utterly voide of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they have which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they commaund about the publike service. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, every man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No private man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6 To take or steale from any stranger whatsoever they can get, as beeing enemies to all men, save to such as will subject themselves to them. 7 Towards their owne hoorde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslave to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and other as have the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

No stranger without passport admitted.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

THe Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as having all broade and flat faces as the Tartars have, except the Chircasses. *The Permians.* The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe subject to the Russe. They live by hunting, and trading with their furres, as also doeth the Samoit, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. *The Samoits.* The Samoit hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they lived as ye Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoever it be, even the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselves will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselves, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred upon that very soyle, that never changed their seate from one place to another, as most nations have done. They are subject at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Samoits religion. I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. *Slata Baba or the golden Hag.* As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I have read in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giveth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and event of things, I found it to be a very fable. *A fable.* *The Sea.* Onely in the Province of Obdoria upon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great river Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the

North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceive, and practise their sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good or bad speede of their journeies, fishings, huntings, and such like.

Fishing or sea.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes: save that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They live in a manner a wilde and savage life, roving still from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in every companie, is their Papa or Priest.

The Samoits habit and behaviour.

The people of Meta Incognita such.

The Lappes.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feede onely [I. 492.] upon fish and foule. They are subject to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide before) but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their briefe and short speech. The Russe divideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Norvegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Norvegians they account for one people. The other that have no religion at all but live as bruite and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is utterly unlearned, having not so much as the use of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcerie they passe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I have heard it reported) and their giving of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots upon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, devised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continual practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, & But-fish, which they sel to the Russes, Danes, & Norvegians, and nowe of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Corelians for their fish, oyle, and furres, whereof also they have some store. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuyse (that is resiant there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices upon their stockfish, train oile, furres, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receive his custome, which

The mart at Cola.

is ever paide before any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shore, and there to leave them with the keele turned upwardes, till the next spring tide. Their travaile to and fro is upon sleddes drawen by the Olen Deere: which they use to turne a grasing all the Sommer time in an Island called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall they fetch them home againe for the use of their sledde.

Sleds drawen with Deere.

The description of the regions, people, and rivers, lying North and East from Moscovia: as the way from Moscovia to the river Petzora, and the Province Jugaria or Juhra, and from thence to the river Obi. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, even unto the Empire of the great Can of Cathay, taken out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein.

THe dominion of the Prince of Moscovia, reacheth farre toward the East and North, unto the places which we will now describe. As concerning which thing, I translated a book yt was presented unto me in the Moscovites tongue, and have here made a briefe rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the journey from Moscovia to Petzora, and so to Jugaria and Obi. From Moscovia to the citie of Vologda, are numbred five hundred versts, one verst conteyning almost the space of an Italian myle. From Vologda to Ustiug toward the right hand, descending with the course of the river of Vologda and Suchana with whom it joyneth, are counted five hundred verstes, where within two versts of the towne called Strelze, and hard by the citie of Ustiug, Suchana joyneth unto Iug

The dominion of the Duke of Moscovia.

Vologda.
Verst.
Ustiug.

which runneth from the South : from whose mouth unto the springs of the same, are numbred five hundred versts.

Suchana. Iug. So called of his swift and pleasant streame.

But Suchana and Iug, after they joyne together, lose their first names, and make but one river named Dwina, by the which the passage to the citie of Colmogro conteineth five hundred versts, from whence, in the space of sixe dayes journey, Dwina entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. And the greatest part of this journey consisteth by Navigation. For by lande from Vologda unto Colmogro, passing over the river Uvaga, are a thousand verstes. Not farre from Colmogro, the river Pienega running from the East on the right hand for the space of seven hundred versts, falleth into Dwina. From Dwina by the river Pienega, by the space of two hundred versts, they come to a place called Nicholai, from whence within halfe a verst ships have passage into the river Kulvio, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towarde the North, from whose springs is eight daies viage to the mouth of the same, where it entreth the Ocean.

Pienega. *Nicholai.* *Kulvio.* [I. 493.]

The regions by the North sea.

Sayling by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of Stanuwische, Calunczscho, and Apnu : And sayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Nosz, Stanuwische, Camenckh, and Tolstickh, they come at length into the river Mezen, and from thence in the space of sixe dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the river Pieza, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand & sommer East, they come to the river Piescoia : from whence sayling for the space of five versts, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes : whereof one on the right side, goeth to the river Rubicho, by the which they passe to the river Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, bring their ships from the lake directly into Czircho : from whence, except they be hindered by tempest, they come in the space of three weekes to the river and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great river Petzora, which in that

Pieza. *Piescoia.* *Rubicho.* *Czircho.* *Czilma.* *Petzora.*

place is two versts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of sixe dayes to the Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare unto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they received the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M.D.xviii. *Pustosero.*

From the mouth of Czilma unto the mouth of the river Ussa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Ussa hath his springs in the mountaine * Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolschoi. From the springs of Ussa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered more then a thousand versts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Ussa, unto the mouthes of the river Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that described this vyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the rivers of Stzuchogora and Potzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Beyond the rivers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are divers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eate themselves. They have great increase of foules, birdes, and divers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Marternes, Bevers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Mors: Also Vesse, white Beares, Wolves, Hares, Equiwodvani, great Whales, and a fish called Semfi, with divers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscovia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men. *Ussa.* **Cingulus mundi.* *Stzuchogora.* *Potzscheriema* *Camenipoias.* *Samoged.* *Foules and beasts.* *Wilde people.*

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, sayling up the river unto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the *Poiassa.*

Camen. ascending to the mount Camen, is three dayes journey: from the which descending they come to the river *Artawischa.* Artawischa, and from thence to the river Sibut, from *Sibut.* whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from *Lepin.* Lepin to the river Sossa. The people that inhabite the region by this river, are called Uvogolici. Leaving *Sossa.* Sossa on the right hande, they come to the great river *Obi.* Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, *Kitaisko.* with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe over in one day, the river being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore versts. The people also that dwell about the river, are called Uvogolici and *Uvogolici.* Ugritzschi. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by *Irtische.* the river of Oby, unto the river Irtische, into the which Sossa entereth, is three moneths journey. In *Jerom.* these places are two Castles named Jerom and Tumen, *Tumen.* kept by certaine Lords called Knesi Juhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscovia, as they say. Here are divers kinds of beasts and furres.

From the mouth of the river Irtische to the Castle *Grustina.* of Grustina, is two moneths journey: from whence to *Kitai.* the lake Kitai, by the river Oby (which I said to have his springs in this lake) is more then three moneths *Blacke men withoutspeech.* journey. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the use of common speech. They bring with them divers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustintzi and Serponowtzi. These have their name of the Castle *Serponow.* Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, *Lucomoria.* beyond the river Obi. They say that to the men of Lucomoria chaunceth a marveilous thing and incredible: *Men that yerely die and revive.* For they affirme, that they die yeerely at the xxvii. day of November, being the feast of S. George among the Moscovites: and that at the next spring about the xxiii. day of Aprill, they revive againe as doe Frogges.

A strange trade of marchandise. With these also, the people of Grustintzi and Serponowtzi exercise a new and strange kinde of trade: For when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approcheth, they leave their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leaving other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reviving perceive to be of unequall price, they require their owne againe: by reason whereof, much strife and fighting is betweene them.

[I. 494.] *Obi.* *Calami.* *Rivers.* From the river of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogosa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the rivers Sossa, Berezvua, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolschega, Poiassa, and the rockes joyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these rivers to Aurea Anus, are subject to the prince of Moscovia.

Aurea Anus. *Obdora.* Aurea Anus, called in the Moscovites tongue, Slata Baba, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the province of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the rivers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the lordes whereof are subject to the prince of Moscovia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like unto an old wife, having a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also, that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyse of Trumpets, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of those instruments.

Cossin. *Cassima.* *Tachnin a great river.* The river Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great river Cossin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same river, the river Cassima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great river Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of

People of monstrous shape.

A fish like a man.

Plinie writeth of the like fish.

prodigious shape, of whom, some are overgrowen with haire like wilde beastes, other have heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the river Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members utterly of humane shape, and yet without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

The end of the journall.

All that I have hitherto rehearsed, I have translated out of the saide journey which was delivered me in the Moscovites tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reviving, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane fourme: whereof, although I have made diligent inquisition, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had seene the same with their eyes: neverthelesse, to give further occasion to other to search the trueth of these things, I have thought good to make mention hereof.

Noss in the Moscovites tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the sea, by the same name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the river of Petzora are called Semnoi Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can of Cathay.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moscovians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language signifieth, A King.

Moria is the sea.

Lucomoria.

Tumen.

The places of Lucomoria, neare unto the sea, are salvage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this journey, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subject to the prince of Moscovia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whose prince is a Tartar, and named in their tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great domage to the prince of Moscovia: it is most like that these nations should rather be subject unto him.

Petzora. *Papin.*

Neare unto the river Petzora (whereof mention is made in this journey) is the citie and castle of Papin, or Papinowgorod, whose inhabitants are named Papini, and have a private language, differing from the Moscovites. Beyond this river are exceeding high mountaines, reaching even unto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner utterly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in divers places they have divers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines doe Jerfalcons breede, whereof I have spoken before. There growe also Cedar trees, among the which are found the best and blackest kinde of Sables: and onely these mountaines are seene in all the dominions of the prince of Moscovia, which perhaps are the same that the old writers call Rhipheos, or Hyperboreos, so named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Above, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reason they are covered with continuall snow and frost, they can not without great difficultie be travayled, and reach so farre into the North, that they make the unknowen land of Engronland. The Duke of Moscovia, Basilius the sonne of John, sent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Uschatoi, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet alive at my being in Moscovia, & declared unto me that he spent xvii. daies in ascending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top therof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean unto the mouthes of the rivers of Dwina and Petzora.

High mountaines, supposed to be Hyperborei, and Rhiphei.

[I. 495.]

But now having spoken thus much of the said journey, I will returne to the dominions of Moscovia, with other regions lying Eastward & South from the same, *Cathay.*

toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the province of Rezan, and the famous river of Tanais.

The fruitfull province of Rezan. Jaroslave.

The province of Rezan, situate betweene the rivers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not far from the bank of Occa: there was in it a Castle named Jaroslave, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie the river Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was sometime a great Dukedome, whose prince was subject to none other. This province of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the provinces of Moscovia: Insomuch that in this (as they say) every graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and sometimes more eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarsely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre exceede the fruits of Moscovia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

Hony.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. John Baptista Ramusius out of the Arabian Geographie of Abilfada Ismael, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from China Northward, along the coast of Tartarie and other unknowen lands, and then running Westwards upon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and so farther to the North-west.

DEscrivendo poi il predetto Abilfada Ismael i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice cosi.

La regione delle Cine. Confini delli ultimi Tartari.

Rivoltasi l'Oceano da levante verso la regione delle Cine, & và alla volta di Tramontana, et passata finalmente la detta regione, se ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Ultimi Tartari, & di quivi ad

Alcune Terre che sono Incognite: Et correndo sempre per Ponente, passa sopra li confini Settentrionali della Rossia, et và alla volta di Maestro.

Alcune Terre Incognite. Confini Settentrionali della Rossia.

The same in English.

THe aforesaid Abilfada Ismael describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following.

The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the Countrey of the Chinaes, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length having passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth unto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The uttermost Tartars, and from thence, unto certaine unknowen Countreys: and running still Westward it passeth upon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northwest. (which it doth indeede upon the coast of Lappia.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and environeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of Asia and Europe.

The Countrey of China.

The coasts of the uttermost Tartars.

Certaine unknowne Countreys.

The Northern coasts of Russia.

The Northwest.

The Emperors private or houshold Officers.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperors houshold are these which follow. The first is the office of the Boiaren Conesheva, or master of the Horse. Which conteineth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be overseer of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that service, as occasion doth require, as before was sayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for service in his warres (besides other for his ordinary uses) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about Mosco.

Master of the Horse.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his moneis, jewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. The

The L. Steward.

The L. Treasurer.

Controller. fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. *Chamberlaine* The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. *Tasters.* The sixt his Tasters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. *Harbengers.* The seventh his Harbengers, which are three Noble men, and divers other Gentlemen that do the office under them. These are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefest account.

Gentlemen of the chamber. Of Gentlemen, beside them that waite about his chamber, and person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. *The Gard.* His ordinary Garde is two thousand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other [I. 496.] necessarie furniture continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge sixe other of like account for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey, that take their turnes by forties every night. *Groomes.* There are groomes besides that watch in their course, and lie at every gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bedchamber by course 250. every night, and 250. more in the Court yarde, and about the Treasure house. His Court or house at the Mosco is made castle wise, walled about, with great store of faire ordinance planted upon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses: Which are appointed for such as are knowen to be sure, and trustie to the Emperor.

Of the private behaviour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

THE private behaviour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that which hath beene sayd concerning the publique state and usage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to have them long and broad. But for the most part they are very unwieldy and unactive withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breede grosse humors, which they use to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Constitution of their bodies.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or small cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceede, and have varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they use litle) and then their broathes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer sort use water, and a third drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meashed with it.

Their diet.

This diet would breede in them many diseases, but that they use bathstoves, or hote houses in steade of all Phisicke, commonly twise or thrise every weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathstoves, and their Poclads like ovens, that so warme the house that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter of heat within their houses, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and using of their bathstoves, and peaches.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the same time.

The Russe because that he is used to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstoves all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almost as a pigge at a spit, and presently to leape into the river starke naked, or to powre cold water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their skinnes, use to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that every man may perceive it. Which is made no matter, because it is common and liked well by their husbands: who make their wives and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

The Noble mans attire.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. First a Taffia, or little night cappe on his head, that covereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of silke and golde threede, and set with pearle and precious stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skinne, except he be in some displeasure with the

Emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe upon his shoulders, covering his face as [I. 497.] ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the Taffia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next over his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his knives and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ancles. Over that hee weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. Another over that of chamlet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeved and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, save that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles under them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His upper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will have his Caftan or undercoat sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke.

The Noble womans attire.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and over it a fruntlet called Obrosa, of white colour. Over that her cappe (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they have of late begunne to disdaine embrodering with pearle above their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants wives have taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare earerings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned under the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stone. Their upper garment is a loose gowne called Oposhen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great golde buttons, or at least silver and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging over it fastned under the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next under the Oposken or upper garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or halfe sleeve up to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and under that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wrests they weare very faire braselets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Russia, when she maketh the best shewe of her selfe.

The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Mousicks or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mousick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wastcoate of furre, or of sheepeskinne under it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poorer sort of them have their Honoratkey, or upper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blewe gowne, when she maketh the best shewe, and with some warme Shube of furre under it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of velvet, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part kerchiefs. Without earings of silver or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife, or maide.

The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the Right Honorable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England, &c. [I. 498.]

BY the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogorod, king of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Tver, Ughori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Novogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostove, Yeroslave, Bealozera, and Liefland,

The Emperors stile increased.

of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coasts, great Lorde over the Countrey of Iverski, Grisinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

The English Marchants complaints.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Majesties brother in law, master of his horses, governour of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer to the most vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions : I received your Lordships letters, wherein you write that you have received very joyfully my letters sent unto you, and advisedly read them, and imparted the same unto her Majestie : and that your Merchants finde themselves agreeved, that when they approch these parts, and are arrived here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall course of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they have done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours waxe, and other goods, at high rates farre above their value, to their great losse : and that they are by reason of this restraint long holden upon these coasts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there shalbe no cause of offence given to the Marchants of the Queenes Majestie Queene Elizabeth : they shall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or shall be any demands made of custome or debts. Such things as have beene heretofore demaunded, all such things have beene already upon their petition and supplication commaunded to be discharged. I have sollicited his Majestie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for those matters, and that a favourable hand be caried over them. And according to your request I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occasions, and will my selfe shew them my favorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to signifie to her Majesties Merchants that I promise to have a care of them, and for the Queenes Majestie of Englands sake, I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours selected people under the Emperors commission: and by mine appointment all his Majesties officers and authorized people shall be carefull over them. The Emperors gracious favor towards them was never such as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperors Officers sell their waxe by commission at a set rate given them, farre above the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any such course, but say they barter their waxe for other wares, and also put their waxe to sale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the custome house here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is sold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can best agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Marchants have no just cause to make any such report. I have expressely given order, that there shall be no such course used to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleasure. And as touching the customes alreadie past, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich of all Russia of famous memory hath shewed his Majesties especial favour and love, for the great love of his welbeloved sister Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement given to take Marshes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement given it should not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be delivered them. And to the end hereafter that her Majesties Marchants move no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperor and great Duke of Russia, and his welbeloved sister Queene Elizabeth, his Majestie desireth order to be given, that

English Marchants in great favour with the Emperor.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marsh remitted.

your Marchants doe deale justly in their traffike, and plainely without fraud or guile. And I will be a favourer of them above all others, under his Majesties authoritie : themselves shall see it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of July, 7099. *Ann. Dom.* 1590.

[I. 499.] The Queenes Majesties letter to Theodore Ivanovich Emperour of Russia, 1591.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Ivanovich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Mosco, Novogrod, King of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otver, Ughory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozero, and Lifland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coasts, great Lord over the countrey of Iversky, Grisinsky, Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our most deare and loving brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we have received your Majesties letters brought over by our merchants in their returne of their ‖ last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas ; which letters we have advisedly read and considered, and thereby perceive that your Majesty doth greatly mislike of our late imployment of Jerome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters, and also that your Majesty doth thinke that we in our letters sent by the sayd messenger have not observed that due order or respect which apperteined to your princely majesty, in the forme of the same letter, aswel touching the 1590.

inlargement of your Majesties stile and titles of honor which your Majesty expected to have bene therein more particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Majesty is: in any of which points we would have bene very loth willingly to have given just cause of offence thereby to our most deare and loving brother. And as touching the sayd messenger Jerome Horsey we are sory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Majesties displeasure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Majesties mislike: yet that we had reason at such time as we sent him to your Majesty to use his service as our messenger, we referre our selves to your princely judgement, praying your Majesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters written unto us in the yeere 1585, you made of the sayd Jerome Horsey his behaviour in your dominions: at which time your Majesty was pleased to use his service as your messenger to us, requiring our answere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occasions taken by your Majesty to use the service of the sayd Jerome Horsey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Majesty sent him to us againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priviledge at our request granted to our merchants (for which we have heretofore given thanks to your Majesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulnesse for the same) mooved us to be of minde, that we could not make choise of any of our subjects so fit a messenger to your Majesty as he, whom your Majesty had at severall times used upon your owne occasions into this our Realme. But least your highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassador Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceived displeasure against the sayd Horsey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept 1585.

ignorant of the complaint which your Majesty made therein against the sayd Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aswell by our ambassadour as by those letters of some displeasure conceived against him by your Majesty : but your sayd letters giving onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might utterly extinguish all your former princely favour towards him, but that upon his humble submission to your Majesty, or upon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceived against him, the offence might have beene either remitted, or he thereof might have cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long sollicited, but by the intercession of some of our Nobility giving credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to use his service once againe into Russia as our messenger to your Majesty, whereby he might have opportunity to cleare himselfe, and either by his answere or by his submission recover your Majesties former favour : whereunto our princely nature was mooved to yeeld, wishing the good of our subject so farre foorth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

Thus noble Prince, our most loving and dearest brother, it may appeare unto your Majesty how we were induced to use the service of the sayd messenger, [I. 500.] aswell for the recovery of your Majesties favor towards him (if he had bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conversant. But sith by your Majesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Majesties sight, we meane not to use him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Majesties conceit of the brevitie which we used in the setting downe of your Majesties stile and titles of honour : as nothing is further from us, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due unto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserve more honour then we are able to give him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare us of the suspicion of the detracting from your Majesty any part of your just and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in every of which there are severall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, provinces and countreys: which being severally expressed would enlarge much our stile, and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene used: notwithstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to us, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soever. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Majesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular provinces: albeit we can willingly content our selfe, upon the knowledge of your usages and customes, to observe that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing up of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we have in use two severall seales; both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesser seale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most loving and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Majesty any thing of the usuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld unto your most noble father of famous memory Ivan

Basilivich Emperor of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Majesties letters concerning the entertainement of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Majestie to prevent the like troubles, controversies and sutes, that Marshes cause stirred up betweene our merchants and your subjects, which is, that your Majestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subjects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented unto us from our merchants the names of these severall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Jackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham: whom it may please your Majesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to avoid the mislike which their residence in those parts might breed to the disturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And whereas, most loving and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subject of ours is lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants have had much controversie for great summes of money due unto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles, and so much should have beene payed by him as may appeare by your Majesties councell or magistrates of justice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to divers of our subjects, amounting in the whole, to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified under our great seale of England,

and to be sent over with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Majestie in your approoved love to justice, to give order to your favourable councell and magistrates, that those severall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subjects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull: whereof your Majesties councell shalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Majesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your majesties use in the hands and possession of John Chappel their servant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Majesties order. We therfore intreat your Majesty, that as conveniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be given to our said merchants towards the repairing of their sundry great losses aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and loving brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending upon us as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let us be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for ever. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same upon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoever. And thus we recommend your Majesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591.

The Emperor seised our merchants goods.

[I. 501.]

1591.

[The Queenes

The Queenes Majesties letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Master of the horses to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and loving cousin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared unto us upon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent unto our Highnesse from our deare and loving brother the Emperour, in what part his Majestie tooke the late imployment of our messenger Jerome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endevour used by your Lordship to appease his Highnesse mislike and exception taken aswell to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him: both of which points we have answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our sayd loving brother the Emperour: upon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Majestie will be well satisfied touching our sayd Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and favourable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Soveraigne Lord and us (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and grave Counsellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readinesse in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall love and kinde affection that your Lordship hath ever borne and continued towards us, whereof our princely nature will never be unmindfull. We have bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which have passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in favour of our sayd Marchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your undoubted love and affection towards us) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our sayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoever, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceive to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge our selves to be, and still will continue beholding unto you for the same.

And whereas we have made mention in our sayd letters written to our loving brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aswell to our merchants, as to other of our subjects by one William Turnebull a subject of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the sayd letter. And forasmuch as the sayd cause will fall under your Lordships jurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to justice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of justice or expedition in the sayd cause. And lastly considering that your noble linage together with your great wisedome and desert hath made you a principall Counsellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your advice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we have given order to our sayd principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreyes, or of the priviledges graunted by his Majestie to our merchants, that he may by advertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which we by reason of our great princely affayres can not so [I. 502.] conveniently at all times doe with such expedition as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Januariee, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Boris Pheodorowich, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse Lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, William Cecill Lord Burghley, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of England, sendeth greeting.

RIght honourable my very good Lord, upon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of Russia, there was brought unto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Majestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperor to her Majesty hath beene considerately and advisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against Jerome Horsey therein comprised thorowly examined: which hath turned the same Horsey to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Majesty with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable favour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitly beholding unto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship under her princely hand and seale. And forasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Majesties merchants, and the redresse of such injuries as are, or shall be offered unto them contrary to the meaning of the priviledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein in some points your Lordship hath already used a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mooving new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars have beene offered unto me to treat with your Lordship upon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Majestie, and doe much restraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the last comming of our merchants to the port of Saint Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse service at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set upon them, so farre under their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld unto their demaund how unwillingly soever. Another is, that our sayd merchants are driven to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such Russe money as they bring downe from the Mosco to the Sea side to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange unto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any transport over of the sayd money. These interruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the

This is a new port.

The English merchants 3 weekes restrained from their Mart.

Emperours privileges and freedome of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: whereof it may please your Lordship to be advised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Majesty, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or trafficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordships furtherance herein, I humbly take my leave of your good Lordship. From her Majesties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of January, 1591. 1591.

1592.

A letter from the Emperour of Russia, Theodore Ivanovich to the Queenes Majestie.

THrough the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Even this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich, governour of all Russia, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and [I. 503.] other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Yeroslave, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our loving sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Loving sister, your letters sent by your servant Thomas Lind, we have received, and read what you have written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore sent us by your servant Jerome Horsey:

The Emperors stile lately enlarged.

wherein you have answered us sufficiently and most graciously.

And whereas your Majestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subjects, for whom he was factour, should have debts growing unto them from him by account: we at your Majesties request have caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, loving sister, we have caused the goods to be sought out and delivered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also money to the value of sixe hundred rubbles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for ‖ ycarie: and we have set at libertie the sayd Turnebulles kinseman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes and delivered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a dainty meat made of the roas of Sturgeons.

And further, where you write unto us for such your subjects as have departed out of your majesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should give order to send them home: concerning such your subjects for which you have written unto our Majestie by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be delivered unto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Majesties people as have given themselves under our government as subjects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

And further, where you have written unto us concerning the goods of John Chappell, we have written heretofore the whole discourse thereof, not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the sayd Chappell, the money thereof was restored to your Majesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Majesties servant Thomas Lind we have sent with our letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of

M. Thomas Lind.

your Majesties servant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Mosco in the yeere from the beginning of the world
1592. 7101, in the moneth of January.

To the Queenes most excellent Majestie from the Lord Boris Pheodorovich Godonova.

BY the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Ivanovich governour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Jeroslave, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Majesties servant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorovich Godonova, unto your most excellent Majesty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Majestie to write unto me your gracious and princely letter by your servant Thomas Lind : which letter I received with all humblenesse. During the time of the abode of your messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Majestie Theodore Ivanovich over all Russia governour, the right beleever and lover of Christ, to send our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princesse, to the great joy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we give all honour and glory to the almightie God unspeakeable, whose giftes had beene manifolde with mercie unto us: for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

The Empresse Irene delivered of a daughter.

[I. 504.]

After all this your servant was occasioned to stay untill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you have received from your loving brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceive sufficiently my good meaning, in travailing for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endevour. Also your merchants I have taken into my protection for to defend them for the love I beare to your Majestie. As heeretofore I have done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will give me leave: to the end that brotherly love be holden betweene you Princes without disturbance.

As I have beene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorised people to favour them and to defend them, and to give them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Majestie of all our friendship and favour shewed unto them from time to time. And whereas your Majestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debts which your merchants ought to have of William Turnebull lately disceased, I having perused your Majesties letter, whereby I am requested to be a meane for the recoverie and obtaining of their sayd debts, I have moved it to our Lord and King his Majestie, that order may be given therein: and that his kinseman Rainold Kitchin with three persons more may be sent over together with the sayd Turnebulles stuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which shall be delivered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the sayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will have a great care over them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade : and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Majesties royall citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Januarie.

A letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the right honourable Lord William Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England.

BY the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Ivanovich, governour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Novogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Majesties servant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, to the most honourable Counseller of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurour of England, sendeth greeting.

I perceive by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in saftie, and that you have received the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Majesty, unto your Queenes most excellent Majesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you: and the contents thereof you have caused to be read and well understood at large. And whatsoever is therein written concerning Jerome Horsey, you have sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Majesties merchants, that whereas I have taken them into protection, she taketh it very lovingly and kindely, that for her sake they have received so great kindnesse.

M. Francis Cherie.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts have sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorised people and officers, and that they were not permitted to traffike at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, it hath beene against the Emperours Majesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Where you desire and wish that [I. 505.] betweene our Emperours Majestie, and your Queenes Majestie, their love and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good unto the English merchants, and to defend them from all such domages hereafter: your honours loving letter I have therein throughly considered: and as I have bene heretofore, so I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Majestie, and your great Lady the Queene her highnesse, for the mainteyning of brotherly love and amitie, most joyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel hereafter as I have bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princesse sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Majesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Majestie.

And to that ende, I have given order to all our authorised people to bee carefull over them, and to defende them in all causes, and to give them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowen unto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorised people for them, that they shoulde ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie under the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement given, that your Queenes Majesties merchants at the Seaside, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any domage or hinderance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Treasure-house, or else where by any of our authorised people, but absolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all causes, by our Lorde and kings Majesties order and commaundement: as it shalbe knowen and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Anno Domini 1592.

Written in our Kings Majesties royall citie of Mosco from the beginning of the world 7101. yeere, in the moneth of January.

A.D. 1596.

A most gracious Letter given to the English Merchants Sir John Hart and his company, by Theodore Ivanowich, the King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, the onely upholder thereof.

THe onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all every where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath given life to man to love him, and to trust in him: Our onely God which inspireth every one of us his holy children with his word to discerne good through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times establish us to keepe the right scepter, and suffer us to reigne of our selves to the good profit of the land, and to the subduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the mainteinance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Ivanovich, of all Russia the onely upholder, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Casan, and king of Astracan, Lord of Vobsco, and great duke of Smolensko, of Otver, Ughorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke also of Novogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Rostove, Yaruslave, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Udorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord over the Countrey of Iverski, Grusinski, and King over the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler over many other kingdomes and Lordships more.

Our princely Majestie at the request of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenova our servant, and Master of our horses, generall Comptroller of our house, and governour of the Lordships and kingdomes of Casan and Astracan: unto the English merchants Sir John Hart knight, sir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenstow Alderman, Nicholas Moseley alderman, Robert Dove, Wil. Garrowe, John Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry Anderson, John Woodworth, Francis Cherry, John Merrick, & Cristopher Holmes; hath graciously given leave to come & go with their ships into our kingdome & territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their pleasures to trafficke from the seaside to our roial city of Mosco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and territories of our whole kingdom [I. 506.] of Mosco: upon the humble petition and sute of the saide English merchants sir John Hart and his company, wee have given them leave to passe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Mosco, and to our inheritance of Novogrod and Plesco with their wares and commodities without paying any custome or dueties.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Ivanovich of all Russia, have firmely given and graunted unto the aforesaide English merchants Sir John Hart and his company, for the love we beare to our deare sister Queene Elizabeth, we I say of our gracious goodnes have given leave to travel and passe to our royal seat of Mosco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleasure, without paying any custome of their said wares.

To you our Customers we wil and command not to take any maner of custome of the said merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor passing by or through any place of our territories, nor for custome, of judgement by Lawe, or for their person or persons; nor any duties over bridges, or for certificats or processes, or for conducting over any streames or waters, or for any other customes or dueties that may be named; we wil and straitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wise.

Provided alwayes, that the saide merchants shall not colour any strangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor favour them colourably, nor sel for any stranger. To you our subjects also we command, not to meddle or deale with any wares of strangers colourably, nor to have them by you in keeping, nor to offer to sel their commodities; but themselves to sel their owne commodities in change or otherwise as they may or can. And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it shalbe lawful for the foresaid merchants and their company to sell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwise, for or at their pleasure as they will. And whensoever the said merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Novogrod or Plesco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of these our Majesties letters we straitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authorised or in office, to suffer the aforesaid merchants to passe and repasse, and to take no kinde of custome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howsoever it may have name: nor in no place else where they shal come in all our kingdome. Likewise if they sell not nor buy no wares, you shall take no custome, but suffer them quietly to passe where they will with their goods. Of our gratious goodnes and meere goodwill we have given the said merchants leave to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any custome or dutie. Wheresoever they shal happen to sel or barter away any of their commodities to our subjects, they are to barter or sell by whole sale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houses or elsewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, velvets, damasks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard: and al other wares that are to be sold by weight, they are to be sold not by the ounce, but by great sale. Your wines shalbe solde by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The said English merchants are to sel or barter away their owne commodities themselves, and not to suffer any Russes to buy or sell for them : nor to carry or transport any wares of strangers in stead of their owne in no wise. And if the saide English merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or upon the River of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraslave ; when as the saide merchants have solde in any of the saide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authorised people by vertue of this our gratious letter wee will and straitly commaund not to take any custome of the aforesaid merchants, howsoever it may be named.

Also whensoever the saide English merchants or any of their factours shalbe desirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it shalbe at their choyse and pleasure to hier them the best they can, and where they will, either water men to rowe, or vessels.

Also when any of the said merchants themselves, or any of theirs are desirous to travel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treasure be delivered to them, they to take it with them, and to sel it in bartar or otherwise for such wares as are most requisit and necessary to be brought into our kingdome and to be delivered into our treasury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority suffer them to passe through al our cities, townes & countries without taking any custome of them. And when the said merchants have done their traffick in any place & come to the Mosco, they shal make it knowen at their arrival at the house of Chancery and secretariship to Vasili Shalkan. And further when there come any English merchants with their ships or vessels by sea, that by mishap shalbe cast away upon any of our shoars or costes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to seeke for their goods so perished by any casualtie, and to be restored againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or detayning. As also if any of the aforesaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselves, let the said goods be taken and layd up in safetie in some place or other, and be delivered to the aforesaid merchants or their factors under penaltie of our displeasure. [I. 507.]

Furthermore we King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodnesse give unto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed use. Provided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe servant at their discretion. Also their houses in sundry places, as at Jeraslave, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and use at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Nor you the communaltie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that should belong to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enjoy them peaceably for themselves and their families, but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to use the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gratious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not undertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselves be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arrive at their port, to lade and unlade their merchandises as in times past they have done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or unlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subjects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorised people at the sea side as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out : whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or unpacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandises in or out, by vertue of these our gratious letters of priviledge given them.

And whensoever any of the said English merchants have any occasion to send over land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their servants or factors, by vertue of this our gratious letter we command you to give them their passeport out of the office of our Secretariship.

And whensoever any of our subjects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions : or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our subjects : then we appoint and ordeine our Chanceller and Secretary Vasili Shalcan to heare their causes, and finally to determine on both sides according to equitie and justice : and that he shall search the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proved or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaide Judge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whensoever any of the English merchants or their factors shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or otherwise by any abused, or have any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or otherwayes: we straightly charge and commaund you our governours, and authorised subjects within all our Realme and territories of the same, to minister justice unto the aforesaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the trueth of the contention: And for want of sufficient proofe cast lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause: And in no wise to take any fee or duetie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said judgement in Lawe.

We wil and commaund all this to be observed and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subjects and authorised people, by vertue of these our royal letters patents: And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or parsell thereof, by any persons howsoever they be named. And whosoever shall withstand & not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displeasure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was given in our kingdom and royal City of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May.

After our accompt 1596.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour
and Secretarie Vasili Shalcan.

The contents of M. Garlands Commission unto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. John Dee to the Emperour of Russia his Court.

[I. 508.]

FRiend Thomas Simkinson I pray you goe to Brounswik or Cassil and inquire if Master John Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I have sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certefie him that the Emperour of Russeland having certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdome is marveilous desirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath given me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his living shewe him that he shall be sure of 2000. pound yeerely, and also all provision for his table out of the Emperours kitchin free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske asmuch more, hee shall have it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I have sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, hee shall remaine at the borders untill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would have. And I am sure he shall be conveyed through the land with five hundred horses, and hee shalbe accompted as one of the chiefest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee should be my friend to bring him with me, and he would give him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide grauntes and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinson acknowledge to be spoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be sent to declare the same unto Master John Dee. And in witnesse that this is of a trueth I have written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in Wittingaw, otherwise called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me Thomas Simkinson of Hull.

A letter to the right worshipfull M. John Dee Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Edward Garland his message, delivered to Master Dee himselfe, (Letterwise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

Right worshipfull, it may please you to understand, that I was sent unto you from the most mightie Prince Feodor Ivanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Russia, &c. As also from the most excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Russia: to give your worship to understand the great good will and heartie desire they beare unto you; for that of long time they have had great good report of your learning & wisedom, as also of your good counsel unto Princes: whereupon his Majesties most earnest desire and request is unto you; that you would take the paines to come unto his Citie of Mosco, to visite his Majesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in divers matters that his Majestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Majestie beareth unto you, he will give you yeerely toward your mainteinance 2000. pound starling; and the Lord Protectour will give you a thousand rubbles, as also your provision for your table you shall have free out of his Majesties kitchin: And further whatsoever you shall thinke needefull or convenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commandement given me by his Majestie and the Lord Protectour.

In witnesse whereof I have written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me Edward Garland.

In Trebona Castel otherwise called Wittingaw in

Boëmia: to which place this M. Edward Garland came to M. Dee with two Moscovites to serve him, &c. He had sixe more, which by M. Dees counsell were sent backe.

Witnesse M. Edward Kelley, and M. Francis Garland,
brother to the foresaid Edward, and divers others.

IT seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Majestie, was made unto the learned and famous Mathematitian M. John Dee, partly to use his counsell & direction about certaine discoveries to the Northeast; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to Siberia was not as then fully settled, & for divers other secret reasons, it was for yt time with al thankfulnes refused.

[I. 509.] A branch of a letter from M. John Merick, Agent unto the Moscovie company in Russia, closed up in the Mosco the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of Pheodor Ivanowich late Emperour of all Russia, &c.

10. *Febr.* 1597.

HAving thus farre proceeded with this my answere unto the chiefest points of your worships letters received, my desire was to have sent one unto you long since, as you may perceive by ‖ the first date: but by reason I could not get leave, I have deferred it of till this instant, for that there was none suffered to passe out of the land. The causes may be judged, for that it pleased God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Majestie, who departed about the 7. of January: and ever since hath bene a mourning time, & no suites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead season. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wise government of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector unto the saide late Emperour, since his death all things have bene very quiet without any dissention; as the like in such a great kingdome I have not heard of. And now through the providence of Almightie God, and by surrender of the late Empresse Irenia Feodoruna, and the common consent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Bishops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons besides, choise is made of none other but of the said Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, who was most unwilling to receive the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise, nor have any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleased his Majestie to take upon him the kingdome, and he is absolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath provided and appointed so famous and worthy a Prince: whose excellent government and experience these foureteene yeeres hath bene manifest to all Russia. God graunt his highnesse a most prosperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empresse, the Prince his sonne, and the Princesse his daughter. All men do rejoyce both Russe and strangers for this most famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought shalbe on the Assension day next, til which time I cannot depart from Mosco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my journey from hence. And touching his Majesties favour towards me on your behalfe, especially for her Majesties sake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and so specially shewed to mee, as to none the like: so hath his highnesse promised the continuance thereof, with further favour as shalbe desired. Whereof I have no doubt: for dayly I do finde the same.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall consent chosen Emperour of Russia.

[A learned

A learned Epistle written 1581. unto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator concerning the river Pechora, Naramsay, Cara reca, the mighty river of Ob, the place of Yaks Olgush in Siberia, the great river Ardoh, the lake of Kittay called of the borderers Paraha, the Countrey of Carrah Colmak, giving good light to the discovery of the Northeast passage to Cathay, China and the Malucaes.

¶ Inclyto & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico singulari in manus proprias Duisburgi in Clivia.

Cum meminissem, amice optime, quanta, cum unà ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis scriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Aristotelis, Plinii, Dionis & reliquorum, lætatus sum eo quod incidissem in hunc nuncium, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum esse valde cupio, quique dudum Arusburgi hîc ad Ossellam fluvium appulit. Hominis experientia, ut mihi quidem videtur, multum te adjuverit in re una, eaque summis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter se dissentiunt Cosmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorii Tabin, celebrisque illius & opulentæ regionis sub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Alferius is est natione Belga, qui captivus aliquot annos vixit in Moscovitarum ditione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacovium & Unekium; à quibus Antuerpiam missus est accersitum homines rei nauticæ peritos, qui satis amplo proposito præmio ad illos viros se recipiant; qui Suevo artifice duas ad eam patefac-

tionem naves ædificarunt in Duina fluvio. Ut ille rem proponit, quamquam sine arte, apposite tamen, & ut satis intelligas, quod quæso diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio brevissimus est & admodum expeditus. Adiit ipse fluvium Obam tum terra per Samoedorum & Sibericorum regionem, tum mari per littus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus certò apud se statuit navim mercibus onustam, cujus carinam non nimium profundè demissam esse vult, in Sinum S. Nicolai conducere in regione Moscovitarum, instructam illam quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem necessariis, atque illic redintegrato commeatu, Moscoviticæ nationis notissimos justa mercede asciscere: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchre teneant, & fluvium Ob exploratum habeant, ut qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Unde Maio exeunte constituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Ugoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Insulamque cui nomen est Dolgoia. Hic latitudines observare, terram describere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum distantias annotare, ubi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodissimus est tum subsidii tum diversorii locus propter glaciem & tempestates, diem impendere decrevit cognoscendis vadis, facillimoque navium aditu inveniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes invenit, sed profundiores canales esse non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Insula quàm Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Ugoriam & Novam Zemblam: tum Sinum quendam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Ugoriæ, in quem confluunt exigui duo amnes ‖ Marmesia atque Carah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadosa, multas cataractas invenit; sed tamen per quas possit Navigari. Ubi ad fluvium Obam perventum fuerit, qui quidem fluvius (ut referunt Samoedi)

Duæ naves ædificatæ in Duina fluvio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

[I. 510.]

Dolgoia Insula.

Insula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats & Obam vergens per meridiem.

‖ Vel Naramsey & Cara reca.

septuaginta habet ostia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnasque concludentem Insulas, quas varii incolunt populi, vix quisquam animadvertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, constituit ad summum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præserim quæ ex consilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus est, commodissima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve ejus regionis navigiola tentandis Ostiis adhibere, quàm fieri potest ad littus proxime, (quod quidem sub itinere trium dierum incolitur) ut quo loco tutissime navigari possit, intelligat.

Littus Obæ incolitur ab Ostiis trium dierum itinere.

Quod si navim per fluvium Obam adverso amne possit impellere, prima si poterit cataracta, eaque, ut verisimile est, commodissima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipse cum suis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adiit, qui duodecim juxta dierum itinere distat à Mari, quà influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus est in continente, propè fluvium Ob cui nomen est Yaks Olgush, nomine mutuato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè speraret maximas se difficultates superasse. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum navigatione ab eo loco abfuerunt (quòd illic rarum est, eo quòd multi ad unum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à littore propellentes oborta tempestate perierunt, cùm neque à sole neque à syderibus rectionem scirent petere) per transversum fluminis Ob, unde spaciosum esse illius latitudinem constat, grandes se carinas præciosis onustas mercibus magno fluvio delatas vidisse per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluvium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina est gens illa latissimè fusa, quàm Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quàm Cathaya. Illic, si necessitas postulabit, opportunum erit hybernare, se suosque reficere, resque omnes necessarias conquirere. Quòd si acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimùm se adjutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediscentem. Veruntamen sperat æstate eadem ad Cathayorum fines se perventurum, nisi ingenti glaciei mole ad os fluvii

Yaks Olgush locus super Obam fluvium duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kitthaym: de quo in itinere ad Bogariam scribit Antonius Jenkinsonus.

Obæ impediatur, quæ major interdum, interdum minor est. Tum per Pechoram redire statuit, atque illic hybernare: vel si id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature satis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Unum est quòd suo loco oblitus sum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olgush incolunt, à majoribus suis olim prædicatum asserunt, se in lacu Kitthayo dulcissimam campanarum harmoniam audivisse, atque ampla ædificia conspexisse: Et cùm gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa est) ab imò pectore suspiria repetunt, manibusque projectis suspiciunt in cœlum, velut insignem illius splendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Utinam Alferius hîc Cosmographiam melius saperet, multum ad illius usum adjungeret, qui sanè plurimus est. Multa prætereo, vir amicissime, ipsumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi spospondit se in itinere Duisburgi te visurum. Avet enim tecum conferre sermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adjuveris. Satis instructus videtur pecunia & gratia, in quibus aliisque officiis amicitiæ feci illi, si vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faveat, initia secundet, successus fortunet, exitum fœlicissimum concedat. Vale amicè ac Domine singularis.

Carrah Colmak est Cathaya.

Arusburgi ad Ossellam fluvium 20. Februarii 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus sum
Joannes Balakus.

To the famous and renowmed Gerardus Mercator, his Reverend and singular friend at Duisburgh in Cliveland, these be delivered.

[I. 511.]

CAlling to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I rejoyced not a little that I happened upon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recom-

mend unto you) who arrived lately here at Arusburg upon the river of Osella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly availe you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discoverie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys subject unto the Emperor of Cathay, and that by the Northeast Ocean sea. The man is called *Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres lived captive in the dominions of Russia under two famous men Yacovius and Unekius, by whom he was sent to Antwerp to procure skilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go unto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discoverie upon the river of Dwina. The passage unto Cathay by the Northeast (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceive, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath travelled to the river of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and also by Sea, along the coast of the river Pechora Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolved with himselfe to conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not have to drawe over much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Russia, being furnished with all things expedient for such a discoverie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arrivall there, and also to hire into his companie certaine Russes best knowen unto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the river of Ob, as having frequented those places yeere by yeere.

*Or Oliver.

Two ships built upon the river of Dwina for the Northeast discoverie.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to saile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eastward, by the maine of Joughoria, and so to the Easterly parts of Pechora, & to the Island which is called Dolgoia. And here also hee is purposed to observe the latitudes, to survey and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a most convenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the Flats, and in searching out the best enterance for ships: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but five foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanels: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leaving the Island called Vaigats almost in the middle way betweene Ugoria and Nova Zembla: then also to passe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Ugoria, whereinto fall two small rivers called *Marmesia and Carah, upon the which rivers doe inhabite an other barbarous and savage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or overfals of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the river of Ob, which river (as the Samoeds report) hath seventie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Islands, which are inhabited with sundry sortes of people, no man scarcely can well discover, because he will not spend too much time, he purposeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefly which shall be thought most commodious by the advise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to have certaine with him in his voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shore, which within three dayes journey of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the river is best navigable. If it

The Island of Dolgoia.

The Island of Vaigats.

A Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob trending Southerly.

**Or, Naramsey and Cara Reca.*

The place upon the river Ob, where he was but 12. dayes journey from ye mouthes thereof, and is called Yaks Olgush.

[I. 512.]

M. Jenkinson in his voyage to Boghar speaketh of the river Ardok.

so fall out that he may sayle up the river Ob against the streame, and mount up to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed unto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelve dayes journey from the Sea, where the river Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the river Ob, and is called Yaks Olgush, borowing his name from that mightie river which falleth into the river Ob, then doubtlesse hee would conceive full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the river Ob, whereby the bredth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes journey onely from the shore, have bene cast away in tempest, having no skill to guide themselves neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they have seene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great river by blacke or swart people. They call that river *Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mighty and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee shall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, unlesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the river of Ob, which is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, hee then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the river of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

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The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they have heard their forefathers say, that they have heard most sweete harmonie of bels in the lake of Kitthay, and that they have seene therein stately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding up their hands, they looke up to heaven, signifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliver were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtlesse is very great. Most deare friend, I omit many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised mee faithfully that he would visite you in his way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seemeth sufficiently furnished with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to have used me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwardnesse, blesse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant unto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arusburg upon the river of Ossella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholy at commandement,
John Balak.

MAster Anthonie Jenkinson in a disputation before her Majestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for proofe of a passage by the Northeast to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West, &c.

[A testimonie

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discoverie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of Navigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer, M. John Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

DAlla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiascuno scrittore & Cosmographo di questi & de passati tempi fin' hora vi ha messo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verso il Polo: sopra questo mappa-mondo all' incontro si vede che la terra và solamente un poco sopra la Noruega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Levante nel paese della Moscovia & Rossia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verità, le navigationi che hanno fatte gl' Inglesi con le loro navi, volendo andare à scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d'Inghilterra, questi anni passati, ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscovia, dove trovarona all' hora regnare Giovanni Vasilivich Imperatore della Rossia & gran Duca di Moscovia, il quale con molto piacere & maraviglia vedutogli, fece grandissime carezze, hanno trovato quel mare essere navigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual navigatione (ancor che con l'esito fin hora non sia stata bene intesa) se col spesso frequentarla & col lungo uso & cognitione de que' mari [I. 513.] si continuerà, è per fare grandissima mutatione & rivolgimento nelle cose di questa nostra parte del mondo.

The same in English.

MOreover (having before spoken of divers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part subject to our North pole, where every writer and Cosmographer of these and of former times hitherto, have, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrarywise, in this mappe is to bee seene, that the land extendeth onely a litle above Norway and Swethland, and then turning it selfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeast and by East, unto the countrey of Moscovie and Russia, and stretcheth directly unto Cathay. And that this is true, the navigations which the English men have of late made, intending to discover Cathay, in the time of Edward the sixt, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance upon the coast of Moscovie (where they found then reigning John Vasiliwich Emperor of Russia, and great duke of Moscovia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great curtesies) found this sea to be navigable, and not frozen.

The great hope of the Northeasterne discoverie.

Which navigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long use and knowledge of those seas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and revolution in the state of this our part of the world.

[The testimonie

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoveries of the English, made of Moscovie by the Northeast.

MAgnam occasionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare navigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moscoviæque juxta cœli situm, mundíque plagas digesta habet. Exacta etiam urbis Moscuæ latitudo ab Anglis observata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs describendarum infallibilem legem præscripsit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putavi tabulam hanc castigatiorem non reddere.

The same in English.

THe most famous navigation of the English men by the Northeast sea hath offered unto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which discoverie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscovie, laied out according to the just elevation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true observation of the latitude of the city of Mosco, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helps being ministred unto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene published.

Another testimonie of Joannes Metellus Sequanus concerning the same Navigation and Discoveries in his Preface prefixed before Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

AT ne omnis, unis Hispanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones nova in Moscoviam navigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illustrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moscovitarum, Narvæque Livoniæ exclusi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora prætervecti, ultrà Septuagesimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum sibi patefaciunt. Quam navigationem Belgæ posteà, non sine tamen cum iisdem Britannis velitatione, sunt secuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineásque vestes propè detritas, omnisque generis minutiores merces ad usum, cultúmque corporis hominum utriusque sexus, veluti lintea [I. 514.] & byssea cingula, periscelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus sexcenta. A Moschis autem pelles omnis generis pretiosas adferunt, & salmones salitos, fumóque duratos.

The same in English.

BUt least all and the whole glory of discovering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new navigation into Moscovie, discovered the Northeast partes. For they by reason of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moscovites and of the Narve in Liefland, opened a passage for themselves by the Ocean sea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: having in their course on the one side the coastes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other side the coast of Gronland.

Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without some conflict with the English. They cary thither old plate and course linnen cloth, and all kind of small Mercerie wares, serving for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and silke girdles, garters, purses, knives, and many such like things. And they bring away from the Moscovites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons salted and dried in the smoke.

APPENDIX

The Ambassage of Sir Hierome Bowes to the Emperour of Moscovie. 1583.

From Hakluyt's 'Principall Navigations,' 1589.

BEfore I enter into the declaration of mine ambassage into Moscovie, it shall not be amisse briefely to declare the occasion therof. Therefore it is to be understood that John Basiliwich the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1582, sent over into England, as his ambassadour, one Pheodor Andrewich Spisemskie, a verie discreet and aged councellor of his, accompanyed with a secretarie named Neodatza Gawralo, who were wafted hether with a warlike shippe called the Tyger, whereof one M. Christopher Carlile, a gentleman indued with many good partes, was partly for that, and partly for the safe wafting of the rest of the fleete against the Dane appointed captaine.

The aforesaid ambassadour, with all his traine, to the number of above twentie persons, having beene enterteined and used heere very honourablie both by her Majestie and her subjects, besought her Highnesse to send an ambassadour home with him unto his Maister, with commission to conclude such matters of importance as he was sent about into these parts. Wherupon I was chosen for that service: and after I had received order for my preparation, and had my commission delivered unto me, with two letters from her Majestie to the Emperour, & the articles here agreed upon with his ambassadour, as also mine instructions, with the doleances and petitions of our English merchants, I tooke my leave in Court to proceed in my voyage. And having assembled my company together, which were in number, fortie persons, whereof about ten were gentlemen, besides one M. Cole a learned man of Oxford which was my preacher, I embarked myself the 22 of June 1583 at Harewich in a tall shippe of 200 tunnes, called the Centurion, and the Moscovit ambassadour and the secretarie were placed in another shippe by themselves, and some of the chiefe of theyr company: the rest were bestowed in other roomes convenient. Thus our fleet being ten sailes in the whole number, we committed ourselves to God and the seas, and arrived in safety at S. Nicholas bay in the space of a just moneth, to witte the 23 of Julie next insuing. *June 22.* *Julie 23.*

Upon our arrivall the Moscovit ambassadour was joyfully received and lodged at the monasterie of S. Nicholas. And I was very well entertayned at our English house in Rose island, where I remayned five or sixe dayes to repose my selfe and my weary company. From thence I passed up the river of Dwina to Colmogro, drawne with men against the streame in large boats of that countrey. At Colmogro I stayed the space of five weeks, to witte all August, and part of September, in a certaine small Island, which upon mine aboad so long in it, is still called Bowes island by our nation. From Colmogro I passed up against the streame very slowly towards Vologda, and arrived not there untill the 22 of September. At this towne a gentleman sent from the Emperour, received me, whose name was Protou Popou: he presented me with two geldings, with saddle and furniture after theyr countrey fashion. I was tolde that the horses were of those that were for the Emperours owne saddle. *August.* *Septemb. 22.*

I stayed at Vologda foure dayes, and then tooke journey toward Yeraslave, where mette me from the Emperour, a Duke well accompanyed, which presented me a coch and tenne geldings for change. I rested at Yeraslave sixe dayes, and then set forward towards Moscua, where I arrived the first of October. There met me before I came at the towne by two miles, foure gentlemen of the Emperours, accompanyed, I gesse, with about two hundred horses. After divers salutations, they tolde me they had to say to me from the Emperour: I answered that it was welcome, and requested them to deliver what they had in charge. Thus after the rehearsing of a long stile, both they and my selfe being lighted from our horses, they delivered what they had to say, which were nothing but welcomes and messages of favour; so we went agayne to horsbacke, and they brought me to my lodging in Mosco. I was not in my lodging one quarter of an houre, but there came a gentleman from the Emperour, and brought me a supper readie drest of the Emperours meat. And after rehearsing of the Emperours stile, and deliverie of his message, he sate downe to supper, where he would have driven me to have tasted of every sundrie meats and drinks of the Emperours goodnesse (as hee termed it) or els he would say, that I did not accept it as I should.

A Duke sent to meet him to Yeraslave, October. 1.

A supper sent him from the Emperour.

The Friday next after, being the fourth of October, there came to me from the Emperour a principall secretarie, who brought me a dinner from the Emperour, meaning himselfe to dine with me. He came, giving me a very short warning, and so founde me sicke in my bedde; howbeit there was no remedie, but the dinner must be set upon a table at my beddes side, and so it was. And yet were they not so satisfied therewith, but I must either take and cast my gowne about my shoulders, and sit up, and taste of somewhat, or els the Emperour woulde imagine that I loved him not, and that I scorned his sending to me. Thus I was faine to satisfie in parte these unreasonable requests: and so we two departed in kindnesse.

The 14 of October there came to visite me another secretarie, whose name was Savio Frolle, and to aske me if I had any secret matter to send to the Emperour, to whome I answered that I had none, and so after a little space he left me.

He was sent for to Court.

The next day the Emperour sent a gentleman to me, and would have had me to have come to Court the Sunday next following, but I was sicke and could not: but the Tuesday then next following, being the 16. of October, I sent to intreat that I might see his Majestie on the Thursday next insuing: which was granted me; yet the very next day I had a countermand, and that the Thursday seventnight I should come to Court.

Thursday being come, which was the 24. of October, there came gentlemen to my lodging to accompany me to Court, where I dined in the presence of the Emperour, and all my men at another boord, in the presence of the Emperor also.

When I was set at the table, the Emperor commanded a company of gentlemen to sit downe by me, to accompany me as he sayd, and I had upon the sudden no comely meanes to shunne it.

I was no sooner returned to my lodging, after my going from Court, but the Emperor sent after me a gentleman of his, and good store of drinke, to potsivat (as they terme it) me and my people; so was I forced to sit drinking with them, till some of us had too much.

The next Tuesday following, being the 29 of the moneth, there came to me the woonted company that invited me before, to summon me to Court.

Wednesday being the 30 day of October, the gentlemen came for me, and so I went againe to Court, and was mette (as the day before) with two sundrie companyes of gentlemen, the one of better degree then the other; and so was conveyed to the Emperors presence, who straightway after I had done my duety to him, bad me sit downe, without using any other speeches or entertainment unto me: neither had I sitten two minuts

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of an houre, but the Emperor sent his chancellor to me, to will me to retyre my selfe to another chamber, whether I was guided by my woonted companions.

I had not beene long in that other chamber, but there came to me Mekita Romanowich, Bodan Belskoy, Andrew Shalcan the chancellor, all three chiefe councellors, and Savio Frolle principall secretarie.

They demanded of me what it was that I had to say to the Emperour from the Queene my mistresse. I answered that I was rather sent to hearke then to speake: for it is not unknowne to all your honours (quoth I) that the Emperour hath sent to the Queene my mistresse, intreating her to send a gentleman of hers unto him, naming what kinde of person he desired to be sent towards him: and for such an one as he desired to be sent, her Majestie hath allowed me, commanding me hither to knowe his Majesties pleasure: as then I was ready to doe his Majestie what service I might.

They tolde mee that the Queene had written to the Emperour, that shee had delivered her minde in all pointes, that had beene spoken of, and that I shoulde resolve his Majestie in every thing.

I tolde them that I was made privie to thus much, that the Emperour had sent to the Queene to have a perpetuall league with her Majestie, and that his ambassadour had delivered the articles of his Majesties desire to the Queene, and the Queene had caused her answere to every article to be delivered to the Emperours ambassadour, to be presented to his Majestie, as I well knewe they were: I therefore looked that rather there should be somewhat sayd to me, touching the liking or misliking of those articles, then anything (till then) to be looked for from me.

They yet replyed, that it was the course in all partes, that the ambassadours should deliver the cause of theyr comming: I answered that I knew it well, but that case was altered in my comming, in as much as I was sent for, and (in all likelihood) to have somewhat to be sayd to

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me: by this time they seemed to finde the argument reasonable, saying they would goe tell the Emperour what I had sayd.

Ere long they returned with this answere from the Emperour, that now the morning was well spent, so as I could not conveniently speake with the Emperour any more that day, but the next time that I came to Court, I shoulde, and that against then they would have theyr answere ready to the articles, and so left me: and I returned to my lodging with such like farewell as I had welcome, saving that I saw the Emperour no more that day.

The Tuesday next following, being the sixt of November, I was summoned by my woonted company, to be at the Court the next day: and the next day the gentlemen, according to theyr former woont, came for me to my lodging.

When I came to Court, and into the Emperours presence, I had no sooner saluted him, and that he saw me draw neere unto him, as I did, misliking my former intertainement, he sent his chancellor (besides that he bad me himselfe in his language) to bidde me sit downe, which to do I must go backe againe, and further from him: which misliking much, as I did the day before, when I was at Court, I caused the interpretour to tell the Emperour that I had rather stand where I stood, then sit where he willed me to sit: but notwithstanding my speeches, he would needs have me to sit downe, and so I did.

I was almost no sooner set, but the Emperour sent his chancellor, as he did the other time before, to wyll me to retyre to another place, which place was the same chamber where I had beene the other time before, and was the councell chamber: where the same onely councellor came againe to me, and our questions tended all to the articles of the league, which they amongst them did read over, without chalenging of any, saving that which touched the sending to that prince that should become the Emperours enemie, to desist from his wrong doing: which they alleaged would aske so long space, as in the meane time the Emperour might sustaine irrecoverable hinderance.

I tolde them that in that poynt the Queenes Majesty had drawen her selfe as neere to satisfie the Emperours desire as she might in reason, honor and conscience: and did make her reckoning that the Emperour would take it in great good part, that shee had drawne her consent so neere unto all his requests. Whereunto they answered nothing: but fell off, and entred into the article of Englishe merchauntes sole trade to the North partes of Russia, and to the river of Dwina.

The article concerning the English sole trade to Dwina & the bay of S. Nichol.

They seemed to think it a very hard request to have this countrey shut up from the haunt of all strangers, and not to consent to, that this one Dutch merchant, John de Wale, might traffike as now he did.

John de Wale a Dutchman had great traffike to S. Nicholas.

Amongst other replies, I did answere them, that the Queenes Majesty did aske nothing of the Emperour, but did onely put him in remembrance to maintaine his promise, and that sith neither her Majesty nor her subjects, had deserved otherwise then well, at the Emperors hands, he would ratifie and strengthen the olde and first privilege, which upon theyr well deserving it at his hands, he thought them woorthie of: and did graunt unto them franck and freely long since.

Heerupon we had many speeches, for in this, and the other I thinke we spent nigh three howres, and so left off without any conclusion untill another day.

Upon the sixteenth of November my woonted inviters came to summon me to Court: I answered that I was very ready to obay the Emperour, but the next morrow was the day when the Queene my mistresse came to the crowne, and we (as we had great cause) did thinke it a happy day, and kept it festivall (as it were) and I had already invited my countrey folks to come to make merry with me, and therefore would be glad that his Majesty would spare me, and so he did, and reckoned it very reasonable.

Thursday the eight and twentieth day of November, I went to Court, and saw the Emperours eyes, and went to Councell as I was woont, but grewe no neerer any resolution then before.

The next Sunday after, I went to Court agayne, upon summons, and went to the Councell chamber, as of custome, where I was neere an houre before any Councellor came to me, & when they came, having beene in Councell halfe of that houre, betwixt theyr parting from the Emperour, and comming to me: they tolde me that the Emperour, thinking it not reasonable that all strangers should in all kindes of sortes be kept from, and forbidden his Northern Seas and Havens of that countrey, or that John de Wale shoulde be driven thence, had resolved that the English merchantes should have theyr letter ratified for halfe custome with all favors that might be done unto them, to holde theyr Haven at S. Nicholas, and theyr houses there, and elswhere and that John de Wale should enjoy his Haven or road thereby, and to trade up the river of Dwina to Mosco, and the townes towards Mosco, but not any further, nor to any other of his countryes, as the English merchantes might freely doe to all partes: and sayd further that hee would that his other Havens, as Cola and others shoulde bee free for the French, and all other commers to touche, barter, buye, and sell, but yet not at all to trade further into his countreyes.

The French permitted to come to Cola.

I did tell them, that if the Emperours resolution were such as they sayd, that I doubted he would loose the English merchants, and tolde some reasons why the English merchants could not then trade thither to theyr profit, and that they were not so bound to the nation, that they would come to them to theyr hinderance, and that if the English merchants did leave them, I was of opinion that neither Dutch nor French would come to them. I tolde them that John de Wale had not mispent his time in Russia, for I found he had gotten good friends among them: and then more, touching the Dutchmens disorder upon Dwina.

December.

The Sunday following, being the eight of December, upon summons the day before I went to Court, and so to Councell, after having seen the Emperours eyes, as of custome, where we talked but of such matters as before, saving that they urged me to have named what princes the Queene did reckon to be her enemyes: I answered that I had no commission to make discourse therof, nor the Queene had as yet any occasion to proclame to whom she was enemie.

This question grewe uppon the article, that the Emperours Ambassadour or messenger might passe thorowe Englande, whereunto the Queenes aunswere is, so as they goe towardes suche Princes, with whome her Majestie is in league, and that holde the same religion that shee doth.

The Friday then next following, being the thirteenth day of December, I was called againe to Court, and the Emperour spake with mee, but yet with sixe or seven of his councell about him: and I was willed before my then going to Court (by a councellour that was sent expresly to that end) that I should leave off my sword, which I had alwayes worne till then. And further the morning when I went, those gentlemen that came for me did will me from the Emperour, that I should not have about me neither dagger nor knife.

The Emperour findeth faults with our merchants wares.

The Emperour did make cavill, that the English merchantes did bring him nothing that was good, and compared olde gaberdines of his owne of skarlet with such skarlets as the merchants had then brought him, which skarlets were in the merchants opinions, the best piece of cloth that ever came in Russia: and in truth it was the better cloth.

He found fault also with parsement laces that the merchants had also then brought him, comparing them with laces upon his olde cloakes, such as the fashion was worne out in England twentie yeeres since. Nothing pleased that day.

The Wednesday then next following, being the eighteenth day of December, I went againe to Court after such summons as of custome, when the Emperour talked with me, and his councell about him, but not so many as before, but used the like cavelling as the other time he did: seeming as though he would make no more reckoning to have any amitie with the Queenes Majestie, vanting himselfe quite beyond his compasse, challenging me, as he had done ere then, for my too much stoutnesse, reckoning up great numbers of ambassadours that had come to him from many great princes, but that not any that bare himselfe so stout as I did, or would challenge his place to be so great.

I desired his Majestie to have patience (for he had then none within my seeing) and not to judge of me in his choller, and then he would finde that I had not at any time done ought that became me not: saying further that I had bestowed my time very ill, having all my life time beene brought up in Court and forren nations, if I had not learned with what duety to use a prince, were he never so great.

After these extreme jarres (wherin I used more patience then I had) we grew calmer, and parted such friends (reconciled as it were) as presently upon my arrivall in my lodging, he sent of his gentlemen to potsivate me, which was the greatest token of his favour that might be, and therewithall did threaten to send me of his owne meat as soone as his Lent was ended, which should be at Christmas.

Januarie. Upon New yeeres day I went agayne to Court upon summons, as of custome, having onely the bare intertainement that I had beene woonted to, which was onely to see the Emperours eyes, and was willed to goe to the Councell chamber, whither the councell came unto me, and readde unto mee the articles which had beene in Englande delivered to the ambassadour: and when they had readde

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them, they asked me if I had commission to confirme them. I answered that I durst assure them, that the Queenes Majestie woulde not goe from them, if her requestes tooke place.

They then asked mee (as they had done before then) if I had no power by commission to alter them; I aunswered that I had not: and tolde that the Queene my mistresse, had therein yeelded so farre to satisfie the Emperours desire, as with honour shee might, and so farre as shee did imagine, the Emperour woulde rather have taken extreame kindelye, then once seemed to have misliked or disallowed anie parte thereof. And I sayde further that when the Queenes Majestie shoulde knowe that hee made such cavilling, and tooke her kindenesse in no better part, I would not be bounde, that shee woulde performe all that shee had saide: for that since the time that shee made these kinde offers to the Emperour, the case was much altered.

They urged mee much to have tolde them wherein, (on my opinion,) the case was so altered: whereunto I answered, that I purposed to doe so, but not till I founde mine owne time.

All the rest of our time was wasted in those two points of John de Wale, and the article of willing the enemies of the Emperour to desist from offering of wrong: upon which both points they stacke still.

But I assured them, that the reasonable requests of her Majestie must be answered in the one, or els the amitie would goe but slowly forward, and as for the other, I assured them that her Majestie would be drawen no further.

The 5 of Januarie being wednesday, in the afternoone, he sent my wonted visitors to me, who tolde me, that the Emperour, because hee loved (quoth they) the Queene of England his sister, would send the next day a very great noble personage to speake with mee, and intreated mee that therefore I would eate betimes.

I answered, that who so came from the Emperour, shoulde bee welcome to mee: but as for my eating, I had so bad a disgestion with long keeping my chamber, as I might ill breake my ordinary times of eating.

Bodan Belscoy a great duke.

This great man came to me the next day, but it was three of the clock ere hee came: his name is Bodan Belscoy the Emperours chiefest favourite, and Domine fac totum. His comming was to examine two matters: The one, touching Sacayr, who conducted mee from Colmogro to Vologda: The other, was against the Emperours officers, who were to deliver mee my diet, and had used me extreeme naughtily.

Hee first began with the matter of my diet, wherein my Stewarde was to playe a part, whom Bodan (having as it seemed before hande purposed to doe so) did use naughtily, and with naughtie termes, to bolster out the Emperours officers, burthening him with the selling of such victuals, as the Emperour had allowed me.

After that hee had called Sakayr before him, and that I had named my witnesses against him of his owne companie, touching his villainous behaviour towardes mee, hee was dismissed untill an other time, that the witnesses might bee recovered, which were at that time somewhat farre off: hee caused the Secretarie Savio Frolle who came with him, to reade a scroule, which the Emperour had commaunded them to reade unto mee: In which scroule were set downe to bee repeated, those Articles touching the sending to the Prince that shoulde bee enemie to the Emperour, to desist from his doing of injurie (which point hee still misliked) and that Article of the sole trade of the English Marchants to the havens, and river of Dwina, which neither hee brooked.

I answered, that what I had to say, I had alreadie saide, and had no more to say concerning those pointes.

They pressed me much that I would be content to receive againe such victuals for my diet, as the Emperour would sende and allowe me, promising that all the wants should be amended, and the faulters punished.

To satisfie them for that they were in my lodging, and for that the one of them was in chiefe favour with the Emperour, and sent of purpose to please mee (although his pride caused him to slippe besides his Commission:) And againe, for that I had desire that hee shoulde returne to the Emperour, and report that I had used him honourablie (as I did) I denied not, but that I would receive victualls againe the next morning, although I was resolved otherwise.

This being tolde the Emperour, hee in great haste sent for his Chanceller, and rated him, and threatned him not to leave one of his race alive; And then hee sent his chiefest Secretarie unto mee to pacifie mee, and to intreate mee to take my Corne (as they doe use to terme it,) with offers that I should have what I would: but I alleaged howe hardly I had bene used at those Councellers handes, and therefore that the Emperour should pardon mee. I hoped that hee would leave the Market open for mee (which in deede was stopped) seeing that I came from his good friende and Sister, and so hee shoulde finde that I had a Mistresse that was well able to feede me. *Andrew Shalcan.*

The Secretarie finding mee so unreadie to satisfie the Emperour, arose in great haste and fume, and would needes have bene gone, thinking he should have scarred mee therewith saying, that sith he found me so untractable, hee would be gone. I answered, that if hee had nothing els to say unto mee hee might goe when pleased him: And so for good manners sake I followed him to guide him towards his sledde. But his haste was but seeming: for although I made very slowe speede after him, hee gave me leave to overtake him, and stayed without intreating, first once and then againe, and would very gladly have had a better message to have carried to the Emperour: for well he knew that he should be ill welcome home.

At his departing I willed him to intreate the Emperour that the Market might be set open for me, and that

I might not be starved: for that it was not impossible but that I might yet doe his Majestie some service if I shall live. You goe not about (quoth hee) to doe him any service: No (quoth I) I have no service yet readie for him, for I have had no cause yet to doe him any, But I will not forsweare to doe him service. And thus he went his way in other sort then he looked for, and sorrowfull.

The next morning he came againe, being sent from the Emperour, and brought with him a scroll of a newe allowance of victuals, more then I had before, by much, which I still in the respect before spoken of, refused to receive. But yet for that I knew it reasonable, and well becomming mee to yeelde, (in as much as I might) to satisfie the Emperours request at a seconde sending, especially for that other men had done mee the wrong and not the Emperour, I was content to yeelde thus farre unto his Majestie, to agree (if needes he would feede mee) to take a reasonable allowance in money for my diet, but so much he pressed mee to satisfie the Emperours kind sending to me, that I agreed to receive the scroule of diet, that the Emperour had sent me: and so went the Secretarie a merrie man away.

The Scroule of the new diet, was this, Januarie, 13.

One bushell of fine meale for 3. dayes.
One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
2. Live geese for one day.
20. Hennes for the day.
7. Sheepe for a day.
1. Oxe for three dayes.
1. Side of porke for a day.
70. Eggs for a day.
10. Pound of butter.
70. Pennie white loaves.
12. Pennie loaves of bread.
1. Veather, or bottle of Vinegar.

2. Veathers of salt Cabiges.
1. Pecke of Onions.
10. Pound of Salt.
1. Altine of wax candles.
2. Altines of tallow candles.
1. Fourth part of a Vether of cherrie meade.
As much of Mallynovomeade.
Halfe a Vether of burnt wine.
1. Veather of sodden meade, called Obarni.
3. Veathers of sweete meade.
10. Veathers of white meade.
15. Veathers of ordinary meade.
5. Veathers of sweet beere.
15. Veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
3. Sollytnikes of saffron.
1. Sollytnike of mace.
1. Sollytnike of nutmegs.
2. Sollytnikes of cloves.
3. Sollytnikes of Cinnamom.

Provender.

One bushell of Oates.
One loade of hay.
1. loade of strawe.

The Secretarie I thinke had no sooner ended to tell the Emperour howe hee had spedde, but by and by the Gentlemen, which were wonted, came to summon mee to Court against the next day. Whither I went, and found the Emperour in his Majestie as of custome, and after having sitten in his presence, (after the common maner) I was willed (as of wont) to goe to the Councell chamber, whither came to mee three of my olde companions, and not the Chanceller, and with them five others of the Counsell, with whome I had no acquaintance till then. And amongst those one duke, who tooke the formost place of them all, both of my olde companions, and of the newe supplie.

The Chanceller displaced for abusing sir Jerom Bowes.

This great duke (as they termed him) began to rehearse some former matters touching the unkindnesse twixt mee and the Chanceller, and tolde mee, that for that the saide Chanceller had not used himselfe well towards me, the Emperours displeasure was upon him, and for his fault was put out of his place, and that the Emperours meaning was to doe me right, upon every man that had wronged mee: and then they called into presence Sakair, to shewe him unto me as a man condemned to prison, and further to receive such punishment, as upon examination of his faults, hee should be found to have deserved.

Touching the Chanceller, I answered no more but that I founde that the Emperours purpose was to doe the Queene my mistresse right: for the others, Sakayr and one other Gentleman, who had also behaved himselfe ill towards me, I intreated the great duke, and the rest, that they would in my name be suters to his Majestie, to pardon them at my humble suite, and saide, that if they had not had better backes then their owne, that were their setters on, they durst never have offered me a wrong.

This suite was much liked, and they all promised to say to the Emperour all that they had heard of me, and so they tooke their leave of me, willing me to retire to my lodging.

The Tuesday next after, I was summoned againe to Court, against the next day, which was no sooner done, but the cheife Secretarie came to mee sent from the Emperour onely to knowe of mee, whether my corne (as they terme it) were, and had bene delivered mee according to the scroule, which the Emperour had sent mee before then, and to knowe if I had any other griefes.

Upon this suddaine arrivall, my Pristaves, Masters of housholde, after our reckoning, for that in all this time they had not yet delivered my corne, as they should have done, but had so much bungled with me, sent to me in great haste, that I would be so good unto them, as to say, that I had had everything according to the Emperours appointment: for if I shoulde have tolde the trueth, they woulde all have bene whipped. And therefore to salve that sore, I made a cleanely answere, without telling any lie that satisfied the Secretarie, whereof they were more then glad.

The next day being the 19. of Januarie, I went againe to Court, and the Emperour spake with mee with 3. of his Counsell by him, and two Interpretours, to whome after I had given thankes for the right hee had done mee against those who had ill used mee: He asked me if I had any other griefes, saying, that if I had and would tell them, I should have remedie of them. I gave his Majestie most humble thankes, and told him, that if I had any other griefes, I would tel them to his Majestie at some other time.

He then tolde mee, that hee had often by himselfe, and more often by his Counsell, talked with mee touching the Articles of amitie, twixt the Queene my mistresse and him, and yet they were brought to no good ende, Asking me if I had no other, nor further Commission then I had alreadie tolde of: whereunto I answered, that I had not. And then he tolde mee (as hee had often done ere then) in what sort he would have the Queenes Majestie joyne in friendship with him, that was, to take his part against all his enemies. I answered, that in that matter I coulde say to his Majestie but as I had done.

He then asked my opinion, whether the Queenes Majestie did make better reckoning of the king of Pole, or of him. I answered, that I was sorie to heare him make that a question; for as betwixt the Queenes Majestie and the King of Pole, there was no enmitie, so for ought I knewe there was no great friendship. But I was well assured, that when I came from her Majestie, she helde his highnesse very deere unto her. If she holde mee deare (quoth he) then shee will take my part against my enemies. So she will (quoth I) as farre as she hath promised in the Articles, which in my opinion will serve your turne, although it bee not set downe in such wordes as you would have it.

Well (quoth hee) I will sende my Ambassadour againe to the Queene my sister, about these matters, and others.

Sir (quoth I) her Majestie intreateth you but in small matters, if it shal please your Majestie to satisfie her in those her small requests, which shal cost you nothing, and you may performe them at home in your owne Countrey at your ease, her Majestie (I beleeve) will be loath to denie you any reasonable request.

He answered that touching those matters of the Marchants, hee would talke once againe with his Counsell, and that at my next comming to Court, I shoulde have answere in that matter, and so willed mee to depart, being glad as my selfe was, that wee parted so good friends.

My backe was no sooner turned, but hee rated his Counsellers, and tolde them that I was courteous ynough if I were well used.

The 26. of Januarie the Emperours chiefe Secretarie came to me two sundrie times about M. Roper.

Friday the 7. of Februarie I was at Court, and sawe the Emperour as of wont: and I talked with the Counsell two sundrie times, but to litle purpose.

The next tuesday I was summoned to Court to bee there the next day, but the same day, I had a countermaunde to stay till Saturday: Then I went to Court and the Emperour talked with mee, and rehearsed the effect of his Ambassage, and saide that to the chiefe parts of his Articles and requests, hee was not answered any whitte to his liking: but that it seemed by the Queenes answeres, that shee would have no friendshippe with him, rather then otherwise. Whereunto I answered, that if hee woulde consider well, howe farre her Majestie had drawen her selfe to friend him, hee shoulde finde great cause rather to accept her friendly offers kindely, then to construe them after his owne fashion. But he ranne still to his olde point, that hee would have her Majestie take his part directly against all his enemies.

I desired his Majestie to have a little patience (a hard request) and that hee would give mee leave to speake (a hard thing also to come by :) for hee must say all himselfe without to bee answered.

Sir (quoth I) then thus lyeth the case, that upon condition that the Queene will make warres upon all your enemies, who all are yet her friendes, you will then bee content that the English Marchants shall enjoy a priviledge, that they have alreadie more then deserved at your handes. And besides you will that the Queenes Majestie first grant your great requests, and then you will graunt her little ones. But I doubt her Majestie will take it very unkindely, that you take in no better part her kinde and friendly offers : for I answere, her meaning never was to make warre upon these Princes, except upon greater cause then shee yet knoweth.

Well, (quoth he) I will sende my Ambassadour with you to the Queene my sister, and will set downe my meaning more plainely then before, and hee shall doe there touching the Marchants matters as he shall finde cause.

Sir, (quoth I) I thinke your Ambassadour wil not goe with mee, for the Queene my Mistresse hath given mee leave to goe over lande, and to that ende I am to crave your Majesties favour and furtherance.

This liked his Majestie as little, as the deniall of it pleased mee : For hee might not suffer, (nor would) that I shoulde goe over lande, and therefore concluded that I should goe home, the same way that I came. And so after some other speaches, hee bade mee goe home, and tolde mee that upon the Munday next following hee woulde appoint his chiefe Councellers to declare unto mee the rest of his minde, and then I should have my dispatche homewards.

Februarie.

Munday, the sixt of Februarie, I went againe to Court, and sawe the Emperour as of wont, but talked no whit with him: I was willed to retire my selfe to the Councell chamber, whither came his Counsell, and (by his commaundement) read unto mee a scroule of Articles, such as he would have to passe in the league of amitie. I tolde them in part my opinion of those Articles, as I had done often before, when I told them, as then also, that if the Emperour did not answere the Queenes smal demaunds and reasonable requests, it was not like that she would yeeld to those of his, which no man would recken reasonable.

I had tolde them before, that the Emperour might save labour in keeping his Ambassadour at home, if he left the Queenes Majestie unsatisfied.

I was answered, that he would proove once againe what the Queene would doe for him: But still I felt both the Emperour and his Counsell to nibble at the baite, and found that they would bite at length.

They tolde mee that upon Thursday then next, I should be called to Court againe to see the Emperour and so to take my leave, and thus we parted.

In the meane season the Emperour and his Counsell, having well considered my constancie in urging the reasonable requests of our Marchants, as also bethinking themselves of the greate benefite they might reape, by the continuance of their trafique, grewe to such issue as I looked for, and the Marchants desired. So that after certaine dayes, I was againe called to Court into the Emperours presence, where after apparant shewe of his gratious countenance and favour, I was requested to repaire againe to the Counsel chamber, where his greatest Counsailers signified unto me, that the Emperour had at last yeelded to these articles following, viz.

1. First, that the goods which were taken from our Marchants by robberie upon the Volga, should be recompensed.

2. Then that the summe of 500. markes, which was paid for 10. yeeres together into the Emperours receit, for the rent of a house that they had in Vologda, should be repayed.

3. Thirdly, that 1500 markes, which had bene exacted from them the two last yeeres before my comming into Russia, should also be repayed.

4. Next that an olde desperate debt of 1000 markes or there abouts, shoulde nowe bee satisfied.

5. Lastly, that their custome which before that time they had payde, amounting to 2000 pounds by the yeere, should now be abated, and no more required.

There remayned nothing in the foresaide Articles, but the confirmation of them by seale, and the deliverie of them to mee, which was determined to bee done at my next repaire to the Court.

The death of the olde Emperour.

But in the meane time it fell out so unfortunately that the Emperour fell sicke, and within a few dayes died: After whose death, the foresaide Counsellers, who not long before were as glad of my friendship, as I was also of theirs, grewe againe to be of their former authoritie, and then began to revenge themselves upon mee, at their pleasure. For Mekita and Shalkan, shut mee up immediately in mine owne house (as it were a close prisoner,) so that for the space of eight or nine weekes, I was forced with all my companie to keepe within doores, not so much as to looke out at the windowes, that were upon the streetes side, with continuall watche, and gard set to observe all our doings.

Besides this, they tooke from me the liberall allowance of diet, which the late Emperour had graunted me, yeelding such slender and ill fare, as envious stomackes coulde afoorde, with many other indignities, which for modesties sake I here suppresse.

All this while I sued for my dispatche, which I should have had before the Emperour died, but coulde by no meanes obtaine it, such was the pleasure of Mekita and Shalkan. But after long and tedious delaye, they sent mee worde at last overnight, to come to Court the next day to have my dispatch. Whicher being come, whereas ever to fore I had bene mette within Counsell, with many of the greatest and gravest Counsailers, I was nowe onely intertained by this Shalcan, and a brother of his, and one other meane Gentleman, whome I had never seene till then. Who delivered to mee for resolution from the newe Emperour, that hee had no meaning to proceede further in those treaties, that his late father nowe deceased, had to fore dealt in.

Theodore the newe Emperour.

Shortly after I was willed to come againe to Court to take my leave of the Emperour, and so I did, and being come into his presence, he told me briefly, that he desired such league and friendshippe with the Queene my Mistresse, as his father heretofore had had, and for the summe of my dispatche, delivered unto mee a letter, which hee had written to her Majestie, which I received.

His departing from Mosco the 29 of May.

Thus within a fortnight after this, I had post horses provided mee, and having furnished them for the use of my companie, I tooke horse, and departed from Mosco, on the 29. of May being then Saturday, about two of the clocke in the afternoone: I was accompanied out of the Citie of Mosco, with Mekita, and the four Prestaves, and other Gentlemen and servants, who having brought me some part of my way, about two versts from the Citie, there tooke their leave, and departed backe againe: Onely Mekita accompanied mee still, and went with mee to S. Nicholas.

Bratezeve.

This Saturday at night I lodged at a place about 4 versts from Bratezeve, which Bratezeve is from Mosco 30. versts.

Doobna.

On Sunday I ridde forewardes towardes Troits, which is also 30. versts from Bratezeve: where I dined that day, and lodged that night at Doobna 300. versts from Troits.

Peraslave.

On Munday I ridde to Peraslave 20. versts from Doobna, and there dined, and lodged that night at Rogozeve, 12 versts from Peraslave.

Deobola.

On tuesday I ridde to Deobala, and from thence to Rostove, where I lodged, which is 48 versts from Deobola.

On wednesday I ridde to Sheupza, where I dined and lodged that night at Jeraslave in my olde lodging, which Jeraslave is 25. versts from Sheupza. *Sheupza.* *Jeraslave.*

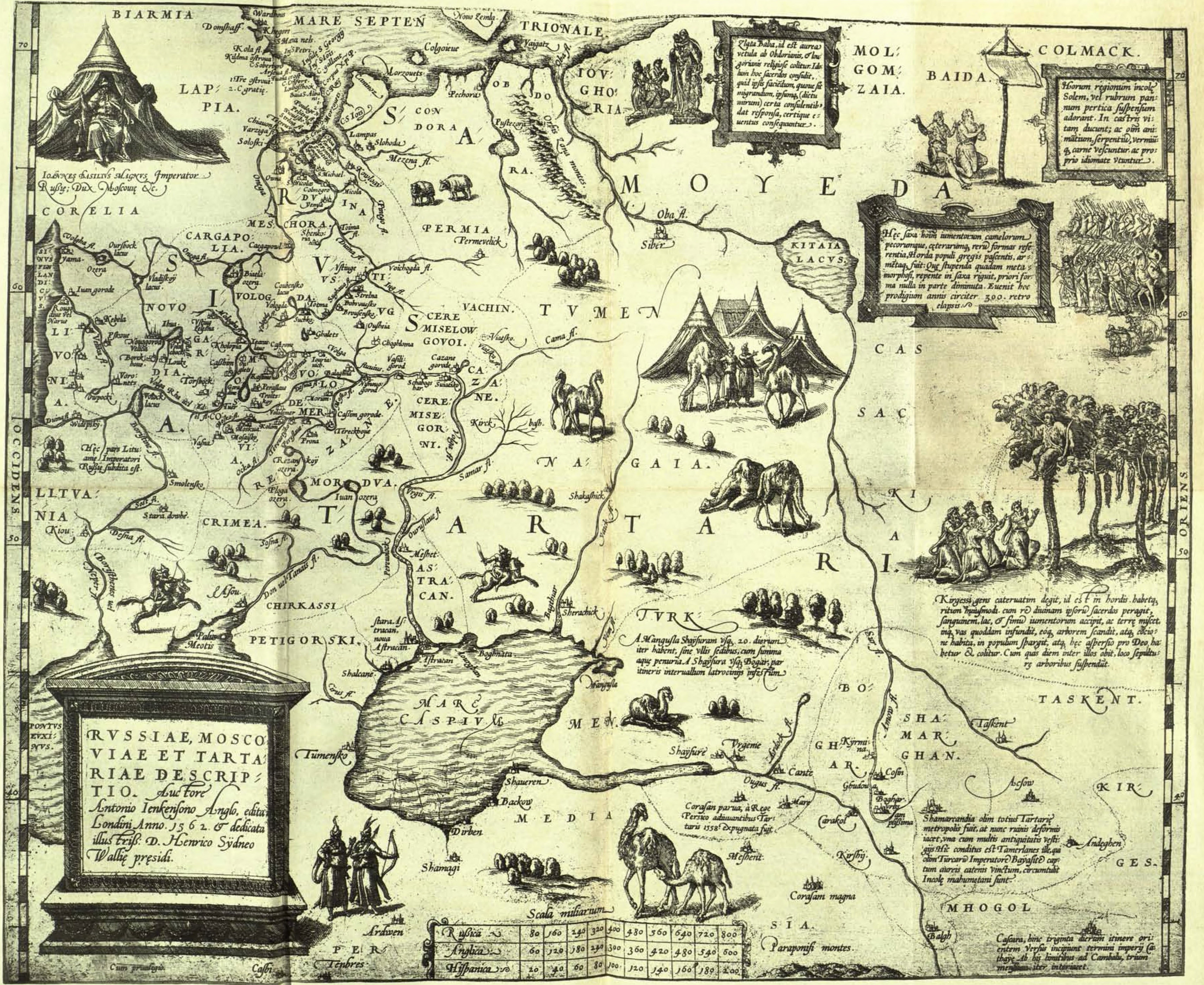
On thursday in the afternoone, I went to the Volga, to have passed it over by ferrie, but the wind was high, and all things not readie, and I returned againe to Jeraslave for that night.

On Friday I past the river, and lodged that night at Davileske, being 43 versts from Vochfur, where I dined that day. *Davileske.*

On saturday I ridde from Davileske to Teletske, where I rested that night. *Teletske.*

On Sunday I ridde from Teletske to Obnorske, which was 20. versts. Therehence the next day to Camelski, which was 20 versts more, and so upon tuesday I came to Vologda 30. versts from Camelski. At Vologda I rested till Sunday morning, and then went downe the River. *Camelskie.* *Vologda.*

The thursday seventh night after at night, I came to S. Nicholas, and there remayned till our English shipping were readie to way for our voyage homewards, which was the tenth day of August following, at which time Mekyta, which accompanied mee hither from Mosco tooke his leave of me, and I imbarked my selfe, and my whole companie in the bay or roade, and arrived in safetie at Gravesend, the 12. day of September next ensuing. *S. Nicholas.*


RVSSIAE, MOSCOVIAE ET TARTARIAE DESCRIPTIO. Auctore Antonio Ienkenſono Anglo, edita Londini Anno. 1562. & dedicata illuſtriſs: D. Henrico Sÿdneo Walliæ præſidi.
Ioannes Baſilius Magnus Imperator Ruſsiæ; Dux Moſcoviæ &c.
Zlata Baba, id eſt aurea vetula ab Obdorianis, & Iugorianis religioſe colitur. Idolum hoc ſacerdos conſulit, quid ipſis faciẽdum, quoue ſit migrandum, ipſumq, (dictu mirum) certa conſulentib. dat reſponſa, certique euentus conſequuntur.
Horum regionum incolæ Solem, vel rubrum pannum pertica ſuſpenſum adorant. In caſtris vitam ducunt; ac oĩm animãtium, ſerpentũ, vermiũq, carne veſcuntur. ac proprio idiomate vtuntur.
Hec ſaxa hoiũ iumentorum camelorum pecorumque, cæterarumq, rerũ formas referentia, Horda populi gregis paſcentis, armẽtaq, fuit: Quę ſtupenda quadam metamorphoſi, repente in ſaxa riguit, priori forma nulla in parte diminuta. Euenit hoc prodigium annis circiter 300. retro elapsis.
Kirgessi gens cateruatim degit, id eſt in hordis. habetq, ritum huiuſmodi. cum rẽ diuinam ipſorũ ſacerdos peragit, ſanguinem, lac, & fimũ iumentorum accipit, ac terræ miſcet, inq, vas quoddam infundit, eóq, arborem ſcandit, atq, concione habita, in populum ſpargit, atq, hęc aſperſio pro Deo habetur & colitur. Cum quis diem inter illos obit, loco ſepulturę arboribus ſuſpendũt.
TVRK
A Mangusla Shayſuram vſq, 20. dierum iter habent, ſine vllis ſedibus, cum ſumma aquę penuria. A Shayſura vſq, Bogar, par itineris interuallum latrociniis infeſtum.
Corasan parua, à Rege Perſico adiuuantibus Tartaris 1558. expugnata fuit.
Shamarcandia olim totius Tartarię metropolis fuit, at nunc ruinis deformis iacet, vna cum multis antiquitatis veſtigijs. Hic conditus eſt Tamerlanes ille, qui olim Turcarũ Imperatorẽ Bayaſitẽ captum aureis catenis vinctum, circumtulit Incolę mahumetani ſunt.
Caſcara, hinc triginta dierum itinere orientem verſus incipiunt termini imperij Cathaye. Ab his limitibus ad Cambalu, trium menſium iter interiacet.
Scala miliarium
Ruſsica 80 160 240 320 400 480 560 640 720 800
Anglica 60 120 180 240 300 360 420 480 540 600
Hiſpanica 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200
BIARMIA
MARE SEPTENTRIONALE
LAPPIA
CORELIA
CARGAPOLIA
RVSSIA
NOVOGARDIA
LIVONIA
LITVANIA
MOSCOVIA
VOLOGDA
PERMIA
CONDORA
OBDORA
IOVGHORIA
SAMOYEDA
MOLGOMZAIA
BAIDA
COLMACK
KITAIA LACVS
TVMEN
CASSACKI
TARTARI
NAGAIA
CRIMEA
CHIRKASSI
PETIGORSKI
MORDVA
CAZANE
REZANE
CEREMISEGORNI
ASTRACAN
MARE CASPIVM
PONTVS EVXINVS
MEDIA
PERSIA
TASKENT
SHAMARGHAN
BOGHAR
KIRGESSI
MHOGOL
Paraponiſi montes
Moſcow
Nouogorod
Colmogro
Vologda
Cazan
Astracan
Shamagi
Backow
Boghar
Taſkent
Balgh
Volga fl.
Oba fl.
Dwina fl.
Don vel Tanais fl.
Boriſthenes vel Nieper
OCCIDENS
ORIENS
Cum privilegio

Brevis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam convitiis, ac calumniis, quibus Islandis liberiùs insultare solent, occurritur: per Arngrimum Jonam Islandum. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Christiano IIII, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorúmque, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ & Dithmarsiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst: Domino suo clementissimo. [I. 515.]

PRæclaram sanè apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Princeps, Anchuri illius Midæ regis filii ausus plusquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, ferè exemplo carens, quòd ad occludendum ingentem circa Celænam Phrygiæ oppidum, terræ hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, absorbentem, sese ultrò obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam res eò preciosissimæ immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil esse anima pretiosius, sese vivum in illud profundissimum chasma præcipitem dedit: idque tanto animi cum fervore, ut neque parentis desiderio, neque dulcissimæ conjugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multò consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedæmonii, qui ad avertendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos à Lacedemoniis Darii patris legatos, ultionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & ut legatorum necem in se, non in patria ulcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Quæ verò res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures movit, ut patriæ flagrantes amore, nullum pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortem ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, ut quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum ultrò offerrem, sed tamen, ut id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc est, ut scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam judicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeii exemplum confirmavit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Urbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, majorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris sævitiæ committere velle animadverteret, ipse navim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli jussit, in hæc verba exclamans: Ut navigemus urget necessitas: ut vivamus, non urget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patriæ periclitantis majorem habendam rationem, quàm privatæ incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

[I. 516.] (Si parva licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) ut collectis ac comportatis iis, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex malevolorum quorundam invidia jam diu laboranti uterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumvis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Ut scribamus, urget necessitas: Ut verò scriptum nostrum, cujusvis, delicato palato, ubique satisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proterviam effugiat, non urget. Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsan non itidem

A.D. 1593.

omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen majorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quàm sive laudis, sive vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsan redituræ, existimabam. Quid enim causæ esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium & invidentiam, cum hoc patriæ, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio fortè conjunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum censores confido, qui paulò diligentius animadvertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graves quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem nostram variis modis lacessivere, & etiamnum lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amori est; Dandum justo, ob hanc patriæ illatam injuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, ubique; mihi temperavi, ac à convitiis abstinere volui: quòd si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id prædicta ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animadverto, id mihi hoc tempore solicitè curandum est: Nempè ut patronum & mecœnatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, sub cujus nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps, Sereniss. Majestate: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ ut sit, supplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiss. non solùm ad hanc rem, S. Majestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoque alia, quæ in nostra patria desiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad hujus utilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quæque non per me, sed per summorum nostræ gentis virorum libellos supplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè brevi exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Majestas, Christianissimorum majorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperii sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ nostra est ad S. Majestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Majestatis V. in nobis sublevandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria : Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperii finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac reposita in cœlis immarcessibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa hujus loci non sint, id quod mei est propositi subjungo : & à S. Majestate V. ea, qua par est, animi submissione peto, ut huic meæ opellæ & studio in patriam collato, favere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Majestatem V. sapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmque adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa sumentem, ad summum imperii fastigium, summus ille regnorum, omniúmque adeò rerum humanarum dispensator, Deus opt. max. evehat : Evectam, omni rerum fœlicissimo successu continuè beet : Beatámque hoc modo, ut summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præsidium, Ecclesiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutissimè conservet : Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni cœlestis gaudio, cum præcipuis ecclesiæ Dei nutritiis, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiam idem Pater clementis. ut hæc vota, quantò sæpius, in amplissimorum Majestatis V. regnorum & Insularum quovis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Haffniæ 1593. Mense Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter subjectus :
Arngrimus Jonas Islandus.

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.

[I. 517.]

IN lucem exiit circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui unquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel emisisse, nisi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliósque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi hujus odium fuit, & ex re illicita lucri aviditas. Et hoc in illa civitate, quæ plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunè fecit. Joachimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certè qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alii scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm sordidus iste Rhythmista: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, quæ illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam aliis exposuerint. Hæc animadvertens, legens, expendens, subinde novis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram novis conspurcare mendaciis, lectorésque nova monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quique aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conviciis si non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet.

Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, Arngrimo Jonæ F. ut revolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita ut hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi jure flagitabat, ut in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præfarer: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare ut mentem breviter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam navasse eum judico, qui non modò scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & invicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Æquum est igitur, Lector optime, ut quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore adversus Zoilorum protervìam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.
Anno 1592. Jul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector suavis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Has videris si fortè quando paginas
Non lectione sique dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori ut hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis unquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium

Erroribus nævisque semper plurimis?
Quod si diu multúmque cogitaveris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulò æquior,
Tuis & isto ritè pacto consules:
Candore nam quo nostra tractans utere,
En te legentes rursus utentur pari:
Sic ipse semper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Islandica
Authoribus quamvis probata maximis,
Nostro perîclo hucúsque vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non ut notam scriptorum inuram nomini,
Nostrum sed à nota probrosa vindicem: [I. 518.]
Hoc institutum júsque fâsque comprobant:
Hoc nostra consuetudo léxque comprobant:
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo fave: nostris fave conatibus,
Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbute suavis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIUM.

Quemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, invidia & avaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animadvertimus: Alios verò justis de causis arma sumere; ut qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut servandæ ergò bella movent, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac injuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alii animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui livore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, ut ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicujus, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes : Alii verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando investigant & in lucem emittunt ; ut qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quique suis vigiliis veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt : qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animadverterunt, usu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt : qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt : qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus juverunt : denique qui aliorum in se suamve gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim injustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui divinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (ut id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & convitiantium jugum detrectare studuerunt : Majora ingenio sors denegavit : Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, variis convitiis, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliísque nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quòd sperem me ab hac inveterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decrevi.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, ut ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideóque ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos : Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacii, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum ut æquissimæ postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum ut reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia fœlicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione ulterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrocinium invitarem: Tantum abest, ut iis qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum ut ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se uti ac niti jactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quàm vera scriptores prodiderint, ut si fortè isti, aliis in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamvis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reverenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium: Novitii verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum iis longè veriora quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua levitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil nisi invidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

Commentarii duæ partes.

Atque ut Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propositæ orationis capita, unum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam ultra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipsa, & quæ huc [I. 519.] pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel Geographum sed disputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & aliis quibusdam adjunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

[Sectio

SECTIO PRIMA.

Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.

Insula Islandiæ, quæ per immensum à cæteris secreta longè sita est in Oceano, vixque à navigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

ETsi hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adjuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morsu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum est, ut perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in iis quæ de Incolis scripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alii, tanquam Diis prodentibus, acceperunt, unde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, judicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimârim, cum nulli dubium sit, quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, ut illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subjungam, ut inde quivis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adjungam.

Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub	Longit.		Latitud.	
gradibus ferè	20		68.	
Gerardus Mercator	352		68.	
Gemma Frisius :				
Medium Islandiæ :	7.	0	65.	30
Hersee :	7.	40	60.	42
Thirtes :	5.	50	64.	44
Nadar :	6.	40	57.	20
Jacobi Ziegleri :				
Littus Islandiæ Occident.	20.		63.	
Chos promontorium :	22.	46	63.	

	Longit.	Latitud.
Latus orientale extenditur contra Septentrionem: & finis extensionis habet	30.	68.
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extensionis habet	28.	69.
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.		
Heckelfel promontorium	25.	67.
Madher promontorium	21. 20	65. 10
Civitates in ea mediterraneæ sunt		
Holen Episcopalis	28.	67. 50
Schalholten Episcopalis	22.	63. 30
Reinholdus.		
Per Holen Islandiæ.		68.
Joh. Myritius.		
Per Med. Islandiæ.		69.
Neander.		
Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum usque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, ut mediam circulus ille secet, &c.		

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamvis verisimiles conjecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ assentiar, quin potius diversum quippiam ab iis omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, ut dixi, fortè aliquando non conjecturam, sed observationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandiæ meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Unde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaveris, nullam modò positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium navigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia perventum esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab ovium multitudine Færeyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dictæ sunt, bidui navigatione, ut & littora Noruagiæ deserta distant. Quatridui verò navigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis intervallo, ad provinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam pervenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui navigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiam desertam.

[I. 520.]

SECTIO SECUNDA.

Munsterus, Olausmagnus: & reliqui.

In hac, æstivo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula quæ longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.

NUllum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, ubi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima convalle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. ut à Domino Gudbrando ejusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem brevissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, ut ex artificum tabulis videre est. Unde constat nec Islandiam ultra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstivo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Insula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata. *Munsterus. Saxo.*

NOmen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus ejus inventor fuisse creditur Naddocus genere Noruagus, cum versus insulas Farenses navigaret tempestate valida, ad littora Islandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: ubi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum sociis commoratus, animadvertit immodicam nivium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à nive nomen Insulæ Snelandia indidit. *Snelandia.* Hunc secutus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quæsitum abiit, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin & plures novam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illique à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Obsoletæ admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam ervo, ut quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu ut verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub judice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animadvertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. 874. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam jam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò rursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, ut illud sit quoddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Unus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, ubi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius unam ex Orcadibus, sive ultimam in ditione Scoti, ut Joannes Myritius & alii, qui nomen illius referunt Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam ultimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgilii Eclog. 1. apparet.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos. Quartus unam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam Noruagiæ. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio solvitur.

Perpetuò ad Boream adhæret.) Illud verò, Glaciem Insulæ perpetuò, vel ut paulò post asserit Munsterus: Octo continuis mensibus adhærere: neutrum verum est. Nam ut plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio solvitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Januarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam hujus nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Unde constat quàm verè à Frisio scriptum sit, navigationem ad hanc insulam tantùm quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter, Cùm Anglicæ naves quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Junio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc solvant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam navis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum Islandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Novembri occupavit, quibus lapsis inde fœliciter solvit. Quare cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adhæreat, Munsterus & Frisius manifestè falluntur.

SECTIO QUARTA.

[I. 521.]

Tam grandis Insula, ut populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Insulæ extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine. *Kranzius. Munsterus.*

GRandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBURGENSIS Anno 1591. ad avunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit brevem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodiis de Islandia collegerat. Ubi sic reperimus: Islandia duplo major Sicilia, &c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Nostræ verò Insulæ ambitus etsi nobis non est exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandiæ insigniora, quæ singula 12. inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam sùmmam ostendunt. *Magnitudo Islandiæ.*

Populos multos) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Episcopus Schalholtensis in Islandia, omnes Insulæ colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, ut regi tributum solvere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curavit, reperitque in parte Insulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa solventium. Jam si quis experiatur, inveniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

SECTIO QUINTA.

Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est præstat plurimùm pabulo, tam læto, ut pecus depellatur à pascuis, ne ab arvina suffocetur. *Munst. Frisius, Ziegler.*

ID suffocationis periculum nullo testimonio, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

[Sectio

SECTIO SEXTA.

Munst. Frisius.

Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua nive candent, radices sempiterno igne æstuant. Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes sive promontorium Hecla æstuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream perpetuæ flagrationis æstibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna jugi flammarum eructatione continuat.

Miracula Islandiæ Munsterus & Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hîc de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus aliis montibus perpetuo igne æstuantibus dicunt, manifestè erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis nivibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia ejecta. Cæterum ille mons longè est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diversissimus. Porrò etsi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sanè nefas esse duco, his vel similibus naturæ miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi verò non concurrant in hujusmodi incendiis causæ ad hanc rem satis validæ. Est in horum montium radicibus materia uri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit aër per poros ac cavernas in terræ viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendii fomitem exsufflans unà cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam follibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita convenientibus, quæ tria ad urendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præstat per terræ cavernas admissus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis invicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisve seu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, à sulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius pulvis conficitur, excitato ejiciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exspuentis & ejaculantis, idque ut plurimum, non sine terræmotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terræ fiat, succussio à Possidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus. Hiatu terra [I. 522.] dehiscit: pulsu elevatur intumescens, & nonunquam, ut inquit Plinius, moles magnas egerit: Cujusmodi *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. terræmotus jam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandiæ Australis Anno 1581 infestantis, quique à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur.

> Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
> Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
> Explorátque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,
> Si quâ forte queat victis erumpere claustris.
> Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
> Terra, suis quatiens latas cum mœnibus urbes:
> Dissiliunt avulsa jugis immania saxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; Sed ne nos alii ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc exstruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moveat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquam nive careant. Porrò id admirari, est præter authoritatem tantorum virorum, quibus Ætnæ incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cùm secundum Plinium hybernis temporibus nivalis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundum illos, ille mons, cum adhuc nivium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter nives in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquam, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ nivibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina nivibus semper candentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ nivibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore distent. Utrámque hanc provinciam juxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una est ex insulis Canariis, quæ & Fortunatæ) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra assurgens, atque instar Aetnæ jugiter conflagrans, nives, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Historico, non resolvit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breviter de incendiis montanis. *Cardanus.*

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum usque attolli scribant. Habent enim nullam præ cæteris Islandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Precipuè tertius ille Helga à Munstero appellatus, nobis Helgafel. 1. Sacer mons, apud monasterium ejusdem nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstivo nivibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquam, ut initio hujus sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuæ nives Heclæ, vel paucis aliis adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet ejusmodi montes nivosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus, ut à Munstero & Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est : sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Annales Islandiæ. Incendia perpetua jugi, &c. Quicunque perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adscripserunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, ut quoties flammas eructârit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, usque ad annum 1558. quæ ultima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet statis intervallis, ut hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Frisius. Munst. Montis Heclæ flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi ejiciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.

NEc stuppam adurit.) Unde habeant Scriptores, non satis conjicitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc unquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo enim est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, ut hujus rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ausit, vel quod scire licuit, unquam ausus fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendii contemplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos una aliqua vorago vivos absorbet, &c. Quæ res, ut dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Unde [I. 523.] facile apparet, à Sophis quibusdam, si diis placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum : Speculum Regale nomen dederunt, *Speculum Regale.*

propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plærumque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minimè regale, sed Anile & Irregulare. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacii accusem; nullum verò ex his quæ minus credibilia affert, recenseam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri existimarim.

1 De quadam Insula Hyberniæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cujus incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem cœmeterii, vivorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuò: Nec ulli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxii: ut posterûm quivis suos majores ibi quærere & conspicere possit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Insula, ubi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, ubivis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentiâ, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Insula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, juris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (ut tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cujus gramina, quibusvis morbis præsentissimum remedium existant: Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque ut plurimum, diebus Dominicis, ut tum quivis facilè eam veluti navim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, ut à continente non discernas: In ejus autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consi-

milem: quæ unde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumvis impropriè: cùm ligno ut non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, ut asseres 8. ulnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoveant, ut non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam avium volatu superari nequeant: atque unico cursu, unico etiam hastæ ictu, novem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Noruegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitavit.

Gronlandia.

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Heclæ nec stuppam, lucernarum luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus ut siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Unde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum utrumque aquæ inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Unde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, Aqua ali ignem. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. In Nymphæo exitè Petra flamma, que aquâ accenditur. Idem, Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, ut Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse

Chronica Islandiæ.

totum, idem autor est. Et anno 1226, & 1236. non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, ut Servio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exsiliisse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad ultionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ ut aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, quæ frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solà Heclà mirari (ponam enim jam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quòd à quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset.

Frisius. Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, projicit ingentia Saxa, sulphur evomit, cineribus egestis, [I. 524.] tam longè terram circumcirca operit, ut ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut aliis montibus flammivomis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modò simile, sed prope idem: Nisi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm aliis id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorsus quievit, facta videlicet ultima eruptione, An. 1558 ut superius annotavimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel majus cæteris montibus flammivomis competat, ut mox apparebit. Quòd verò sulphur ejaculetur, manifestum est commentum, nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum esse mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis divisim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ sunt meritò secundæ partis, miscere cogar. Evenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insulæ situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis, carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam ut hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eò perduci, ut hæc vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluvies nautica, (hîc enim saniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc insolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consuevit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inolevit, dum (ut ad maledicta optimè assuefactum est) unus alteri hujus montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, I. substantias spirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur, cur eundem carcerem damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendiis celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sanè: Eadem igitur hujus carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorii. Sed priusquam longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, hujus opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum navi Islandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citissimo cursu iter suum rectà legenti, factam obviam alteram, similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cujus præfectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne pelvim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, ut facilè nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim ejusdem facimus atque illarum coax, coax. Nec verò dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros convertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peuceri, illud præterire. Est in Islandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, ejulantium miserabili & lamentabili ploratu personat, ut voces plorantium circumquaque, ad intervallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumvolitant hunc corvorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidem ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunque parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruentæ, commoveri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atque ejulatus ingentes longâ experientiâ didicerunt. Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notavit, & Pygarsum appellavit. Nec ulli sunt hujus spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec denique ibidem corvos aut aquilas nidîficare probabile est, quæ, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius à focis vel incendiis arceantur. Et nihilominus in hujus rei testimonium, (ut & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia testatur. Unde verò foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa essent, quæ authorem istius mendacii interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis constaret: qui utinam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte similia, incomperta, átque adeò incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut aliis referre præsumat.

Ast verò Munsterus cum incendii tanti & tam incredilis caussas in famosissimâ Ætna investigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalem imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Cæterùm de Æthnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliâs sentiat Munsterus.

Munsterus Cosmograph. universal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum : Et nostra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia : In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras projicit ingentia Saxa, evomit sulphur spargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, ut terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Ubi autem montium incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos modò, quasi fluvium quendam, [I. 525.] ignes, modò flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm evomunt. Sin per temporum intervalla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, ejus viscera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast ubi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus iisdem vel aliis, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, quæ habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliàsque materias foras projicit, plerúnque non sine detrimento regionis adjacentis. Hæc Munsterus. Ubi videas quæso Lector, quomodo suo se jugulet gladio, videas inquam hîc eandem de incendio Heclæ & AEtnæ opinionem & sententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. ejusdem, admodum est dispar, ut illîc ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indiæ occidentalis mons quidam flammivomus æquiores multò, quàm hic noster, censores & historicos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes : Cujus historiam, quia & brevis est, & non illepida, subjiciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar. novi orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quinque, inquit, milliarium intervallo abest Legione mons flammivomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos sæpe flammarum globos eructat, ut noctu latissimè ultra 10000. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaque Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum ejus rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, moxque in montis jugum cum quatuor aliis Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta ulnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis fervore, ahenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum est. Monachus non leviter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm jussisset ipse, esset fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm resolutus lebes evanuit, verum etiam flammæ globus repentè è profundo exsiliens, propemodum & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo perculsi in urbem reversi sunt, ut de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent, &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Islandiæ verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc ut nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse rejicient: Cur igitur eundem, quem in Hecla Islandiæ, animarum carcerem, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cujus noctu diúque flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur non in Ephesi montibus, quos tæda flammante tactos, tantum ignis concipere accepimus, ut lapides quoque & arenæ in ipsis aquis ardeant, & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcum traxerit, rivos ignium sequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quem non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorum sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur non in illa superius commemorata Teneriffæ pyramide montana, instar Aetnæ, jugiter ardente, & lapides, ut ex Munstero videre est, in aëra exspuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum jugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuvio monte, non sine insigni viciniæ clade, & C. Plinii exitiali detrimento, dum insueti incendii causas perscrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum saxis evomente, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiâm aëra replente, & solem meridianum per totam viciniam densissimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, utpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minimè adhiberi prævidebant: Heclæ verò æstum, cujus rumor tardius ad eorum aures pervenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inservire putabant. Sed facessite: Depræhensa fraus est: Desinite posthac illam de inferno Heklensi opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis invitis, consimilibus incendiis, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus jam plura ejusdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Historicis & Cosmographis nostris adeò malè imposuerunt.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

> Juxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum inspicientibus, homines primùm submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, ut ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspiriis se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subitò evanescunt.

Frisius Zieglerus, Olavus Magn.

AD confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facilè largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, quàm nova & inaudita prædicandi animo ista scripsisse) quàm falsum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac [I 526.] detestabilius, excogitarunt homines ignavi, nec cœlum nec infernum scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri alioqui præclarissimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimium præpropero judicio secuti sunt.

Cæterum optandum esset, nullos tanto novitatis studio Historias scribere, ut non vereantur aniles quasvis nugas iis inserere, atque ita aurum purum cœno aspergere. Qui verò demum sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente undas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrúmque nivalem, cantus exercentem lyricos, redivivum dabitis? Certè, etsi nolint alii futilem hujusmodi ineptiarum levitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnovit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æstimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cujus hæc sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardêtque non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per intervalla, ideoque persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ. Alii, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabulæ, ut consona videantur. Quæ sunt autem illa inania? Quòd spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed ubique, licet raró, talia contingunt: Subditque de larvâ homicida Historiam, quæ sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, funus viri plebeii Mediolani, orientali in porta juxta templum majus foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen caulis nostra lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, ut medicorum moris est, quo morbo excesserit? Respondent ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à spectro captus atque in terram projectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larva volutatus esset, inventus à prætereuntibus quibusdam, semivivus domum relatus, cum resipuisset, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hæc, octo inde diebus periit. Audivi postmodum & ab aliis, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam constanter de illo testatum, ut hic, quod à mortuo fuisset in terram provolutus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille postquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus, ut eum strangularet: Nec obstitisse quicquam, nisi quòd se ipsum tueretur manibus. Cum alii dubitarent, ne forte hæc à vivo passus esset, interrogaréntque in quo mortuum a vivo secernere potuisset? Caussam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus habuisse, nisi ut premebatur. Et paulò post addit. Eadem verò ratione qua in Islandia, in arenæ solitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæque, ubi Sol ardet, eædem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare solent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluserit, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæque locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adscribere libuit, ut etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Convincit autem præsens Cardani locus hæc duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandiæ proprias spectrorum apparitiones: (quod etiam omnes norunt, nisi ejus rei ignorantiam nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorum cum vivis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum fabulis, quavis ampulla vanioribus, niti, quibus beluæ vulgares, ad confirmandam de animarum cruciatibus opinionem, usæ fuerant. Et quisquam est, qui illis scriptorum hiatibus, mortuorum miraculis ad summum usque refertis, adduci potest ut credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatem tantam non cotemnat? Certè. Nam & hinc convicia in gentem nostram rectè sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac projectius ac deterius esse usquam, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc commodi nobis peperit Historicorum ad res novas divulgandas aviditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, ut stulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium nostræ gentis conficta, hactenus, ut spero, satis labefactata est. Quare jam perge Lector, ulterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

[Sectio

SECTIO NONA.

Frisius & Munst. Circum verò Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat, glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glacie loca esse, in quibus animæ suorum crucientur.

EGregium scilicet Historiæ augmentum, de Orco Islandico in unius montis basin, haud sanè vastam, coacto: Et interdum (statis forsan temporibus) loca commutante. Ubi scilicet domi in foco montano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagúsque, sed sine rate, tentare juvat, seseque in glaciei frustella colligere. Audite porrò, hujus secreti admiratores: En porrigam Historicis aliud Historiæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his scriptorum commentis adhærent, Islandos non solùm infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atque intactos eodem die egredi. Quid ita? Quia pervetus est Insulæ consuetudo, ut maritimi [I. 527.] in hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in scriniis & aliis vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asservari, ut paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (ut historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & velint & possint, illáque sine ullo graviore damno perrumpere atque effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex jam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à littore digressi, glacie à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidentes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus jactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex præsenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atque à Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali navigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum pervenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie vivunt. Quare hoc novitatis avidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, justum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm ejusmodi jocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, joco seposito, unde digressi sumus, revertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter undarum alluvionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut ejulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus animæ nostrorum crucientur, Id verò seriò pernegamus, Deóque ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis januam nobis reseravit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysios, sed in sinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox è corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, ubi est fletus & stridor dentium, ubi est frigus, ubi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostram scientiam & subtilem disputationem positus. Ubi non modò corpora sed animæ etiam. i. substantiæ spirituales, crucientur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de hujus carceris loco sitúve quicquam disputare attinet: Sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricosum fœtorem & reliqua tormenta, dante & juvante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cujus precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam simus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hîc de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Frisius, ZieglerusSaxo fere similiter.

Quòd si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissimè asservarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, evanescit, ut neque minima ejus particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

ID profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, repræsentatem, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, ut reliqua in vastissima hac universitate omnia, ex Elementi alicujus materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisii paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genii: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, ut vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras pervenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quam est hæc glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquam suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec iis quicquam decedere posse: Quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumvis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguendæ, non secus ac rivos terrestres, inservire:. Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegatum est. Non est igitur spiritualis, ut nec infernalis. Jam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingunt, secum è cœlo traxisse: Vel id cœlo, quippe ejusdem materiæ cum glacie, commune esse, atque ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec sit elementaris, ut [I. 528.] ex præsenti loco Frisii optimè sequi jam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod utrûmque brevibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstravimus: nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, ut secundum eosdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamen illi tàm cum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma ubi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itáque jam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quàm monstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se permisit, sæpius errare. Cujusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei hujus Sympathiâ, quòd videlicet molis, cujus pars esset, discessum insequeretur, ut omnem observationis diligentiam inevitabili fugæ necessitate deciperet. Atqui sæpe vidimus ejusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

SECTIO UNDECIMA.

Frisius.

Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diversissimæ naturæ. Unus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim convertit in saxum, manente tamen priore formâ. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior & restinguendæ siti jucundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus.

ETiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur:

Montes hos tres prædictos ferè contiguos esse: Siquidem tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscretè adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, uni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus invicem dissiti) neque juxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorum contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Heclâ) fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter fervore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisii fontes, nisi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & juxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Unde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Unde iste fervor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidissimum, ut ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem usibus humanis inservire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio.) Testis est unus omnium, & pro omnibus, Johannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summæ obtigerunt, ut quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque levius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil gravius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida evincit, ut nec aërem, ullius humor. Summæ præterea sic illis insunt, ut ne minimum quidem possint augescere, remitti verò possint. Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Unum profecto hic cavendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, ut glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes, creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adjuncta, quæ huc scriptores pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. Primus suo perpetuo calore) Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum hujusmodi, ut a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in iis locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsuiliensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtembergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, unde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atque inquâm, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod ut incendii montani, ita fervoris aquei caussas indagarint Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indéque non calorem solùm, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, ut atquæ, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens ejiciunt ferrum: Nunc tepidæ aquæ erumpunt, nunc ferventissimæ, nunc temperatæ. Et Seneca: Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis opertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subjecti sint solo, per quod aquæ transitus est. Et scitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus. *Lib.* 3. *Nat. quæst.*

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas [I. 529.]
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipsa monent, latè multùm tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposque exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Unda fugax, tectis fervent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, Islandiæ fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exundare: Nunc adeò subsidere, ut vix fontes agnoscas.

Qui etsi rariores apud nos inveniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hîc monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula unum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstivo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluvium esse, qui omnibus Solstitiis æstivis exundet, brumali tempore siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodam satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire: ut Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscovia: Et quæ in Æsculapii fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ consumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademque post intervallum reverti, recipereque & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluvium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 millia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuò convertit in saxum. His duobus adjunctis, fervore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suum fontem describit Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontem in Islandia, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontem quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides convertat, hominumque viscera indurescere, qui aquam ejus biberint: Et addit ejusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inveniri: quod Ovidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu juxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conversas esse, atque, quod majus est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis ejus, qui est in agro urbis Ursentinorum olim, nunc Contursii, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, ut qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices autem lapidum, annos numero ostendere. Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis sparsæ lapidescunt. Et in Ungaria, Cepusii aqua, in urceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, ut in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum dejectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hîc est quòd quisquam sciat, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita ut vulgaribus rivis æstivo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem rivum commemorat, nive frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cum fervere videatur, sit tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neque id prorsus verum est. Non enim est ullus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inveniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, ut etiam ibidem non diversi saporis solùm, sed diversi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neque saporem neque odorem habere, tamen, ut superius attigimus, verisimile est, quod alii per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cujus venas transitum atque excursum habet: Atque hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapores, alios atque alios existere. Cujusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alii famem excitent, alii bibentes inebrient, alii memoriæ officiant, alii juvent eandem, alii vini saporem

& virtutem repræsentent: Ut ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Jan: vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleum præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluvius Thessaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cujusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia esse, juxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Suevia, juxta Cœnobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Item, in valle montis Jurassi. Causam hujus rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, juxta locum Daschyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Aliam quoque juxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur. Jam aquarum vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

Lib. de mirab. auscultat.

Lib. 2. de Element.

[I. 530.]

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Unde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Est autem Naxus Insula una ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Causam hujus assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti utantur. Idem saporum aquæ causam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat saporem aquæ.

Jam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & saporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem à Glauca, Misenæ oppido: Rubea, ut in Radera Misenæ fluvio, juxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Judæa juxta Joppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, juxta Neusolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Tarvisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluvio Saxoniæ, ubi in Visurgim se exonerat. Caussæ sunt argillæ colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Japygiam promontorium, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo fœtore navigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in

Idumæa fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentiæ est in odoribus. Plerumque tamen aquarum odores injucundi sunt, quòd raro terra bene oleat. Pessimè olim fœtabat in Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, usque ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Juxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur. Hæc ideo recito, ut nullus magis in Islandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, sapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cujus aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: Juxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx (juxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi ungula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnum) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longè maximum est, quod Seneca stagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos verò Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisii fontem, cujus etiam Saxo meminit, ut antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocque igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab ejusmodi fontibus & serpentibus, insectis venenatis, ac aliis pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea est apud prædictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munstero & Frisio ignivomi dicti, omnes longissimo intervallo à nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum juxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari ferè intervallo à fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, ut Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisii fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria

Sulphur in boreali Islandiæ parte.

effossum esse arbitramur. Neque verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet penè unicum Insulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes divisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc utitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insulæ penditur.

SECTIO DUODECIMA.

Munst.

Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, ut ad altitudinem domorum sub aperto cœlo vendendi exponantur.

SUb aperto cœlo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naves mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiantque easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratium mercibus onerare. An verò nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certè copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia jam desiit, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostræ flagellum, quod utinam ritè agnoscamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Frisius.

Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

QUidam in sua mappa Islandiæ, 20. millaria continuo cursu assequi tradit cujusdam parœciæ equos. Sed utrumque impossibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA. [I. 531.]

Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandiam aliquando conspiciuntur, quæ naves evertunt, nisi tubarum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, ut nautæ in dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes, sæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete. *Munst.*

INstar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, ut dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tantò magis quantò minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atque Poëtis,
Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:
  Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, ut & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, ut antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cujus ego fidem titivilitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & divulgandam: Eosque, ubi immensum iter Septentrionem versus navigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quandam pervenisse: ibique jacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) & commeatum navalem ad reliquum iter expedivisse. Ast ubi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam citò evanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix servatos fuisse. Habes hujus rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides. Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, ut Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni studio, allisionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm ut in portu parum tuto quiescere tentent? Sed ubi anchora figenda? Solent enim, ut plurimùm, deesse nautis tam immensi funes, ut in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigium unci prius effodiant. O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profectò, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, ut & superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agens, è Tantali, ut aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec usquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Ubi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantùm venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne ultra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim ejusmodi incœptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, ut vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis aliis autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem sive delectum significat, à verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: unde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Unde tu Trollhualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, ut tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Levis quidem illa in linguam nostram injuria, in unica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem aliis etiam usu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina depravare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignarus, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. in 1585. Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certè hac nativorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria depravatione, (qua factum est, ut ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram & avitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leviter peccasse reputamus.

Cæterum jam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidem scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic utcunque examinavimus. Sed tamen priusquam alio divertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Islandiæ, quam [I. 532.] sub suo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter supra dictos, fontibus Islandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem ubi acceperit, aut unde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed undecunque est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamvis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur à Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oves nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cujus etiam superius memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Islandiæ esse affirmat. Quod forsan Lectori imposuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non majorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet : Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria nativaque motione pervolitet : Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet ? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, ut nullum ejus simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) constet : Nisi fortè hominem, qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moveri vel ambulare, tamen ad salvandam Historici fidem, simulandum : ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunque Islandiæ, corvos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adscripserunt : Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam ursos (sed hos sæpius quam vultures) & cornicum quodam genus, Islandis Isakrakur, advenire observatum est. Picas verò & lepores, ut & corvos albos, nunquàm Islandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè sunt, quæ de prima commentarii nostri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præsentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me scripta sunt, (quod etiam prius testatus sum,) ut scriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent : Neque enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio : Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam consecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta sunt à multis, de Insula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, necesse habui ostendere : ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentarii primæ partis Finis.

Commentarii de Islandia pars secunda: quæ est de incolis.

ABsolutis hactenus miraculis Islandiæ, (cum nonnullis aliis, primæ parti annexis) quæ dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imò, ut quiddam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipsi, & authoritati suæ consulunt; monet propositæ orationis series, ut ad alteram commentarii partem nos conferamus, quæ est de incolis: Ubi quid primùm dicam, aut unde initium sumam, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos ultimos Islandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe historicorum) ut si singula recensere velim, non aliud quàm

Icariæ numerum dicere coner aquæ.

Sed, ut dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè stricto jure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, & alii, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studiis liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leve est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles & ridiculas proposuisse, cujusmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus exposuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cujusmodi jam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast aliis, quicunque sunt, qui quotidianus conviciis nationem Islandorum incessunt, responsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali dedecori consecravit.

Quapropter, ut instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos

Secundæ partis distributio. tamen plæraque excutiemus, & errores, ut hactenus, annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, & si qui sunt alii, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in postremum, ut dignus est, rejecto locum. *1. Capitis hujus partis divisio.* In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu vivendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

[I. 533.]

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi 1070. vidit ad Christum conversos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viventes, non multùm à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinavit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentque & se, & veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliâs nobis adimerent. Nam (ut de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omninò est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reservavit, quæque voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, ubi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipsius, adeoque damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullum inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut ulla alia hujus mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimò, terram hanc interituram, & terram novam & cœlos novos, justorum & sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3. Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimoniis stabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut aliis tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius & Munsterus, dum quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis & honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non majore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed ut ad rem: De Religione equidem nostra, quæ qualisve fuerit, cum Ethnicismus primùm fugari cæpit, nihil magnificè dicere possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, uti existimo, de suis fidei initiis. Fatendum enim est, & cum seriis gemitibus deplorandum usque ad illam nunquam satis prædicatam diem, quæ nobis velut immortalitatis initium illuxit & repurgati Evangelii doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquam Cimmerias, etiam nostris hominibus, ut reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesiis, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, ut & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo ultra septa vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquam pronunciare) ejecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longè & simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectam, quam posteà, ubi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, & malum contagiosum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus suum diffudit: Nam ut posteà apparebit, multis annis antequam nova Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: & ut laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus ut commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium & professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus est, & primus, ut accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit:

quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctum Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperii habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandiæ, Landenum: Quique rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate & consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, ejus seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si ultimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò studiosè seditiones & turbas vitavit: aliosque vitare aut evadere cupientes optimè juvit: Nec quisquam ejus consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est unquam usus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, ut valde mirandum sit, unde homini tanta futurorum eventuum, & tam certa conjectura & consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Unde ipsius cauta, providens & consilii plena sapientia, apud nostrates in proverbium abiit: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium: vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cum quid prudenter & admirando cum consilio gestum est.

[I. 534.] Hic cum domi suæ, à 100. viris conjuratis ob cædem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, & inimicis domum undique igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate divina accidunt. Cæterum spem & fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se & uxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicque inter has voces & flammarum sævitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum uxore & filio homicida, finivit. Vox profectò filiis Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, ut ostendam quâ conjectura adducar ad existimandum mox initio Christianismi (ut sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast verò jam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiúmque nostrarum gravi veterno & densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicavit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & singuli credimus & confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Johan. 4. vers. 24. æternum Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Jerem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Unum essentia & natura: Unum providentia: unum efficientia rerum & administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis divinitatis, proprietatibúsque distinctum, Patrem, Filium & spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam divinitatis personam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem & gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent:) & nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Jesum Christum, secundam divinitatis personam, filium Dei patris (Johan. 1. 18. &c.) Unigenitum (Johan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Johan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Johan. 1. 2. &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatum (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) & statim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, ut Abrahæ (Gen. 12. 3 &c.) Isaac. (Gen. 26. 4.) Jacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) & promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10) Sacrificiis Mosaicis (Levit. 1. 2. &c.) Et aliis typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione ænei serpentis, (Num. 21.) Jona (Jon. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Johan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter justificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Johan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum (qui tertia est divinitatis persona patri & filio compar & consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificantem (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Judicare vivos & mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impiis secundum opera sua, eósque pœnis æternis adjudicaturum (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturum (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Jesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosque illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismum illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicunque aliud nomen sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salvi fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum unicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abjectis & spretis, infallibilem fidei nostræ regulam & amussim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris & novi appellatione complectimur.

Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari & immensa Dei bonitate in hunc usque diem semper in Ecclesia conservatum & conservandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. ult. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vastissimo intervallo à reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore divulsos & ultimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum ad revelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radiis suis saluificis illuminat ac fovet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breviter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, & nostra religio, quam monstrante spiritu Sancto, & ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus: idque ex fontibus Israëlis.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conversos Islandos.

[I. 535.]

Krantzius.

DUbium nobis est, utrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conversos: an verò, prius quidem esse conversos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id Adalberto innotuisse dicat. Utrumvis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ contrarium testantur: quibus utrum malis, de rebus nostris propriis & domesticis & intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò Krantzio, aut cuivis alteri in nostratium rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor ut nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nota tantùm & ferè domestica asserunt; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & sugillatione contexuerunt tantummodò, ut rebus gestis suum verum temp⁹ seu æram assignarent; ille quædam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliam gentis nostræ igno-

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tissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, ut paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporum Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille unius tantùm mentionem facit, idque longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò ut his fidem faciam, pauca, quæ in vetustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conversa, & de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesiis successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leviuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, adversus Krantzium & alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

874. *Islandia primum inhabitata.*

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, ut ante commemoravimus, inventa, sed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cujus nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellationem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & præterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, singuli occupaverint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portubus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontoriis, rupibus, scopulis, montibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, rivis, ac denique villis seu domiciliis suis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraque retinentur & in usu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaque Noruagi occupatæ jam Islandiæ 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manserunt, si paucissimos, qui in Noruagia fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum
974. Domini 974. quæ res non sine insigni rebellione plusquam 20. annis variè à multis tentata est. Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum aliis, in convertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter *Fredericus Saxo.* laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno

981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, ut Anno 984. sacræ ædes Islandis in usu fuerint.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus sive concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupavere, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Anno Dom. 1000.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conventu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, universali eorundem consensu, ut Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conventu Anno 1050. sancitum est, ut leges seculares seu politicæ (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Ulfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) ubique cederent juri Canonico seu divino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia Isleifus quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Julias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis fortè quæ sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzii & aliorum errores convincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certè, quantum ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cujus, in præfatione suæ Daniæ, hæc sunt verba. Nec Thylensium inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob nativam soli sterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimentis carentes, officia continuæ sobrietatis exerceant, omniáque vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriæque mandare, voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ judicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros Historicarum

rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud parvam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui : nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tanta vetustatis peritia callere novi. Hæc Saxo. Quare
[I. 536.] lubet Episcoporum Islandiæ Catalogum persequi, ut ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad ejus fieri potest, omnium series, his quæ de primo Isleifo contra Krantzium attulimus, fidem faciat.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	II	I	
	Gysserus.	Jonas Augmundi F.	
1082	Ordinatur peregrè.	Isleifi discipulus.	
1083	Redit in Islandiam cum Episcopatu.	Ordinatur peregrè : anno ætat. 64. cognomentum illi, sanctus : cujus memoriæ dies 3. Martii, apud Islandos est antiquitùs dicatus.	1106
1118	Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.		
	III		
	Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.	1121
Anno ætatis 32 :	Ordinatur eodem anno, quo prædecessor Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.		
		II	
		Ketillus sive Catullus.	
		Ordinatur.	1122
1133	Moritur.	Moritur.	1145
	IIII	III	
	Magnus.	Biorno.	
1134	Ordinatur.	Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.	1147
1148	Postridiè festi omnium Sanctorum in villa sacerdotali Hiitardal convivans, cænaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis absumptus est.	Moritur.	1162
		IIII	
		Brandus.	
		Ordinatur.	1163
		Cathedram adit.	1165
		Moritur.	1201
	V	V	
	Klaingus.	Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.	
1151	Eligitur.		
1152	Cathedram adit.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1203
1176	Moritur.	Moritur.	1237

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holtenses.	Anno Christi.
	VI	VI	
	Thorlacus.	Botolphus.	
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædecessoris	Redit ordinatus.	1239
		Moritur.	1246
1178	Ordinatur.		
1193	Moritur.	VII	
		Henricus.	
	VII	Cathedram adit.	1247
	Paulus	Moritur.	1260
1195	Ordinatur.		
1211	Moritur.	VIII	
	VIII	Brandus.	
	Magnus.	Abbas peregrè abit.	1262
1216	Ordinatur.	Cathedram adit.	1263
		Moritur.	1264
	IX		
	Siguardus.	IX	
1239	Cathedram adit.	Jorundus.	
1268	Moritur.	Cathedram adit.	1267
	X	Moritur.	1313
	Arnerus.		
1269	Cathedram adit.	X	
1298	Moritur.	Audunnus.	
		Cathedram adit.	1314
	XI	Moritur.	1322
	Arnerus Helgonis F.		
1304	Ordinatur.	XI	
1305	Cathedram adit.	Laurentius.	
1309	In Noruagiam abit ligna à rege Noruagiæ petiturus, quibus templum Schalholtense reædificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1324
		Moritur Idib. April.	1331
		XII	
		Egillus.	
		Cathedram adit.	1332
		Moritur.	1341
1310	Redit ex itinere.		
1320	Moritur.	XIII	
	XII	Ormus.	
	Jonas Haldorus.	Cathedram adit.	1343
1321	Eligitur.	Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.	1355
1322	Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.		
1323	Cathedram adit.		
1338	Moritur. [XIII	[XIIII	

[I. 537.]

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XIII	XIIII	
1339	Jonas Indridi F. Noruagus.	Jonas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.	
1341	Cathedram adit.		
	Moritur.	Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic Jonas, olim in Episcopum Gronlandiæ ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano impetravit, ut liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Unde cum confirmationem hujus dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis Holensis, suspectæ fidei esse cœpit. Quare ab iisdem in Noruagiam relegatus est, ut ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus favente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.	1358 Gronlandiæ Episcopus. 1356
	XIIII Jonas Siguardi F.		
1343	Cathedram adit		
1348	Moritur pridiè Divi Magni.		
	XV Gyrthus.		
1349	Ordinatus Asloiæ Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.		
1356	Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.		
	XVI Thorarinnus		
1362	Cathedram adit.		
1364	Moritur.		
	XVII Oddgeirus.		
1366	Cathedram adit.		
1381	Moritur in Assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu Noruagiæ Bergensi, è mercium acervo in imum navis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Salvatoris.	Moritur.	1391
		XV Petrus.	
	XVIII Michaël Danus.	Ordinatur, quo anno prædecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.	
1385	Cathedram adit.	Cathedram adit Holensem.	1392
1388	Resignat profectus in Daniam.	Moritur.	
	XIX. Wilhelmus Danus.	XVI Jonas Wilhelmus, Anglus, sive genere, sive cognomine, præfuit Ecclesiæ Holensi.	1432
1394	Cathedram adit.		
	Moritur.		

A.D. 1592.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XX Arnerus.	XVII Godschalcus.	
	Hic cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit una præfecturam Islandiæ totius: Episcopatum Scalholtens. & vice Episcopatum Holensem.	Moritur.	1457
		XVIII	
		Olaus Rogwaldi F. prædicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, uterque, Noruagus, eligitur.	1458
1420	Obiit.	Moritur.	1497
	XXI Jonas Gerickson.	XIX Godschalcus.	
1432	Suecus sive cognomento sive natione præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: ac posteà ob quædam nimis audacter tentata, à quodam Thorvaldo de Modruvollum (ut fama est) captus, & alligato ad collum saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomen habet, vivus submersus & strangulatus est.	Demortui Olai nepos ex fratre, & ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus decessit.	
		Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.	1500
		Anno 1520. cum inter pocula & voluptates convivales versaretur audirétque obiisse Jonam Sigismundum, quem cum uxore & liberis multos annos crudelissimè vexaverat, in subitum morbum repentè incidit, & sic paulò post, eam, qua in tota vita in miseros subditos usus est, vim cum miserabili morte commutavit.	
	XXII Gosuinus.		
1445	Præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.		
	XXIII Sueno.		
1472	Dictus sapiens præest.		
	XXIIII Magnus Eiolphi F.		
1489	Præest.		
	[XXV	[XX	

[I. 538.]

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXV Stephanus.	XX Jonas Aræsonius.	
1494	Cathedram adit. Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementiæ & justiciæ laudem reportavit.	Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papisticarum superstitionum ultimus & acerrimus assertor.	1525
1519	Moritur : aut circiter.		
	XXVI Augmundus.	Qui, cum Gyssero & Martino episcopis Scalholtiæ acriter resisteret, à pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio jubetur sub pœna exilii protinus in Daniam adventare.	1548
	Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.	Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtiæ Episcopum custodiæ mandavit. Tandem & ipse à viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius ut fertur, lacessiverat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cum filiis duobus, authoritate regii præfecti, capitis supplicio affectus est.	1550
1522	Cathedram adit. Hoc episcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam invitatus, in ipso convivio à conjuratis quibusdam interfectus est, eò quòd impiè passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus verò tanquam istius cædis author, quanquam se juramento purgarat, in Daniam transvectus, Obiit.	In cujus ultionem, non multò post præfectus ille regius, cum sociis aliquot, à quibusdam sicariis, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occisus est.	1551
	XXVII Gysserus.		
1540	Eligitur vivente Augmundo.		
1541	Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa conjugium sacerdotum :		
1544	Ejus nuptiæ Schalholtiæ celebratæ.		

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXVIII Martinus.	XXI Olaus Hialterus.	
1547	Præest, & sequentibus.	Abit patria.	1552
		Cathedram adit.	1553
		Hic primus sincerioris doctrinæ apud Holenses amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertiùs docuit & propugnavit.	
		Moritur.	1568
	XXIX Gislaus Jonas.	XXII Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
1556 1587	Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, cœpit juvenis veræ pietatis & purioris doctrinæ Evangelicæ studio, & amore flagrare, eandemque pastor ecclesiæ Selardalensis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeò in se derivavit, ut illorum insidiis ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, unde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ studio strenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè verò in summa D. D, Petri Palladii tum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate & gratia vivebat. Postea, inde in patriam reverso, Martinus sponte cessit. Moritur & hic 31. annos plus minus Evangelium Jesu Christi professus: nec tantum viva voce, sed & quocunque demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re & consilio Ecclesiam Dei juvit & promovit. [XXX	Ille non modò suæ ætatis, sed & posteritatis ornamentum. Qui prætterquam quod inchoatum opus à prædecessore Olao sibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit: (Dico labores & diligentiam in asserenda veritate Evangelica, & papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis typis Islandica [lingua	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXX Otto Enerus, vir gravis, pius & eruditus.	lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in æternum debebit.	
1588	Electus abit patria.	Hic inquam Episcopus præsens, officium suscepturus.	
1589	Ordinatur :		
	Redit & cathedram adit, susceptíque muneris labores aggreditur.	Abiit :	1570
		Redit & Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.	1571

[I. 539.] Circa hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cœlo reddita lux est, & regni cœlestis janua per sinceriorem doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reserata. Nam & Schola trivialis in utraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertii munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est : ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Divo Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad cœlestem patriam evocato, aucta & promota : quæ etiam hodiè, clementissimi regis & principis nostri, Christiani 4. favore & nutu viget florétque : in qua juventus nostræ Insulæ, artium dicendi & sacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam & veram pietatem formatur, ut hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

Pervenimus tandem ad hodiernum usque diem in Episcoporum Islandiæ catalogo : quo prædicti viri clarissimi Dom. Gudbrandus Thorlacius, & Dom. Otto Enerus ille Holis, hic Schalholtiæ Ecclesiarum sunt antistites : quorum utrumque, ut Deus opt. max. Ecclesiæ suæ salvum & superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conservare velit, omnes seriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECUNDA.

Specus habitant plerúmque, aut ad montium latera in excavatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa & domos ex ossibus piscium & balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cavernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis æstum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis & ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.

Munst. Krantz. Frisius.

HIc membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum vivendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus utantur edificiis seu domibus: nempè secundum Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus & montium cavernis. Quamvis autem in splendidis ædificiis, aliisque id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum inest, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere possumus: dicimúsque omnino Cosmographos & Historicos in errore etiam hîc versari. Etenim, cujusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, ut opilionum, tum piscatorum casæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piscaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem satis magnificè & sumptuosè, quoad hujus terræ fert conditio, ligno, cespite & saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, usque ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna sufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio esse desiit, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec sylvas ædificiis aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio jam ut olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ nostræ succurrant. Unde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & jam quædam collapsa sunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa sunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recensuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus sunt maximæ, &

Negotiatio cum Noruagia desiit.

Sylvæ fluctibus maris delatæ.

latæ & longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Ut exempli gratia. Prædia seu villæ, quæ cubilia habent plusquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, ut cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic sua proportione respondentes. Possum multa nostratium ædificia ampla & vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram & sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, sive sacris ædibus, solis lignis, antiqua & operosa gravitate & pulchritudine exstructis commemorare: Cujusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium habens, cujus columnæ utrinque quinque, ulnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter crassæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus, cujus nobis sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissimè largitus est. Ipsum verò templum atrium suum omni quantitate manifestè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari solet, & templi meditullio, & atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè majus olim, ut accepi Schalholtense, quod jam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Præterea aliquot alia templa nostræ Insulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, ut in prolixiorem ejus rei descriptionem evager. Ut enim Domus & ædificia nostra nihil deprædicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto non dedignatur recipi, quódque templa & domus nostras, quas Munsterus, Krantzius, & Frisius piscium & balenarum ossibus non verè dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pavimenta tesselata reliquúmque id genus ornamenti.

SECTIO TERTIA.

[I. 540.]

Communi tecto, victu, statu, (hîc Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum jumentis. Item: Solo pastu peccorum & nunc captura piscium victitant.

Munsterus. Krantzius.

HAec sunt & sequentia, quæ Krantzius suo Munstero præmansa, in os ingessit, adeò ut Munstero non opus fuerit ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione utriúsque patet. Munsterus enim hæc opprobria, ut ex Krantzii in suam Noruegiam præfatione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Cosmographiæ capit 8. in gentem nostram evomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etsi satis gravia sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignissimum, & quâe sequentur, non facilè est sine stomacho præterire. Nostrum igitur est, etiam hîc veritatem asserere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto, (uti etiam de victu & statu) cum jumentis dicunt, falsum & erroneum clamamus, teste non modò re ipsa, si quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos & habitationes nostras viderunt, & norunt in singulis prædiis seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abjectissimis & vilissimis 7. vel 8. in majoribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quæ ut plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus distinctæ, uni possessori vel domino, raró duobus aut tribus, rarissimè pluribus inserviunt, ac usibus quotidianis & domesticis sufficiunt. Unde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè eodem tecto cum jumentis utantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bovilia, ovilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis intervallis dissita habeant, quæ servi, quoties opus est, petunt, unde rursus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Islandiæ de provincia Skagefiord annotavit, sub eodem tecto homines, canes, sues & oves, vivere, partim falsum, partim minimè mirandum est. De ovibus quidem, ut jam dictum est, & præcipuè suibus (cum illa provincia sues non habeat) falsum : De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ carverint nec hodiè careant, ut nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulò post. Sect. 7. hujus.

Victu. An jumentorum pabula possint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitaverim : Cùm Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat : Victum, inquit, cum jureconsultis, ita exponemus, ut victus verbo contineantur, quæ esui, potui, cultuíque corporis, quæque ad vivendum homini sunt necessaria. Et Ulpianus, de verborum significat. Iisdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam jumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hìc eluceat veritatis & candoris præstantia. Jumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boves : His gramina & fœnum (nisi ubi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ovillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & adventitio, vivere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen iidem his verbis asserunt : Communi victu gaudent cum jumentis : Quod quid sit Munstero, ipse paulò superius haud obscurè docuit. Islandia, inquit, populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, & nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus ? ait Doletus : nisi Munsterus fortè pecorum pastum, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet : cui, ut existimo, usus Romanorum refragatur, qui, ut homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit : hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, pastum & pabulum vocari jussit. An verò existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum & Krantzium, ut senserint Islandos graminibus & fœno vivere ? Quo miseriæ Nabuchodonozor, divinæ ultionis jugum subiens, redactus est, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, jumenta & pecora fortè non rejicere, si familiari pabulo destituantur. Ut equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: iidem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli & agni) & cerevisiam, si offeratur, bibunt, & quidem avidè. Sed & canes quævis fercula & cibaria devorant. An idcircò quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & jumentis gaudere?

Jam quæcunque famis grassantis tempore contigêre, pro universali gentis alicujus consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Ut non licet nobis de extraneis scribere, hujus aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium usu victitare solitos, etsi fortè fame, sive obsidione, sive alioqui annonæ charitate invalescente immissa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum jumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nempè aquam limpidissimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ consulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipse Servator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum victus vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum [I. 541.] jumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod Munsterum & Krantzium novisse jurarim) vestivit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ovium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum esse nobis cum ovibus communem, sive eundem. Utuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ovilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cujusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facilè assequor. Status, inquit Doletus, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis & conditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm jumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut aliis cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Occasio harum fabularum.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amori patriæ, nec ulli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper & ubique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum convicio occasionem fortè dederit.

Sunt in vicinia Schalholtiæ, ad littus Islandiæ australe, parœchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa & Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & sylvis & cespitibus, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè destituuntur. In istis parœchiis habitantes, & si qui sint vicini, quamvis plures eorum, ut de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos utuntur: Ast ubi hyemis nivosæ sævitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bovile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interdiù operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab aliis narratum est. Sícque illi tantùm, qui sanè paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, uti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verùm victum & statum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hæc est in istis Parœchiolis quorundam sors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamvis non satis justè. Ubi, quo jure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libenter quæsierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud Salomonis iis reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem ejus.

Proverb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper & egena est

& fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter divites, tot extraneorum probra & scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex iisdem constamus elementis, & unus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QUARTA.

Krantzius. Munster.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cujus paupertati nullus invidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam evehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoque nostra invexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, & simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum nostris admirantur.

SImplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos justitiæ ac legum ingens depravatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quod pii & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autem nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad majestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non solùm Angli & Dani, sed maximè Germani, ut nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces avehendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aquæ, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Noruagi primi, quòd nobis constet, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteósque nummos, secum ex Noruegia attulerunt; ut initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri usus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumvè frequentes ad nos navigationes, terra nostra multò, quàm nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, cœlo solóque persentiens, fertilior, in delectissimis quibúsque locis, Cereris munera produxit. [I. 542.]

SECTIO QUINTA.

Munsterus. Krantzius.

Rex Daniæ qui & Noruagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

ANno Domini 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex Noruagiæ designatus, ubi ætas virésque justum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperii Noruagici mutavit. Nam antea in minutas provincias divisum (quas Fylki vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipsius Tyrannidis jugum non detrectare maluerunt. Unde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem à quibusdam visam & inventam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamvis Rex Noruagiæ Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagiæ diutissimè, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, & regibus Noruagiæ parentes, translato per Margaretam, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Noruagiæ reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, unà cum reliquis imperii Noruagici Insulis, Serenissimum Daniæ regem; Dominum & Regem suum hodiè salutant.

858.

1260.

Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Omnia inter eos communia sunt, præter uxores. *Krantzius. Munsterus.*

HOc loco præmittit Krantzius talem Ironiam. Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram elevat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis proclive, cupidinem novitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam præposteram arguit, omnium & rerum personarúmque, & temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis usi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege & subditis: De foro, & his quæ in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptiis, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quibus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac judiciis Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controversias, olim & nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cujus verba distinction. i. hujus, hæc fuerunt. Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viventes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa justitiæ, quæ tribuit unicuique suum: Si lege justitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, & quidem satis atrociter, sæpè delinquitur: tamen & Ecclesia & Ethnici justissimam & optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

[Sectio

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quòd à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quàm catulum, &c.

QUamvis principio hujus commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum & alios magni nominis viros, in iis, quæ de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hîc, etiam à candidissimo & maximè sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim movit tantos viros, ut Nautarum malevolas nugas & mendacia secuti, tam atroci & contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularéntque? Nihil profectò, nisi secura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & si quæ sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Islandis, quàm ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt unà, ut alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdque quod ait Aristoteles, lucrantur, ut cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecúmque gravi-
[I. 543.] tatem & sapientiam tantorum virorum expende: Ne
tantum Islandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius & Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicate. Adesdum igitur Lector, & quas Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorum sanctæ simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Islandis monstrent ac depingant,
1 perpende. Una fuit supra, quòd infernum sive carcerem damnatorum montis Heclæ voragine & radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide Sect. I. hujus: &
2 sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quòd, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones tollant:

de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eáque longè excellentissima 3 hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Islandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet ejusdem precii sint apud illos canes & filii, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis Munstere & Krantzi Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, & sanctam simplicitatem depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamvis non prorsus Apellæam: O Inventum acutum & admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquàm humanam, etsi non prorsus divinam.

Nos verò Islandi, quamvis ultimi & gelidam conclusi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianismi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, ut quilibet proximum diligat velut seipsum. Jam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cujuslibet favor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissimè conciliavit, etiam Lex divina curam summam in enutriendo habere jussit. (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6. 4.) ut scilicet sint in sancto conjugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminaria, omnis pietatis & honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Conjugium humanæ quædam est Academia vitæ.

Ut jam satis constet, apud Christianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed & hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: ut si quos hoc penitùs exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaveris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quíque lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miserabili ad naves comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè divulsæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, navésque è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subjectos fluctus dissiluere; Sabellico authore. Monstrat Ægeus, qui navem filii Thesei, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, periisse filium ratus, vitam in proximis undis finivit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat Gordianus senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filii, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgos lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem Jocasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, & alii numero innumero: De quibus vide stat. lib. 2. Plutarchum, & alios, &c. Huc illud. Amor descendit, &c. Adeò, ut videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, & summo amore prosequi, quàm avi volare; ut si jam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios iisdem, quantumvis inviti & repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta & quasvis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ & arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemvis, nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Jam verò si quis eò fortunæ deveniat, ut proprium filium, sive incolæ, sive extranei alicujus potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunque urgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne famelicum inedia deficientem aspicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reservet, Is minimè dicendus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, sive id faciant Islandi, sive extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorum vel Danorum nautæ apud nos mendicos quosdam, liberis onustos, quorum hîc maximus est numerus, qui jocando, ut sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cúmque rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim?

Responderint mendici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis unum vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluvies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis & inopiæ mendicorum, uno illos filio levaverit, eíque propter Deum in aliis terris, aliquo [I. 544.] tandem modo benè prospexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittit & committit, filium istum suum minoris facit quàm canem? Præstitum est à multis tam Islandis quàm extraneis hujusmodi benevolentiæ & commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Julius à serenissimo rege Daniæ olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui ut audivi, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit & secum in Daniam avexit: Ubi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi evasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modò vendat; sed si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet & comedat? Nota sunt hujus rei exempla: Parentum videlicet invitæ crudelitatis in filios, stimulante non odio vel astorgia, sed inevitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde universale gentis alicujus convicium exstruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione Samariæ matres duas filios suos mactasse, & coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione Jerosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserrimæ matris, filium misellum jam mactaturæ. Infans, ait, (referam enim Eusebii verba de hac re, etsi notissima, ut miseræ matris affectus appareat,) miselle & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & seditionis tumultu, te commodè reservem? Si Romanorum subjiciamur imperio, illic servitutis jugo pressi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed servitutem credo fames antevertet. Accedit factiosorum prædonum turba, his utrísque miseriis toleratu multò asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis prædonibus furia, sis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res una ad Judæorum calamitates deesse videtur. Quæ cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatúmque dimidium mox comedit, dimidium reservat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. Jam quis est, qui non credat miserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicujus, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset servatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permissuram? Nota est fames, Calagurium, Hispaniæ urbem, olim à Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cujus civibus, uxores & liberi in usum extremæ dapis conversi sunt, quos profectò; pro cibariis & aliis dapibus haud inviti vendidissent. Nota est quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attrivit, ut etiam pater filium suum devorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes devorarint, & præcipuè quidem in Polonia & Bohemia. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ sævitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in Hungaria grassatam fuisse, ut quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum servitutis jugum manciparint: quidam parvulos suos, quos ulterius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium projecisse, & suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hæc & similia exempla quempiam eò insaniæ adigent, ut dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam mactare consuevisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere & suffocare solitam esse? Non opinor. Sic neque quòd mendici apud Islandos, extrema urgente necessitate, cujus durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendum est à quoquam, nisi apud eundem omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis deliciis habent, ut eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinu gestent, quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Romæ catulos simiarum & canum in gremio circumferre Cæsar conspexit, hac quæstione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare jam Munstere & Krantzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (ut sic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & sanctæ simplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege: ad cujus nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, & ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quàm sanctè observant.

FUit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Evangelii doctrinam maxima Episcopi observantia; sed nunquam tanta ut exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzii, multò minùs Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm scilicet multi ex iis, qui divitiis paulò plus valebant, adversus ipsos consurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud nostrates liquidò constat. Interim tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sævitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

[I. 545.] Porrò etsi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Episcopi observantia, tamen nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorùmque mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, adversus Deum & sacrum ministerium, etiam hîc armare non negligit.

[Sectio

SECTIO NONA.

Munster.

Illic victitant plerúmque piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis civitatibus infertur : & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis utuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.

VIde Lector, quàm Munsterum juvet, eadem oberrare chorda : ut cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sæpiùs repetere, sícque cramben eandem recoquere sustineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante, Islandos piscibus vivere. Verba ipsius superiùs etiam recitata, hæc sunt. Islandia populos continet multos, solo pecorum pastu & nunc captura piscium victitantes, &c. Et ut cætera transeam in quibus leve quiddam notari poterat ; Illud sanè, panem in Islandia non crescere, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune esse crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi fortè in Munsteri agro, ubi etiam acetum naturale optimè crescit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salva erunt. Ad convicia autem, quæ ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infrà paucis respondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Munster.
Krantzius.

Incolæ res majorum & sui temporis celebrant cantibus & insculpunt scopulis, atque promontoriis, ut nulla, nisi cum naturæ injuria, intercidant apud posteritatem.

Frisius.

Cytharædi, & qui testitudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & pisces irretiant & capiant.

Veterum gesta apud Islandos conservata.

QUin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus nostratium, ut & soluta oratione, apud nos conserventur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut majoribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontoriis insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, ut neque illam tantam Citharæ-

A.D. 1592.

dorum, aves aut pisces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, ut crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere.

SECTIO UNDECIMA.

SEd cum scriptoribus jam dictis, viris alioqui spectatæ eruditionis & preclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconsideratè scriptis suis interserverunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fœtus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, ut venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet adversus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non ut cum illius pestifera virulentia, conviciis aut maledicentia certem (Nam ut est in triviali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed ut bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam, qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam ut alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostræ opprobrium utuntur, & inde dicteria & contumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi præviderem fœtum illum probrosum, tot & tam variis maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam movere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab iis legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (iis scilicet omissis quæ cum aliis communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata sunt) sed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, ut dixi, linguæ ipsius obscœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia & conviciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare. Primùm igitur objicit Germanicus hic noster, si Diis placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandiæ toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Ut in priore editione, hujus pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio ejusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumque mendacium mendacio proditur, juxta illud: Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero, nec falso.

1. *Objectio seu convicium.*

[I. 546.]

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem uspiam dissimulare nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Davidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, ut idem nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem & curam præposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod utrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DUODECIMA.

Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & scortationes non modò publica esse & frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab iis pro scelere ne haberi quidem. 2. *Convitium.*

ETsi autem fœdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in aliis quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia major: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, ut dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notavit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, & turpitudines in nostra patria conniveri, quàm passim hîc fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in præsenti convitio attexuit: videlicet, quòd scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in quâ demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis ll. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. juravit; quæ statuit, ut iterum adulterium qui cum conjuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum uxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogavit? Illáne, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decrevit? Illáne: cujus leges politicæ, quemvis in adulterio cum uxore, à viro legitimè deprehensum, si evaserit, homicidii mulctam expendere jubent? Illáne, cujus itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio ejus, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere jubent? Illàne, cujus leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehensum, capite plectendum severè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm injurium habeamus notarium, dicentem : Adulterium & scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pii omnes, eo nomine in jus vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3. *Convitium.* TErtium convicium est, quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosi hujus libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multósque Islandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat : quod ipse de se in præclaris illis suis rhythmis testatur, maximam Islandiæ partem sibi peragratam esse. Unde cum ipse mala fide cum multis egerit (plerumque enim fraus & mendacia conjunguntur, & mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenii sui experientia satis probavit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit : Dissimulato intereà, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est navigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conviciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita convicia monstrare instituerim, consultò supersedeo.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

4. 5. 6. & 7. *Convitia.* Quarto : negat in conviviis quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere : sed matresfamilias singulis convivis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Prætereà variam conviviorum edendi bibendique rusticitatem notat.

5 Cubandi & prandendi ritus objicit : quod decem plus minus in oedem lecto promiscuè viri cum fœminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant : atque interea se non nisi aleæ aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant. [I. 547.]

6 Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem & os urina proluere.

7 Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuosè extenuat.

HÆc & hujusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imò de se & suis optimè meritam, impurus calumniator evomit. Quæ quidem ejus generis sunt, ut illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam ut demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid hujusmodi apud homines sordidos, & ex ipsa vulgi colluvie infimos, quibuscum longè sæpius, quàm bonis & honestis conversabatur, animadvertisse præclarum hunc notarium Germanicum (vixerat enim, ut ejus rhythmi testantur, diutiusculè in locis maritimis Islandiæ, quo ferè promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscaturæ annuatim confluit, & tam extraneorum nautarum, quàm sua nequitia corruptum, sæpius inhonestè mores & vitam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco injuriam nobis facit, unius nebulonis & desperati Sycophantæ turpitudine, totam gentem (ut ferè solent etiam alii) aspergendo, quàm ut refutatione ulla indigeat. Cujus rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas ejus farinæ fœditates, rusticitates & obscœnitates, etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobrium disertum esse juvat: nec tam tener esse volo, ut verbulis transverberer. Id tantùm viderint boni & pii omnes, cujus sit animi, pessima quæque ab uno aut altero designata, toti genti objicere. Si quis Germaniæ aut alterius nationes urbes & pagos omnes peragret, & scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus, luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obscœnitates in unum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuivis toti nationi communes esse asserat, atque hæc omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, isne optimæ rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, &, ut propriè notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam & ingenium suum ejusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cum hortos amænissimos intrarint, nec lilium nec rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos & suavissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in cœnum prono, quicquid est luti & stercoris volutare, vertere & invertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, ubi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmista, optima, & quæ in nostra Repub. laudabilia esse possunt, sicco pede præterit, pessima quæque, atque ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis designata, hoc est, suæ naturæ, & ingenio aptissima, ut se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit: unde posthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQUINTA.

9. Convicium. NOnum convicium hic recensebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Islandorum maledicus ille porcus, non uno aut paucis verbis, sed prolixa invectiva petivit: Nempe quòd cibis utantur vetustis, & insulsis, idque sine panis usu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, & aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Quæ omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, & ingeniosa calumnia, pulchrè amplificavit.

Cæterum etsi illum prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leviter nostræ genti objiciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò secabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & se & cum aliis etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quòd illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coëgit necessitas, reliquæ genti cibariorum genera aut numerum præscribere fas est. Nam & de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum servantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, ut nihil mirum sit, grassante annonæ sævitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, quæ aliàs vix canes pascant. Ut nuperrimè de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctissima Henrici 4. Navarræi obsidione pressis, & famem Saguntinam, ut P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpessis; eos non modò equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis farinæ pugillo uno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas dapes convertisse: & de aliis quoque populis notum est, qui simili urgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum esu victitarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando usu venit (quanquam à canina, murium & felium, ut & humana carne hactenus, nobis [I. 548.] quantum constat, abstinuerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cùm ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum advehatur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEUS præcluserit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruisse, & dira fame vexari incolas, necesse est. Unde fit, ut illos qui in diem vivere soliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum superantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas urserit, credibile. Cæterum, utrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quàm alias nationes, occasionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis judicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis nostræ propriis & consuetis alimentis multi objicere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inveteratis, Item de lacticiniis, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandiæ locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, ut & ipsis Pharmacopoliis, destituimur, mensam instruere & frugaliter vivere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento usitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hæc ipsa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. Nam etsi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec sal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus. opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi & conservandi, quæ ad vitam sustentandam spectant, ut appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quòd verò sua omnia extranei jucundiora & salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causæ esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEUM gulæ nostræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis deliciis & lautitiis, quæ tam jucundæ & salubres putantur, etiam nostræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimam, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia statuimus boni & convenientis alimenti, *καὶ τῆς ἐυχρασίας* esse indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili, quàm huic nostro aëri & alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortasse nostratium comprobare poterant,

Ratio conservandi cibos sine sale.

Ni nos (ut inquit ille) paupertas invida deprimeret.

Sed hîc vulgi judicium, ut in aliis sæpè, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (jam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quòd omnia, quæ illorum usus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci ut credat: Sic illi sensu suæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, ut nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile, nisi quo illi soli vivunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non processimus, ut eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de aliis, tum Æthiopiæ quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut crancris marinis, aut squillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota est, vulgi propterea ludibriis exponere præsumamus, à quibus tamen eduliis, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

DEcimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus objicit. Marsupium inquit, non circumferunt, nec hospitiari aut convivari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid haberet, quod cum aliis communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His quoque annectamus, quod templa, seu sacras ædiculas domi propriæ à multis Islandorum extructas velut pudendum quiddam commemorat: quodque eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur. Hæc ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notavit. 10. *Convicium.*

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci divina unquam amarunt: quod sanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conviciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his ultimis duabus objectionibus constare poterit.

Verùm enimverò, cùm ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissmus, nos Lectorem ejus rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Islandia composuit, & nos jam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinavimus: cujus maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hîc pro ipso puduit; ita, ut quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta ejus est & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEUS BONE: Hoc conviciorum plaustrum (paucissima namque attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lavare, & stulto, ut inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis [I. 549.] verbum non sit quod convicio careat) qui viderit, nonne judicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanite?

Sed hîc meritò dubitaverim, pejusne horum conviciorum autor de Islandis meritus sit, an verò Typographus ille Joachimus Leo (& quicunque sunt alii, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec urbis suæ nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa jam bis, si non sæpius, typis suis Hamburgi evulgavit. Hoccine impunè fieri sinitis, ô senatus populusque Hamburgensis? Hanccine statuistis gratiam deberi Islandiæ, quæ urbi vestræ jam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratium quibusvis commodis, pecudum, pecorumque carnibus, butyro & piscium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quasi cella penuaria fuit? Sensere hujus Insulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ urbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremensibus, & Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis unquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hæc est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestrà, vestrà inquam urbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non tertiata: quæ alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad hujus gentis opprobrium & contemptum armavit: quam à cive vestro acceptam injuriam, jam 30. annos, & plus eò, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, ejusmodi multa sæpè fiunt: Neque enim dubitamus, quin viri boni ejusmodi scripta famosa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caveant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum jure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæsareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur pœna gravissima iis, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendive curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

Urbes Angliæ commercia olim in Islandia exercentes.

Cæterum jam tandem receptui canamus: Nósque ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Christo hospitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non desistis, invisam facient, convertamus: Ubi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè serium & ardens studium ac amorem DEI, & divinæ scientiæ, nobis in Christo patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: ut uni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium & ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequare: sed verearis, foveas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impiis & profanis habeas: ut omnia ad pietatis & honestatis præscriptum geras, in vita privata & communi, ut huic status & ordines Ecclesiastici & Politici, in universum obtemperent: In utroque vitæ genere, ab illa amussi seu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, averseris, quos æquum est pœnis condignis affici, id quod magistratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos nisi spectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes conjungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res ista enim, si probè curetur, ut videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; subditorum conditio, longè erit optatissima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles sequentur: pietas & honestas tantò erunt illustriores. At verò si secus fiat, si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respondeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscuè admittantur, quicunque eò propria levitate, ambitione vel avaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: si iidem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel convicti sint, aut suspectorum & convictorum protectores, vel iisdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæso demum futurus est status? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in iis est, licet sint & ipsi ex tuis, jugulum tuum, propter emolumenta privata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere contendunt. Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, ut hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de causa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria nostra à regia sede, & conspectu, tantò intervallo sit remota, ut multi propterea tantò sibi majorem sumant licentiam, & impunitatem securius promittant. Cæterum ista numini justissimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, ô patria, ut studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo. i. comi & benigno, suscipias: quod quamvis minimè tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIUM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est (si modò quicquam est) & quantulum cunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afferre possem, nequaquam supprimendum putavi, nec enim illos laudare soleo,

[I. 550.] Qui, quòd desperent invicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sanè, si hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquam pœnitebit. Quòd si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitavero, quid est cur operæ precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi famæ & nominis cura summa esse debet, major tamen patriæ; cujus dignitate salva & incolumni, nos quoque salvos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripsi Holis Hialtædalensium in Islandia, Æræ Christianæ Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A BRIEFE COMMENTARIE
of Island: wherin the errors of such as have written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they have used over-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Arngrimus Jonas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4. of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gratious Lord.

That heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserveth highly to be renowmed in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping up of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celœna, a towne in Phrigia, which dayly swallowed multitudes of men, and whatsoever else came neere unto it. For when his father Midas was advertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut up, before things most precious were cast into it: Anchurus deeming nothing to be more invaluable then life, plunged himselfe alive downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise.

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the revenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of the

Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them unto the sayd king, and that he might avenge the ambassadours death upon them, not upon their countrey, with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselves before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moved them, and many others being enflamed with the love of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to undergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe unto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take upon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subject to the sinister judgement of many.

In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie, having taken up some store of graine in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to have had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceived the Pilots to tremble, and to be unwilling to commit themselves to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie urgeth: but that we should live, it urgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne private safetie.

[I. 551.]

This man doe I thus imitate,
If small with great as equals may agree:
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying up in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, having now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the envie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly adventure to present these fewe meditations of mine unto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing up sailes to commit my selfe unto a troublesome sea, and to breake foorth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie urgeth: but that my writings in all places should satisfie every delicate taste, or escape all peevishnes of carpers it urgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approve. Nevertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, susteining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps unto me upon this occasion. For what cause should move me to shunne the envie and hate of some men, being joyned with an indevour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too severe in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they will judge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also and how grievous be the reproches of some, against us, wherewith they have sundry wayes provoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to provoke. They ought also to have me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their native soile, and to pardon my just griefe for these injuries offered unto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, have in all places moderated my selfe, and have bene desirous to abstaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we should have used more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to undergoe the same hazard, which I see is commonly incident to all men, that publish any writings: I must now have especiall regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, under whose name and protection it may more safely passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Majestie, most gratious prince. For unto him, who hath received under his power & tuition our lives and goods, unto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would have respect also unto the credit of our nation, so injuriously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to crave your Majesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Majestie, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe unto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Majesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse unto your sacred Majestie, is ours: so the glory of relieving, regarding, and protecting us, shal wholy redound unto your sacred Majestie: as also, there is layd up for you, in respect of your fostering and preserving of Gods church, upon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the uttermost bounds of your Majesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enjoyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heavens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leave them, and returne to my purpose which I have in hand: most humbly beseeching your

S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a favourer and patron unto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull sovereigne) for us to make our humble prayers unto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to advance your Majestie (yearely growing up in wisedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of sovereigntie: and being advanced, continually to blesse you with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserve you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect joy of his heavenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in every corner of your Majesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certein they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March.

Y. S. M.
most humble subject,
Arngrimus Jonas, Islander.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health. [I. 552.]

THere came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany: namely a booke of German rimes, of al that ever were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times over: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and everlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing unlawfull. And this he did without controlment, even in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Joachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow upon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreover, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, have altogether swarved from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wives tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they have not left behind them such filthy & reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring up new writers, which offer injury to the fame & reputation of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers w^t feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other unjust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I have now procured an honest and learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Jonas, to peruse the works of authors, that have written any thing concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods.

A.D. 1592.

And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common love of his countrey prevailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that undertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalenge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface unto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I judge him to have taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indevour not onely to weigh the divers opinions of wrighters concerning things unknowen, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred love of truth, and of his countrey, against the perversnes of carpers. Farewel. Anno 1592. Julii 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of Island.

EVen as in war, dayly experience teacheth us, that some upon no just & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, envie, and covetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselves upon just and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way provoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being provoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be up in armes: right so, they that fight under Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not upon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, addresse themselves to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for envy and spight, or upon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and, that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inveighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse untrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things [I. 553.] profitable: namely, they that write of Divinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking use and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences have brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that have faithfully commended to everlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours have advaunced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endevour themselves to represse the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the unjust violence of others, against themselves, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, having scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerva (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who have applied themselves to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to avouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & revilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to injurie my sayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Iland, unto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselves, stubburnly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remoove them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I have penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the utmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting unto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who have bene better trained up in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to undertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoever they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they use the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers have reported of Island, to the end that if they have given (perhaps) any occasion to others of inveying against us, their errours being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see how justly they do reproch us. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Iland, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reverend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for novices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselves have written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and perverse wit to have gained nought else but a blacke marke of envy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may have some order, it shall be divided into two generall parts: the first of the Iland, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so far-foorth as those writers which are come to our hands have left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine unto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let us come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adjuncts of this Iland.

The first section.

Munsterus lib. 4. cosmographiæ.

The Isle of Island being severed from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarse knowen unto Sailers.

ALbeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adjuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the first place, that the friendly reader perceiving how truely those writers of Island have reported in this respect, may thereby also easily judge what credit is to be given unto them in other matters which they have left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others have received from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they have borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

[I. 554.] First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be provided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it never so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerve. In ye meane while therfore I will set downe divers opinions of authors, concerning ye situation of Island, that from hence every man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable; until perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adjoin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit.		Latitud.	
	deg.	min.	deg.	min.
Munster placeth Island almost in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7	0	65	30
Hersee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Jacobus Zieglerus.				
The West shore of Island	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos	22	46	63	0
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30	0	68	0
The North shore is extended Westward, and hath bounds of extension in	28	0	69	0
The description of ye West side.				
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop	28	0	67	50
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Island			68	
Johannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Island			69	½
Neander.				
Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that ye said circle arctic doeth almost divide it in the midst &c.				

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings have noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you have, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I have probable conjectures perswading me not to beleeve any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leave the matter in suspense then affirme an uncerteinty, untill (as I have sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne observation, and experience.

Seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the desert shores of Norway.

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must have none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proove by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from us but two dayes sailing. We have foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe over to the province of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

The second section.

In this Iland, at the Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also: Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the arctic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next unto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

Munsterus. Olaus Magnus and others.

At the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene above the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is elevated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reverend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate beyond the arctic circle: secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes.

[I. 555.] *Island is not within the circle arctic.*

The third section.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaveth unto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, environed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle, whereof most of the ancient writers have made mention.

Munsterus. Saxo.

It is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the first

Island first discovered by Naddocus in a tempest.

Discoverer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempest did by chance arrive at the East shore of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow covering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. *Sneland.* After him one Gardarus, being mooved thereunto by the report which Naddocus gave out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. *Gardasholme.* There were more also desirous to visit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it environed. *Island.*

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like unto trees and herbs; sithens it is evident, that this Island scarse began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since.

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controversie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would understand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Unlesse some man will say that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gave this name thereunto) passed so farre unto an Iland, which was at that time untilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Johannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which

Virgil also seemeth to have meant by his ultima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is evident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world divided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Schrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaveth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaveth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaveth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driven towards the West: neither doth it returne before Januarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should recken up many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that navigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut up, when as English ships every yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and June, doe usually returne unto us, and some of them depart not againe from hence till August. But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the haven of Vopnafiord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of November, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaveth unto Island, Munster and Frisius are much deceived.

The ice of Iseland set always to the West.

No ice at all some yeres in Island.

Navigation open to Island from March till the midst of November.

[The fourth

The fourth section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

The Iland is so great that it conteineth many people. Item Zieglerus sayth: The situation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

[I. 556.]

SO great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent unto mine Uncle in West-Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: Island is twise as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compasse. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen unto us, yet the ancient, constant, and received opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Island, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.

Island 144 *Germaine miles in compasse.*

Many people. &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communalty) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time unpeopled.

The fifth section.

The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and untilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to drive their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked. *Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.*

THat danger of surfetting or choaking was never heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they never so ancient.

The sixth section.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift up to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with everlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third Helga. Item: Zieglerus. The rocke or promontorie of Hecla boileth with continuall fire. Item: Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by uncessant belching out of flames. *Munsterus. Frisius.*

MUnster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, upon the thresholde, to the great inconvenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour unto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South

Island lying neere the Sea, and covered over with continuall snow and frost, a marveilous eruption of smoake and fire, casting up abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit prevaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to avouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also, which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe up the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caves of the earth: force of making passage, and that the invincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (even as in undermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-

Three naturall causes of firie mountaines.

powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, [I. 557.] together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted up and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaved up and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I even now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

Lib. 20. *cap.* 20.

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
  urged now up, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
  to ridde it selfe from uncouth dungeon.
  Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiver,
Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiver.

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three fained mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be never destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marveile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne.

Wherefore, if we will give credit unto them, even this mountaine also, sithens it is covered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of uncleane soules: which thing they have not doubted to ascribe unto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no marveile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and never breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe covering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. *Cardanus.* For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are five miles high, and never without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We have heard that either of the forsayd Provinces standeth neere unto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Ilands) the Pike so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason have we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted up even unto the skies. For they have no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by us Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing just by a monastery of the same name, being covered with snowe, upon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserveth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, never yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon up in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler have noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoever they be that have ascribed unto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen have recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we never heard of the burning of this mountaine untill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore observed) have burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.

The chronicles of Island.

The seventh section.

[I. 558.]

The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with us, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of uncleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of uncleane soules.

Frisius. Munsterus.

Will not burne towe. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is not easie to conjecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they ever bene heard of heere among us, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with us so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that ever durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approch unto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed up alive, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether unknowen unto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part under the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all over swarme, it deserveth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wives looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much unlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded upon experience, and for that cause to be rejected.

Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Island grew.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserve no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Isle in Ireland, having a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like living men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand bolt-upright: neither are they subject to any corruption or downefall: insomuch that any of the posteritie may there seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.

2 Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatsoever, by the onely vertue and presence thereof, yea even without touching.

4 Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of devils, but that the sayd devils have no jurisdiction over the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of divine service: and that it is so by nature.

5 Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating up and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Iland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore, he reporteth that this Iland every seventh yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas unto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie even upon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he ministred unto us nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let us heare Frisius. The flame of Mount Hecla (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed [I. 559.] out of your schoole of Philosophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon even blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, use to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred up by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth prove more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth upon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, covering a burning fountaine. And moreover that there are sudden fires at some times, even upon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of

Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea even upon mens bodies sudden fires have glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Servius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to revenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaves of shadie trees that growe directly over it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre foorth as ever I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it covereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to have compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Unlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we have before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed unto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

Frisius.

But that brimstone should be sent foorth it is a meere fable, and never knowen unto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of uncleane soules. Here I am constrained to use a preface, and to crave pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded unto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselves, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong unto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who have confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but even to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people? For the common sort of strangers, and the off-skowring of mariners (here I do except them of better judgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed upon this fire as they have in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodilesse, and invisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this? But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further [I. 560.] I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, under full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselves, who hailing them of whence they were, answere was given by their governour, De Bischop van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound? he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let us rather come unto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of ugly blacke Ravens and Vultures lie hoovering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoever part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they have learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares?

Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi: neither are there any with us, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Ravens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driven from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for proofe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from us? Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such unknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endevouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let us rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

Munsterus Cosmographi: universalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we understand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking as it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut up, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the upper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adjoyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diverse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, [I. 561.] above 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iron chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had commanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldron only vanish & melt away: but also, upon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost consumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reject this as a thing too new, & altogether unknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore have not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why have they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceive so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt upon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole rivers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: from whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with unwonted and uncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare unto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like

Aetna continually burning and casting up stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuvius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adjoyning, & to the utter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into ye causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should have feined them to have beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leave off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, y^t there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both us & other (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fireworkes, not the fury of hell. But now let us examine a few more such fables of ye common people, which have so unhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.

The eight section.

Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.

Neare unto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he never so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heaven have invented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) have followed with an over hastie judgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting foorth novelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wives toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned men be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance & friends? What? Will you conjure, & raise up unto us from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting upon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of all things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them

[I. 562.]

out. Whose words be these. There is Hecla a mountaine in Island, which burneth like unto Ætna at certain seasons, & hereupon the common people have conceived an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape up more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reason. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering them, that they are going to mount Hecla: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but every where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a common citizen, in the gate neare unto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundance of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giveth me answere that this man used to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night among the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to avoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down upon the ground. He would faine have made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together upon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he up and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being utterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more constantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast upon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strangle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a living man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man from a living? To this, he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, where the sunne is hoat, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring even the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely y^t apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al men know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselves to be ignorant) And secondly that that conference of the dead with the living in ye gulfe of Hecla is not grounded upon any certainty, but only upon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish common sort have used, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantasticall, that wilbe induced to beleeve these gulfes, mentioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be never so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For from hence also they say, y^t reproches are justly used against our nation: namely, y^t there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we have gotten by those historiographers, who have bin so greedy to publish novelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the common people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently overthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being devised for the upbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

The ninth section.

Frisius and Munster.

But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not unlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countreymen are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut up within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: [I. 563.] namely, when it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within ye mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & give eare all ye y^{t} wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that ye Islanders have not only hel within their jurisdiction, but also y^{t} they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe untouched ye very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shoare do usually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, even upon the very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the evening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

Taking of Seales on the ice.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest ye Islanders beguile all your countries of the commendation of courage and constancy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon up a great many of our countrimen, who in ye very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting upon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed up & downe in the waves of ye raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) have had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, have returned home in safety: some of which number are alive at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch up this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserve otherwise to be handled and confuted, then with such like meriments & sportings. But to lay aside all jesting, let us returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. First of all therfore it is evident enough out of the second section, yt ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like unto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen

Westerne windes disperse the ice.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.

are tormented, we utterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Jesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath delivered us from death & hell, & opened unto us the gate of the kingdome of heaven) because he hath instructed us more truely, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell us. We know and maintain that the soules of ye godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heavenly paradise. We know and maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines, or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into utter darkenesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not common, but far beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, y^t is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, y^t the Islanders are no whit nearer unto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoever. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for us, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall never see that utter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let us here shut up the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

[The tenth

The tenth section.

Frisius. Zieglerus. Saxo. If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it never so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, utterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

SUrely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, y^t this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of ye matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it peirceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therfore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, y^t it must have either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But y^t it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, [I. 564.] because we have heard that infernall cold is farre more unsufferable then this ise, which useth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt even naked flesh, by touching therof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we have learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot have any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoever according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolved into water, upon the upper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-river would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, y^t this ise hath brought hell (which the historiographers

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annexe unto it) downe from heaven together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common unto heaven, being of one & the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be thought to have changed places with the heavenly paradise, & all by the oversight of these Historiographers. Wherfore seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we have so often proved by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we have concluded evidently, in short, yet sound and substantiall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, y^t according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we give credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily judge, that we need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no marvell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing invented by another concerning the sympathy or conjoining of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can observe it, by reason of the unchangeable necessitie of following. But we have oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driven away) and lying upon the shore for many weekes together, without any posts or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded upon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.

The eleventh section.

Frisius. Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselves. The first, by reason of his continuall heat converteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then hony, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

EVen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently unto them all. Otherwise, if he had not made them stand neare together, he would have placed next unto some one of these, two of the foresaide fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder) neither are there any such foure fountaines neare unto them, which, he that wil not beleeve, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill Hecla two fountaines, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elements. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, saving that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare unto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse? From whence commeth this heate? Have we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the uses of mankind? I do here deliver these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. John Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of them all. So excessive (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter then pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing [I. 565.] heavier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoever exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreover, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in them, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape up the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aswel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I have learned out of authors, that Germanie every where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsvil, Calben in the duchy of Wittenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus

Many hote Baths in Island.

these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I say, these things should therefore be ye lesse admired, because the searchers of nature have as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like rivers, doe cast foorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, somtimes luke-warme water, somtimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire bee under that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

The causes of hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæst.

No marvell though from banke of Baian shore
  hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For Vulcans forge incensed evermore
  doeth teach us plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
  From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
  And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do somtime encrease & flow up to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very seldome found with us, yet I will make mention of some like unto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the Solstitium of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a river which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried up. He maketh mention also of a very large fountaine, which every houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some rivers run under the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, unto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscovia: and those things which were throwen into Aesculapius fountaine at Athens, were cast up againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine rivers which being let downe into some cave under ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be utterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same rivers returne, enjoying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a river received under ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach us that the fountaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith convert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I have heard reported (though I never had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far from the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which converteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to [I. 566.] bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ovid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth unto the river of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood
  fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:

Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble streight : a thing most strange.

And Cardane. Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of Elbogan, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are converted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Pyrites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the river of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Ursence, but now Contursia) leaves and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not upon other mens credite, but upon his own experience, being borne & brought up in that country: which thing Plinie also avoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may give credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is converted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the river of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing over it.

Rivers of Island in sommer season luke-warme.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common rivers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a river (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow: and within a mile of Culma, the river called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with us, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & rivers not onely of divers tasts, but of divers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we have touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the divers & sundry smels, colours and savours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some provoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of in the Ile of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of January used to flow over with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a river of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere unto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Suevia neere unto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Jurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere unto the bridge which we passe over going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the savour of wine in these words.

In lib. de mirab. auscult.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels
and fine
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse,
there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Ilands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan sea. Cardane giveth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants use in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of savours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giveth savour unto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the savours thereof, for both have their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glauca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a river of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere unto Joppa in Judea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Neusola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains [I. 567.] of Feltrius & Tarvisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis: cole-blacke water in Alera a river of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Japigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreover, that Mariners are driven farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, somtime white, somtime bloodie, & somtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smels. But for the most part the steames of waters bee unpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the river Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water.

I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and savours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the river of Styx (neere the mountaine of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In Berosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains, every one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whosoever looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so even at this day do testifie, that it is utterly unknowen unto us: and therefore in this regard, we render unto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserve our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The same Author saieth.

Island free from snakes and other venemous beasts.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountains there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere unto these hils they have found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs have some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would have it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged up at this day: nor I thinke ever was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is devided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but even the halfe thereof) doeth use it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.

The twelfth Section.

Munster.

There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

IN the open aire. In deed we have seen other country merchants doe so, until they had unladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled them againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men have done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the just scourge of our impietie upon us, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

The thirteenth Section.

Frisius.

They have most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called ‖ Rangiferi, cannot run above 30. leagues in 24. houres.

‖ *Raine deere.*

The foureteenth Section.

Munster.

[I. 568.]

There be seen sometimes neere unto Island huge Whales like unto mountains, which overturne ships, unlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse up and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the devilish Whale.

Like unto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the proverbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse over-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he use such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he ravish the Reader, if he propoundeth unto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leave of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Kranzius, if I be not deceived, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legates with a Coven of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long journey in sailing towards the North, they came unto an Iland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so provided victuals for the rest of their journy. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence have avoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therefore upon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners, that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the upper part of the ground: without doubt they are woorthy to have Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will never and no where be found, while he endevoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe up his history: where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subject to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example.

For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leaving out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh up the signification of the worde, you deliver that which is not true : for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is derived, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with us, & therefore you ought to have written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the devill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that live in mountaines. You see therefore (and no marvel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great injurie to our language being in one word onely : because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island received from Islanders themselves, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, rivers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he received from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) deprave & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselves, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585. lived in the universitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how every thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our native names and words, (whereupon it came to [I. 569.] passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we have after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers have mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in ye foresaid yeere under his own name) hath given out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he received it, or whence he had it, we can by no means imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in ye writers of other countries. But whence soever it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receive no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a river in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peradventure deceived the Reader, reading in a strange language S instead of R.

Who be the Islandish writers?

Speculum regale.

That likewise deserveth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth up and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeve this, what will he not beleeve? For it is such a rare devise that the Epicures themselves (who yet seemed to Lucian to have fained many incredible things) I am sure never invented the like: unlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime up certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should moove or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to save the credite of the Author, that we may not more severely condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who have found out ravens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in Island: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome, together with the Ise of the sea, unto us, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and ravens, Island never had any.

Vultures, beares and crowes come upon the drift Ice into Island.

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an unknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto have bene reported by many concerning our Iland deserve very litle credite: and so to addresse my selfe unto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAving hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and diversly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they have bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste unto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what

I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against us poore Islanders dwelling in the utmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take upon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon up the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike severely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius & others have written many things too boldly of our nation: yet having otherwise deserved wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ye same reputation w^t us that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should [I. 570.] broch certaine sencelesse, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we have hitherto laid downe: as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible untrueths, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoever they be, who upbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to have that answere in a readinesse which such men deserve. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into everlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee have done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they have to say, rejecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy, unto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner folowing.

The first Section.

> Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders converted unto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiving of Christian faith, they lived according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop.

Krantzius in præfatione suæ Norwegiæ.

KRantzius in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute unto the Islanders the prerogative of Christian faith: and they should deale both beseeming themselves and the trueth, if they did not in other places deprive us of the same. For (to speake of Krantzius anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close unto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the devill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or upon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heavens shall be created for the habitation of just and holy men, Revel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giveth over to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it unlawful to receive or deliver unto others, opinions (grounded upon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths. Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely, that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward he maketh to be master-builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they exempt from all sense of pietie and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer unto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we have no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) have other Northern nations neere unto us to say concerning ye beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse & bewaile with deepe sighes, that untill that day which shined unto us like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought unto us the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were over-spred with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may justly and religiously thinke thus much, that among us and our neighbors of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of unknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith & religion did florish far more sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leaven of the see of Rome being augmented, & the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through ye whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to prevaile, and did sound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, like unto those two most renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to advance the gospel of Christ. I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we have heard, that offred Christ unto the Norwegians, over whom hee reigned five yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, governed with more severitie, & for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliver the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Christ 1030. being unjustly slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for ye name of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticfla Stodum.

[I. 571.] *The first christian king of Norway.*

Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.

Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Christ 1000. lived in the village of Berthorshvol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subjection to no superiour magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, saving that by his discreet vertue & diligence, hee set through and brought to composition a great number: hee never did nor suffered violence, but onely upon the last day of his life. So carefully avoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gave good assistance to others, who were desirous also to avoyd and escape them: neither did any man ever put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor ever any did swerve therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should have so great and so sure forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and provident wisedome joyned with counsell became a proverbe amongst us Nials byta raden: That is to say, the counsel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any busines was atchieved prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife, and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal undergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe delivered from eternal flames. And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce undoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moved to thinke, that in the very beginning of Christianitie received amongst us, mens minds were not so beguiled and overwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times, they have bene.

A summe of the Islanders Religion.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly successours, did make the doctrine of salvation more manifest, and shaking off the heavie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his saving health: We all, and every of us do beleeve and confesse that God is a spirit (John 4. v.

24.) eternal (Esay 40. v. 28.) infinite (Jere. 23. v. 24. Psal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Revel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in providence: one in the making and governing of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heaven and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the upholder & governor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Psal. 2, 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Jesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (John 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (John 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1 Chro. 17. 13. Joh. 1. 1.) true God (John 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Revel. 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fall promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones unto the holy Patriarches, as unto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) unto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) unto Jacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by ye sacrifices of Moses (Lev. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting up of the brasen serpent (Num. 21) by Jonas (Jonas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (John 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised againe for our justification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heaven (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for us at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. John 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit [I. 572.] (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the Word, and Sacraments (Matth. 16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, Acts. 9. 31. &c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heaven (Acts 1. 11.) to judge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render unto the wicked according to their workes, and that he wil judge them to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. & 25. 4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeve in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Jesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephe. 4. 5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do give, and have given our names unto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse, and witnesse: And as for all others who invent any other name in heaven given unto men by which they may be saved, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our salvation: And that alone (all mans devises being cast away and contemned) we propound unto our selves as an infallible rule, and level of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine under the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) delivered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe. 2. 20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserved ever unto this day and to be preserved hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth. 28. last verse. Psal. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thankes unto our most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that even unto us being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the revelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time favourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the saving beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come unto us. This in briefe (running over the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we have drawen and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Islanders converted unto Christ, &c.

Krantzius.

IT is doubtful unto us whether in these words Kranzius would have said, that ye Islanders were first converted unto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before converted, but saith that it was knowne first unto Adalbert that yeere. But whethersoever of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, unto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather give assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale, (friendly reader) unto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather unto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall: he writeth matters forreine and unknowen: they have compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne unto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the upbraiding of our nation being most unknowen unto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore,

The most ancient Chronicles of Island.

that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conversion of Island unto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: Thus therefore standeth the certeintie thereof.

Island first inhabited. In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discovered before that time, as is above mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned up by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did give unto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, rivers. And to be short, what names they gave unto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and used. Therefore the Norwayes with their [I. 573.] company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almost a 100. yeres, except a very few which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100. yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian Religion began to be considered upon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing above 20. yeres together, was diversly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in converting the Iland to Christian faith: the former was one Fridericus a

Fridericus Saxo the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.

Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaved himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and prevailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were used in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

Anno Domini 1000.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated unto the Islanders by one Ulfliot in the yeere 926.) should every where give place to the Canon or divine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be consecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Schalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of July.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, nor sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to convince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. And undoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is evident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much unto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the native barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall

A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.

sobrietie, and use to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit unto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasuries replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, have compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation: neither despised I to have those men for my judges, whom I knew to be skilfull in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we have alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I. Isleif.	I. Jonas sonne of Augmundus. Isleif his disciple.	
1056.	Consecrated beyond the seas.		
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.	Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64. his sirname was Sanctus, unto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of July.		
	II. Gysserus.		
1082.	Consecrated beyond the sea.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
1083.	Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke.	II. Ketillus or Catullus.	
1118.	Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.	Consecrated.	1122.
		Dieth.	1145.

[I. 574.]

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	III.	III.	
In the yere of his age 32.	Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.	Biorno.	
	Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before his death.	Being consecrated came into Island.	1147.
		Dieth.	1162.
		IIII.	
1133.	Dieth.	Brandus.	
	IIII.	Consecrated.	1163.
	Magnus.	Entreth his Episcopall see.	1165.
1134.	Consecrated.	Dieth.	1201.
1148.	On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.	V.	
		Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.	
		Elected and consecrated.	1203.
		Dieth.	1237.
		VI.	
	V.	Botolphus.	
	Klaingus.	Returneth consecrated.	1239.
1151.	Chosen.	Dieth.	1246.
1152.	Entreth the see.		
1176.	Dieth.	VII.	
	VI.	Henricus.	
	Thorlacus.	Entreth the see.	1247.
	Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.	Dieth.	1260.
1178.	Consecrated.	VIII.	
1193.	Dieth.	Brandus an Abbat.	1262.
		Goeth beyond the seas.	1263.
	VII.	Entreth the Bishopricke.	1264.
	Paulus.	Dieth.	
1195.	Consecrated.		
1211.	Dieth.		
		IX.	
	VIII.	Jerundus.	
	Magnus.	Entreth his see.	1267.
1216.	Consecrated. [IX.	Dieth. [X.	1313.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	IX.	X.	
	Siguardus.	Audunnus.	
1239.	Entreth his see.	Entreth his see.	1314.
1268.	Dieth.	Dieth.	1322.
	X.		
	Arnerus.	XI.	
1269.	Entreth his see.	Laurentius.	
1298.	Dieth.	Elected and consecrated.	1324.
		Dieth in the Ides of April.	1331.
	XI.		
	Arnerus sonne of Helgo.		
1304.	Consecrated.	XII.	
1305.	Entereth the see.	Egillus.	
1309.	Saileth into Norwaie, to crave timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.	Entreth his see.	1332.
		Dieth.	1341.
		XIII.	
		Ormus.	
		Entreth his see.	1343.
		Dieth upon the feast of all Saints.	1355.
1310.	Returneth home.		
1320.	Dieth.		
		XIIII.	
	XII.	Jonas sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.	
	Jonas Haldorus.		
1321.	Elected.	Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island.	1358.
1322.	Consecrated the first of August.	This Jonas being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obteined licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which was at that time vacant.	A Bishop of Gronland. 1356.
1323.	Entreth his see.		
1338.	Dieth.		
	XIII.		
1339.	Jonas sonne of Indrid a Noruagian borne. Entreth his see.	Whereupon comming and not bringing with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function, received from the Pope, hee began to be suspected among the	
1341.	Dieth.		
	XIIII.		
	Jonas sonne of Siguardus.		
1343.	Entreth his see.		
1348.	Dieth on S. Magnus even.		

[I. 575.]

In the yeere of Christ.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
	XV. Gyrthus.	priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe by them into Norway, that the matter might bee set through by the judgement of the king. The king therefore favouring his part, he obteined the bishopricke of Holen.	
1349.	Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo.		
1356.	Going beyond the seas he was drowned.		
	XVI. Thorarinnus.		
1362.	Entreth his see.	He dieth.	1391.
1364.	Dieth.		
		XV. Peter.	
	XVII. Oddgeirus.	Consecrated the same yere wherein his predecessour departed out of this present life.	
1366.	Entreth his see.		
1381.	Dieth upon the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Saviour.	Entreth the see of Holen.	1392.
		Dieth.	
		XVI. Jonas Wilhelmus English, Either borne or sirnamed.	
		Entred the see.	1432.
		XVII. Godschalcus.	1457.
	XVIII. Michael a Dane.	Died.	
1385.	Entreth his see.		
1388.	Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke.	XVIII. Olaus son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.	1458.
	XIX. William a Dane.		
1394.	Entereth the Bishopricke.	He was established.	1497.
	Dieth.	He died.	
	[XX.	[XIX.	

An English man Bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
1420.	XX. Arnerus sirnamed Milldur, that is to say, Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of Holen. He died.	XIX. Godschalcus. The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his uncle deceased. He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to have entreated many of the subjects. In the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and banqueting dishes, & heard that Jonas Sigismundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had used against his distressed subjects.	1500.
1432.	XXI. Jonas Gerickson Sueden either sirnamed or borne, is made Bishop over the Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorvaldus de Modruvollum (as it is reported) and a great stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast alive into the river of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there strangled.		
1445.	XXII. Goswinus bishop of Schalholt.		
1472.	XXIII. Sueno called ye wise, bishop of Schalholt.		
1489.	XXIIII. Magnus sonne of Eiolphus, Bishop, &c.		
1494.	XXV. Stephen. Entreth the see. Then (living at one time with Godschalchus bishop of	XX. Jonas Aræsonius. Entreth the see. This man was the last & most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely	1525.

In the yeere of Christ.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of Christ.
	Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the same commendations for mercy and justice, that Godschalchus had.	withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christan the 3. under paine of banishment to come with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the kings commaundement, hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had provoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieu-tenant beheaded.	
1519.	He died : or thereabout.		
	XXVI. Augmundus. Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.		
1522.	Entreth the see.		
	While he was Bishop, the kings Lieu-tenant with some of his followers being invited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was slaine by certaine conspirators: because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke, there ended his life.	In revenge whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once servants to the parties beheaded.	1551.
	XXVII. Gysserus.		
1540.	Elected, Augmundus yet living.		
1541.	Entred the see.	XXI. Olaus Hialterus.	
1544.	He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages: his owne mariage being solemnized at Schalholt. [XXVIII.	Departed his countrey.	1552.
		Entreth the see. [This	1553.

[I. 576.]

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
1547.	XXVIII. Martinus. Bishop, &c. And the yeeres folowing.	This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the love of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine. He died.	1568.
1556. 1587.	XXIX. Gislaus Jonas. This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ye love of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to advance the same, by which meanes he did so procure unto himselfe ye hatred of Papists, as being constreined to give place unto their craft & crueltie, he departed over to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former study of divinitie, he lived in the familiaritie, and favour of many, but specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gave place unto him of his owne accord. This man died also, having	XXII. Gudbrandus Thorlacius. The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also: who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left unto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) even in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	for the space of 31. yeres or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Jesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the utmost of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.	other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounden unto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. Hee (I say) being at this present, Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:	
		Departed his countrey.	1570.
	XXX.	Returned and entred the see of Holen.	1571.
	Otto Enerus, a grave,		
1588.	godly, and learned man. Being chosen he		
1589.	departeth his country. Hee is consecrated, returneth, and entreth the sea, endevouring himselfe in the labours of his function.		

[I. 577.] IN these times therefore light is restored unto our soules from heaven, and the gate of the kingdome of heaven is opened unto us by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renoumed King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called up to his heavenly countrey in the yeare 1588, have beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the favour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred divinitie, are trained up to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preserve unto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with fervent prayers beseech him.

The second section.

Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius.

They inhabite for the most part in caves, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They have many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to avoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselves close in their caves, even as the people of Africa doe to avoyde the heate of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

HEre the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe use: namely according to Munster, Krantzius, Frisius &c. Holes and caves of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braveries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainely affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common unto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselves, and the very dwelling places of men, the Islanders have had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, untill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay: whenas neither we have woods convenient for building, not yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast upon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieve us: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessities: whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon up, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stove, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion unto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither ilfavoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen having a bodie the five pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about five elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.

Drift wood not so plentifull now, as in times past.

proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred unto us, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestow timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I have [I. 578.] heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which having now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Iland, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. For here the matter seemeth not to require that I should runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them: because being content with our povertie, we render unto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be received of us under a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses, (which Munster, Krantzius and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pavementes, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

The third section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They and their cattell use all one house, all one foode or victuals, all one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.) Also. They live onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

THese be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface upon Norway, so he casteth up the verie same morsels undigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Those things which have beene hitherto, although they have sufficiently grieved us, yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malitious devise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to avouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing upon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also living, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that have lived some yeeres amongst us, and have more minde to speake the trueth then to revile our nation: who have seen our houses and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in every particular farme or graunge there were many severall roomes: namely, in those that were most simple and base, seven or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being severed, both by roofes and walles, doe serve for the dayly and houshold affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost never of more: whereupon the Reader may easily judge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell have all one house to lie in, when every husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath severall oxe-stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables, lambes-cots separated indifferent spaces one from another, which the servants goe unto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the province of Skagefiord, that under the same roofe, men, dogges, swine and sheepe live all together, it is partly false, and partly no marvell: for sheepe, as it hath beene sayde, and specially for swine (when as that province hath no swine at all) it is utterly false: for dogges it is no marvell, when as not kings courts were ever, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seventh section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may justly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Civilians, namely that we comprehend under the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Ulpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in this place the saide authors call beasts meate by the name of Victus.

But let us see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We have no labouring cattell besides horses and oxen: these have grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders live by fish, butter, flesh both beefe, and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they have not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the [I. 579.] sayde writers affirme in these wordes: They and their cattell use all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people living onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Unlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselves slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the use of the latine tongue doth gainesay, which hath taught us that as men doe eate, so beasts doe feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattel.

But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders live upon grasse and hay? To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought undergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts, and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their usuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaves: they will drinke milke also (like unto calves and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will devour any deinty dishes whatsoever. May any man therefore say that men use the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoever things have happened in the time of grievous famine ought not to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for us to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe usually live by eating of dogs, mise, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they have often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is some times common to many men with beasts, we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all living creatures: which also in some respect Phisicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselves, nor our saviour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also under the name of Victus) it is no wise common to us with beasts. For nature hath clad them with haires & bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwise naked, stande in neede of clothes to cover their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore have properly beene sayde, that sheepe and we have all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to have common with beasts: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would have it to be, I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we have hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift upright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselves or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Majesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duety not so highly to regard either the love of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoever, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to give trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere unto Schalholt, upon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift rivers Thiorsaa and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere provide all things necessarie for housholde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want those things at home, and are not able to provide them from other places, are constrained to use straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxe stalles, & there setting up sheds, & doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enjoye, but are constrayned to use the same common house with their oxen. But for their livelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I have entreated before. This is the lot, & povertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition [I. 580.] whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongst us, though somewhat injuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that unto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I have to doe with Divines, let that of Salomon suffice, Proverbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongest many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they upbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common unto us with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and have all one father and God.

[The fourth

The fourth section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They leade their lives in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose povertie no man doth envie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, have conveighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they have learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they covet golde and silver like unto our men.

SImplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is given unto us. But it grieveth us that there is found so great a decay of justice, and good lawes, and so great want of governement amongst us, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconvenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is, of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges unto his Majestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreover, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For ye Noruagians themselves, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Iland, from whom ye Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and silver coine, so that in old time there was no lesse use of silver and golde with us, then there is at this day.

Corne of old time growing in Island.

And it is certaine that before the often navigations of Danes, Germans, and English men unto us, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconveniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heaven and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.

The fift section.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth every yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

Munsterus. Krantzius.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harald Harfagre (which is to say, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian government. For whereas before it was devided into pettie Provinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that governed them, Fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes unto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere above named eight hundred seventie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discovered by some men and found out, but unpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselves Islanders, which name their posteritie reteineth unto this day. And therefore the Islanders lived a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, above sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries unto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at

The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.

Haquinus coronatus.

[I. 581.] length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage unto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subjects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway unto the Danes, they doe honour as their soveraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The sixt section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

All things are common among them except their wives.

HEre Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreover, your wit being too hastie in affirming things unknowen, doth here also deminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proveth your over greedie desire of noveltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning have used all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subjects: of the seate of justice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enjoyned unto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of judgement in Island concerning goods mooveable, and immooveable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late have beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controversies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these. Before the receiving of Christian faith the Islanders living according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of justice, which giveth to every man his owne: If by the lawe of justice, then certainely distinctions of properties and possessions must needes have taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously even in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most just and good.

The seventh section.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they have left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that favour may here be shewed by any man whatsoever (be he never so favourable, and never so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceive. For what should move such great men, following the despightfull lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and unknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this untrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselves. For in heaping up this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeve them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the gravitie and wisedome of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster have hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before the receiving of Christian faith they lived according to the lawe of nature. Also: that the Islanders lived after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they lived in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seventh section of the former. The seconde marke is, [I. 582.] that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular & naturall affections, that love and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out unto us the law of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull invention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all divine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we have the commaundement of God, that every man should love his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not love or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great favour, so great estimation, so great love unto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe unto our children? The most neare and inseparable love of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the love of God also commandeth us to have speciall regard in trayning them up (Exod. 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet.

God will have each family,
a litle Church to be.

Also

Of humane life or mans societie,
a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare offspring is plainely seene in the heathen themselves: that whomsoever you totally deprive of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed unto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the sayles hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the haven, for very anguish cast themselves headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egæus doth testifie this, who when hee sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, upon rumors of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also Jocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To these may be added that sentence, Love descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to love his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time have confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe unto them this love and affection towardes their children: If not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them under every brute beast, which even by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great love, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse untruth most notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselves, being received from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes under the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoever selleth a freeman (any man much more a sonne) unto strangers &c.

Now if any man be driven to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his owne sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being urged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hungerstarved for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

The occasion of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst us certaine beggars laden with children (for we have here a great number of them) who in jesting [I. 583.] maner for they are much given to trifling talke, might say: Give me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you give me for it? the begger might answere: I have ten or foureteene children, I will give you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers useth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes provide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and poverty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of love and mercie have bene performed by many, aswell Islanders themselves as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Julius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I have heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported unto me, that by his good meanes every one of them being bound to a severall trade, proved good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driven to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the unwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by urgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Jerusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweet babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conveniently reserve thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the government of the Romans, we shall weare out our unhappy dayes under the yoke of slavery. But I thinke famine will prevent captivity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat unto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make up the calamities of the Jewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reserving the other, &c. Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not beleeve that this unhappy mother would full gladly have passed over this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could have happened upon any such, with whom she thought he might have beene preserved? That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof converted their wives and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their hearts have solde for other victuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to devoure his owne sonne. It is well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seventh, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would devoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grievous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children unto the most bloudy and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slavery: and some are sayd to have taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to have cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly unto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed unto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leave of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the love of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes: I will not say in Churches: which fashion Cæsar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he saw at Rome carrying about yoong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend, who bestow upon beasts these naturall [I. 584.] affections, wherewith they should be invited to the love of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring: which strange pleasure never overtooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde us out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

[The eight

The eight section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They honour their Bishop as their King: unto whose command all the whole people have respect. Whatsoever he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily observe.

THere was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reverence had unto the bishop; but never so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should give place to outlandish lawes & customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some under their subjection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreover, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reverence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the devill assaulteth men after another sort, and even here amongst us, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and perverse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministry.

The ninth section.

Munsterus. They live there for the most part upon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there use stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

COnsider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe upon one string, that when he can write nothing of an unknowen nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, & so to become tedious unto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders live upon fish. His words above recited were these: Island conteineth many people living onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marveilously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, unto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

The tenth section.

Munsterus. Krantzius.

The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they grave them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Frisius.

There be divers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play upon the lute, who with their delectable musicke do ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

The Islanders preserve in writing the acts of their ancestors.

WE denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserved in the songs and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things have beene engraven by us, or by our ancestours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise to be due unto us, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be the part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge undeserved praise unto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleventh section.

BUt now, let this be the end of our controversie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately have entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

[I. 585.] But yet there remaines that viperous German brood the mother whereof would have it come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venemous sting.

Moreover, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I have all men to know with what minde I undertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common proverbe:

I know, that if I strive with dung most vile,
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile)

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, even strangers themselves, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or have heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who use those venemous Germaine rimes to the upbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debasing of us Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped up in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Islanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and divers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore have beene examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his leud and unseemely rimes: they that are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

The first objection or reproch.

First therefore, this our goodly Germane Historiographer objecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours use to preach but five times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be judge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarse seene Island. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth unto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant lived in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in use then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be understood concerning the Psalmes of David mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth us in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their salvation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with us: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations judge.

The twelfth section.

The second reproch. Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

ALthough indeed these most filthy abominations, even in our common wealth, be not altogether unusuall: notwithstanding, since all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did undeservedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this jugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to observe the law contained in our statute booke under the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoever committeth adultery with another mans wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be punished with death? [I. 586.] Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dallers upon a servant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shalbe banished the countrey? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoever be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall undergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enjoyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to have payed, if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof have noted and condemned adultery under the name of a most heinous offence? and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an injurious Notary we have, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserveth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice unpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or evill spoken of.

The thirteenth section.

The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

The third reproch.

DOubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to utter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had travailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are joyned together, and he hath sufficiently proved himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peradventure himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into

Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I have not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the undeserved reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

The foureteenth section.

The 4, 5, 6, & 7 reproches.

Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests use to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to every one a chamber-pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreover, he noteth much unmanerlinesse of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he objecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands and their faces in pisse.

Seventhly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

THese, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserved right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere unto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde unto) that this worthy Germane notarie observed some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conversant then with good and honest persons (for he had lived, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long upon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behaviour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knavery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also usually do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselves, who are not a little conversant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, unmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others even in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the [I. 587.] disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to object against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should travell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what marvaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may give him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in such like reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roses, or any other most beautifull and sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse up and downe whatsoever durt and dung they can finde, untill they have rooted up most uncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselves: Even so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth over the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which have beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed shew himselfe to be the same which we have termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped up together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enjoy the name of a swine.

The fifteenth section.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of living, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large invective: namely, that they eate olde and unsavoury meates, and that, without the use of bread. Also, that they eate divers kinds of fishes which are unknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly object it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will divide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselves, and, amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them: neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we have also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the observing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very devout.

Moreover, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and have bene used by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarse meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being environed with the most streight siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Navarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum: insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations, who in the like urgent necessities have lived by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we have absteined from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we provide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, & no sustenance, or very little, is brought unto us by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grievous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst us which used to live from hand to mouth, and had not some provision of former yeeres remaining, have beene driven to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the judgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreover, whereas divers use to object concerning [I. 588.]

the proper & accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt: also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we have not any great varitie of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to live moderately) we confesse it to be even so: namely that the foresaid kinds of victuals are used in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselves, when they are among us do use to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we have no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the provocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to us all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and susteining of us Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

Want of salt in Island.

The Islanders meanes of preserving their meates without salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should upbraid us in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter unto our deinty mouthes: but rather we give him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant even unto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and convenient nourishment, and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne unto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) envious poverty did not holde us downe.

But here the judgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceive (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoever their use doth not admit, or that they have not seene, nor had triall of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that never saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea: so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their lives. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we have heard of certeine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus & Megastenes have named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that live upon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

The sixteenth section.

The tenth reproch.

TEnthly, that uncivill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about mony with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be enterteined in a strange place, and to have meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreover, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders have built in their owne houses: & that first of all in the morning, they have recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they have done their devotion, to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace unto the Islanders. And no marvell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
And hogs uncleane regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last objections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him unto his booke of rimes against Island, which we have now examined in our former sections: at whose railing & filthy speeches we have bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and reviling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for us to repeat: so great & abominable is his insolency, & his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoever shall view this cartlode of slanders (for we have mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his [I. 589.] foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not judge the authour of this pasquill to have bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I have just occasion to doubt whether the authour of these revilings hath bene the more injurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Joachimus Leo (and whatsoever else they be who in their editions dare neither professe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise, if not oftner, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe unpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? Have you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your aboundant traffique with us, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeves and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene unto your Citie in stead of a storehouse? In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland have reaped the commodities of this Isle: Moreover, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they never gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which hath armed other people, unto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this injurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet susteine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieved at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not have done unto thy selfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enjoyned a most grievous penaltie unto those, who invent, write, utter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently upon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

The commodities of Island.

The ancient traffique of England with Island.

Lawes against libels.

But now time bids us to sound a retreat: and to returne home unto thee Island (our most deare mother) whom neither povertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconveniences shall make irksome unto us, so long as thou ceasest not to give heartie and willing entertainment unto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and love of God, and of the heavenly knowledge reveiled unto us in Christ:

that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reverence, cherish, and love them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both private and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that unto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe upon that levell and line of equitie and justice, and avoyding others, who upon stubbernesse and impietie swerve therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict just punishments upon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will have respect unto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approved fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adjoyne unto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconveniences may fitly be prevented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and unfit men being altogether rejected; the condition of the subjects shalbe most prosperous: the lives and maners of all men shal prove by so much the more commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the government of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or avarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or convicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or unjust favourers of such persons as are suspected and convicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward shew or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the government of such men, who to the uttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine overthrow for their owne private advantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to advertise my deare Country, how behovefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilest I am speaking these things unto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Majestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending unto themselves. But we [I. 590.] will commit all these matters to the most just Judge of heaven and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloved Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy service, and accept them with that favourable and courteous minde which I have expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore give over because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoever it be (if it be ought) and how micklesoever which for my slender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppresse it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To overgrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing availe to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my travaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my native Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselves to write, howsoever my fame shalbe obscured, yet will I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to have speciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to have more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selves to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere
of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the
Kalends of May.

A letter written by the grave and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reverendissimo viro, eruditione & virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesiæ Harevicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri & symmystæ observando.

Mirabar equidem (ut conjicis, reverende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Cæterùm, cum ulterius progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simúlque quòd te nominis Islandorum studiosum experirer, ex animo gavisus sum. Undè etiam faciam, ut tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Evangelio Jesu Christi nobis congratulantis, déque gente nostra tàm benignè támque honorificè sentientis & scribentis, apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimenta attinet, quæ hìc extare creduntur, nihil sanè est (præter illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuvè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter historiam Regum Noruegiæ, seu veriùs ejusdem historiæ fragmenta; quæ aliis alitèr descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, ubi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vasto intervallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exercuisse, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri testantur. Cætera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama est, vestris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis esse in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, si me certiorem feceris, non erit injucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque nova erunt de rebus vestratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Commentarius brevis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Jonam Islandum editus, 1593.

‖ Biarmia.

Gronlandis olim suos habuit Episcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reverende Dom. pastor) Deo, musis, & commisso gregi quàm diutissime superstes, Amen. Ex Islandia in festo visitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuæ studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius
Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English.

[I. 591.]

To the reverend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow-pastour. &c.

I Much marveiled (even as your selfe, reverend sir, conjectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether unknowen unto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which proceedeth of

your courtesie) knowen unto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of us Islanders, I greatly rejoyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with us for the Gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so lovingly and honourably of our nation) may cease hereafter to be unknowen amongst us.

This is the briefe Commentarie of Jonas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede, nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island, which you write unto me that you have seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we have litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others have otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Krantzius never mentioned: unlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreover, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our auncestours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called ‖ Biarmlandia, and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewise doe testifie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot avouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages unto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to give me further advertisement, you shall doe me an especial favour. Moreover, whatsoever newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make us acquainted therewith. Thus (reverend sir) wishing you long life, for the service of God, for

‖ Biarmia.

Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.

the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Island upon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of
Hola in Island.

The miraculous victory atchieved by the English Fleete, under the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Upon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the invasion of England, together with the wofull and miserable successe of the said Armada afterward, upon the coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Westerne Isles, of Ireland, of Spaine, of France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran in the 15. booke of his history of the low Countreys.

HAving in part declared the strange and wonderfull events of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieved, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, having a long time determined the same in his minde, and having consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and undertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it unto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (having 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for divers other injuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recover his heredetarie possession of the lowe Countreys, [I. 592.] having restrained the inhabitants from sayling upon the coast of England. Which verily, upon most weighty arguments and evident reasons, was thought would undoubtly have come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed unto them. But now let us describe the matter more particularly.

The preparation of the Spanish King to subdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spanish King having with small fruite and commoditie, for above twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellers thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stoode him nowe in hand to joyne great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoveful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had given commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing up of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to use warlike weapons, in leavying and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gunpoulder, of victuals, and of all their Navall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Unto all these were added the names of the Governours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase unto themselves in that Navie (as they termed it) invincible, endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into divers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or briefe rehearsall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ships in the Spanish Fleete, with the souldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furnished and set foorth under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, under the conduct of John Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, under the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Levant Islands, under Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, under Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, under the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, under the conduct of John Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, under Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200. gally-slaves, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, under Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaves, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, under Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20. caravels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary services unto the greater ships: insomuch that [I. 593.] all the ships appertayning to this Navie amounted unto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently provided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the saide Fleete were above 8000. of slaves 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

A description of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themselves at all assayes. The upperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or five foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward prooved true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Galliasses.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do great service with the force of their Ordinance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gunpoulder, and other furniture.

Their pieces of brasen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and kaleivers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000.

Moreover they had great store of canons, double-canons, culverings and field-pieces for land services.

Their provision of victuals and other things necessary.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on land to conveigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth unto an hundreth thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreover they had 12000. pipes of fresh-water, and all other necessary provision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand ducates.

A Spanish terza consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

There were in the said Navie five terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the commaund of five governours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies under their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar governours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of [I. 594.] them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else perteined unto the hospitall.

Over and besides the forenamed governours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yelvas, and divers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordova, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to give ayd & assistance unto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled above a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the river of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to cary 30. horses, having eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping up of havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not farre from Neiuport haven, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a mount. The most part of his ships conteined two ovens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands, every band containing a hundreth persons. Neare unto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselves: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silva, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgrave, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices base sonne unto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the duke of Savoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they use to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the devill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there [I. 595.] be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, upon the king of Spaine, giving him charge to invade it upon this condition, that hee should enjoy the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, unto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, unto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne native countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning upon the arrival of the Spanish fleete, to have it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Majestie was by them most unjustly deprived of all princely titles and dignities, her subjects being enjoined to performe obedience unto the duke of Parma, and unto the Popes Legate.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the united provinces might be secure of invasion.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her majestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the united provinces making open protestation, used all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemie now pressing upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious unto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to divert some other way, or to keepe backe the navy now comming upon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoever it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the united provinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave eare unto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this navie was provided to conduct and waft over the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure those huge and monstrous ships upon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

Her majesties warlike preparation by sea.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine termes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subjects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plimmouth under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Dover and Caleis.

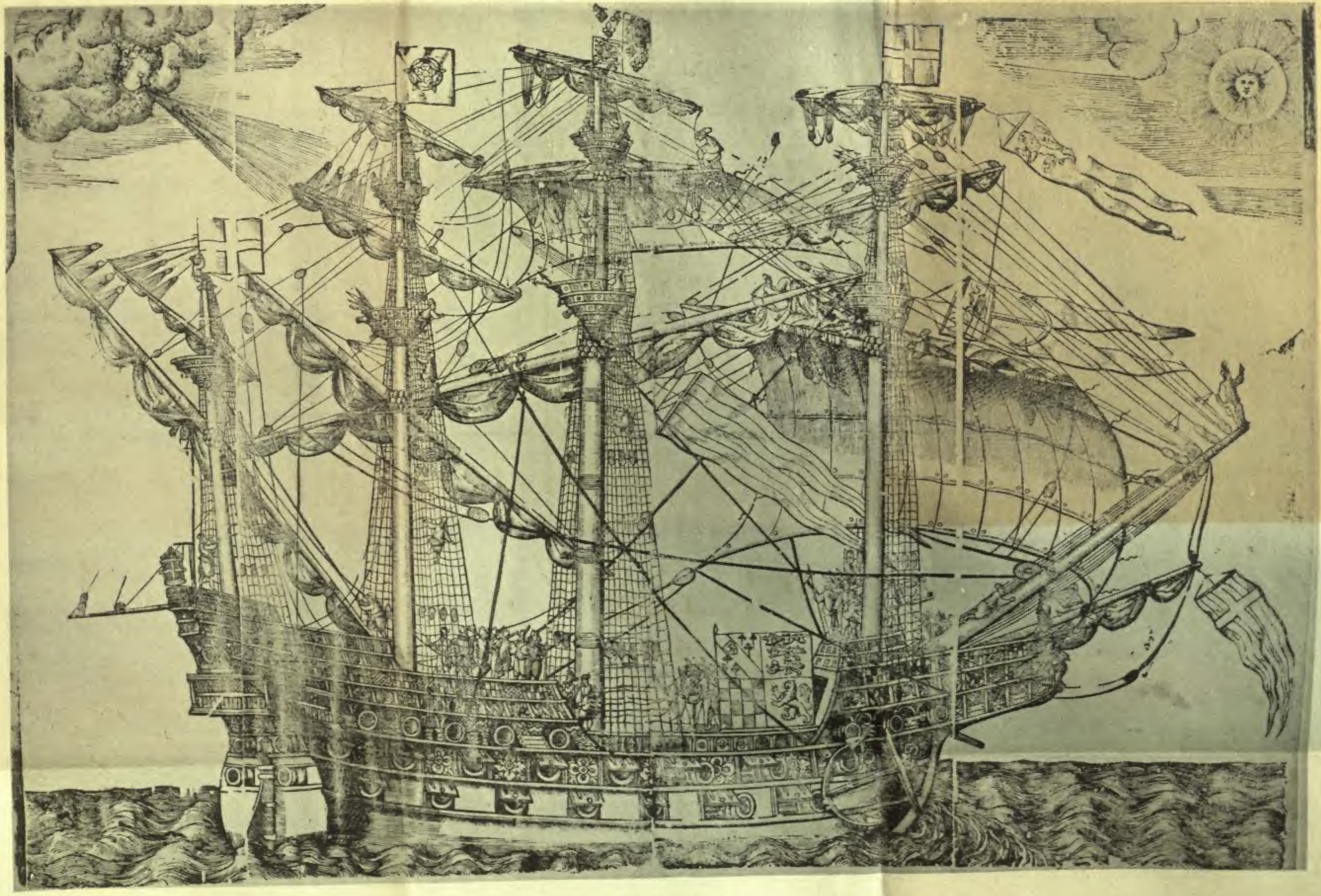
Her Majesties land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certaine convenient places, as [I. 596.] namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the united provinces.

The provinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giving credite unto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge,



THE ARK ROYAL

they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherfore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their rivers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling and almost unto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. brave Musquetiers, having bene accustomed unto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue foorth with his navy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, aliâs the Groine of Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neerest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was re-

The Spanish fleete set saile upon the 19. of May.

turned unto his company, he could not escry above 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle joyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blowen over-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their governours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaves arriving in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

They set saile from ye Groine upon the 11. of July.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captaine Fleming.

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, & receiving daily commandement from the king to hasten their journey, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships unto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreover, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Majestie was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that upon her

Majesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chattam.

The L. Admirals short warning upon the 19. of July.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) tocome on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the haven. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to have staied themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie have bene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily have conveied his ships.

The 20. of July.

[I. 597.]

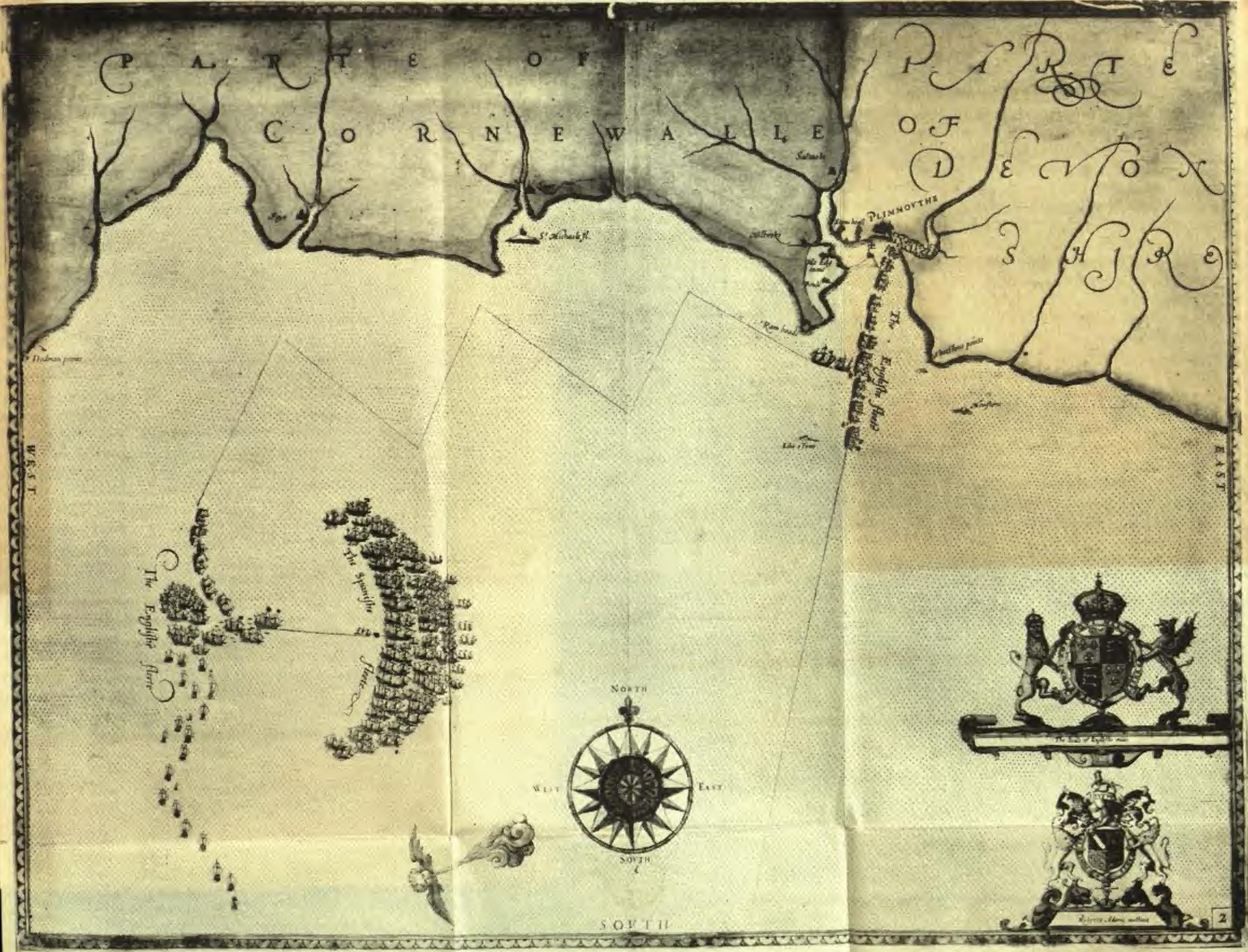
But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressely commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determined first to have entred the river of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie and popish catholiques, or some favourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most justly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often advertising the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind


PARTE OF CORNEWALLE
PARTE OF DEVONSHIRE
PLIMMOVTHE
Saltashe
St Michaels fl.
Ram heade
Dodman point
The English fleete
The English fleete
The Spanishe fleete
NORTH
WEST
EAST
SOVTH
WEST
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SOVTH
2

THE FIRST ACTION IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL AGAINST THE ARMADA
21st July 1588

of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The 21. of July. The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approched within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come up rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The 22. of July. The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent foorth his pinnasse, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with [I. 598.] him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should proove Drake to be no dastard.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship & company taken.

Upon which answere Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooved with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were caried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisedom, which ever attended upon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained unto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the

English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie woodden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captives into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselves.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelike provision. The upper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada governour of the foure Galliasses, made humble sute unto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit unto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

The 23. of July. Upon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of July, the navie being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler Ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves and to make hast unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joine forces [I. 599.] with the duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small shippes under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake unto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conversant in many Sea-fights.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English. In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English navie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the lord Admirall: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of July. The five and twentie of July when the Spaniardes were come over-against the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe unto the lord Admirall: the Beare under the lord Sheffield nephew unto the lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised up their sayles, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved [I. 600.] himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

The 26. of July. For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall received intelligence from Newhaven in France, by certaine of his Pinnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of July. The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.

The seven and twentie of July, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish navie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers unto the duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land: and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

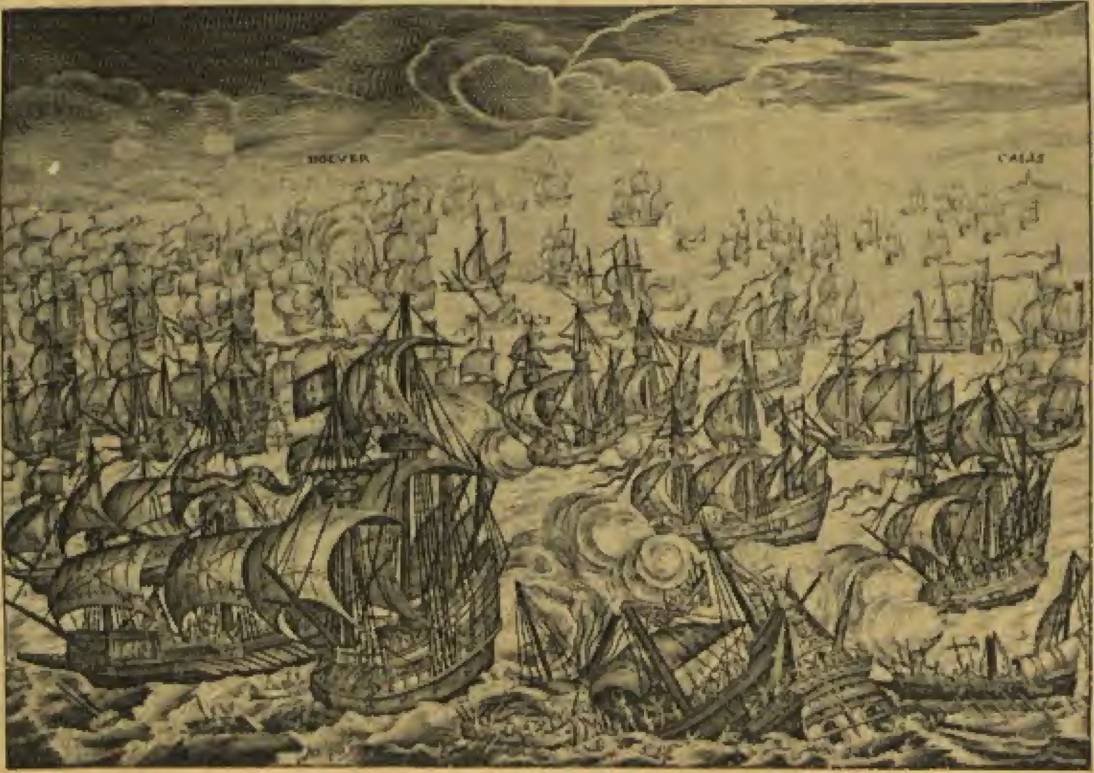
The duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the governement of the Lowe countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vowes unto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind devotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July. *The 28. of July.*

The 29. of July. The next day travelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

The 30. of July. Upon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of five and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau.

The foresayd five and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Musketiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to have bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet unreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitives being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have bene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to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THE FLEETS AT CLOSE QUARTERS

depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet. [I. 601.]

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight, yeelding them sea roome, and endevouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river of Thames; upon the bankes whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should have followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to have mette with some rebels against her Majestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the favourers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst & basest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horrour (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of

The 28. of July.

Parma his bridge, built upon the river of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising up their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld upon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast upon the showlds before Caleis.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the governour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of the fleet into Spaine.

M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.

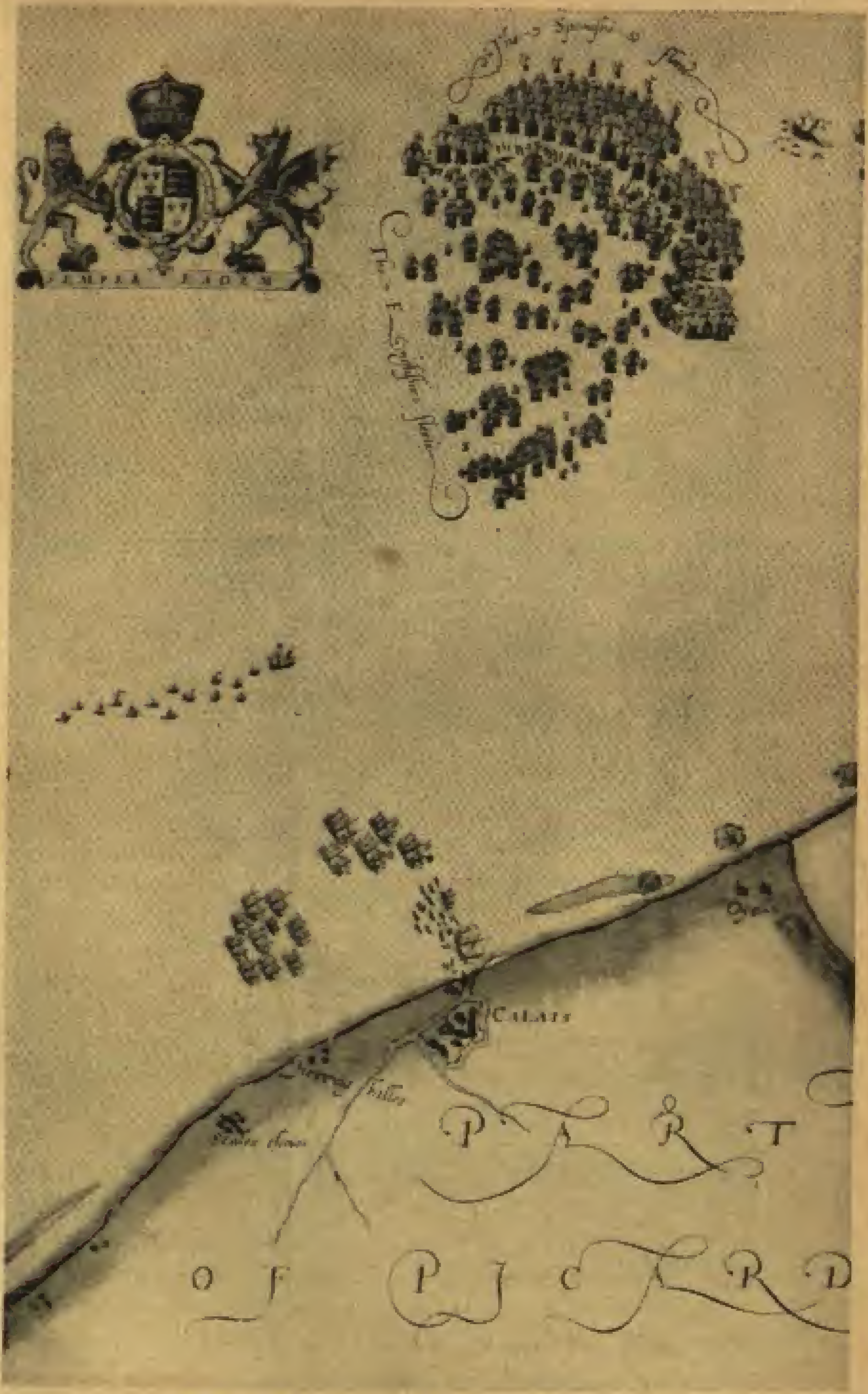
This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of

[I. 602.] their fetters, the English men would have set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to do, but drave them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greveling the 29. of July.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conjoyned and united together, standing onely upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: & so continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themselves, in chasing the Spaniards


SEMPER EADEM
The Spanishe fleete
The Englishe fleete
CALAIS
P A R T
O F P I C A R D

THE FINAL BATTLE OFF GRAVELINES
29TH JULY 1588

first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sayled upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culvering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Majestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish shippes suncke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the governours of the same shippe slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them which would have yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers.

[I. 603.] In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother unto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were scarse 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding wherof, and to save his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endevored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe unto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe unto Peter Banderduess & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd captaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

A small shippe cast away about Blankenberg.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The dishonourable flight of the Spanish navy: and the prudent advice of the L. Admirall.

The 29 of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England; leaving behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich: for they had bene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The

The English returne home from the pursute of ye Spaniards the 4 of August.

English now going on shore, provided themselves foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home.

[I. 604.]

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scotish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules overboord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the

Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shippe-wracke of the Spaniardes upon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediatly upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne unto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman unto the earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

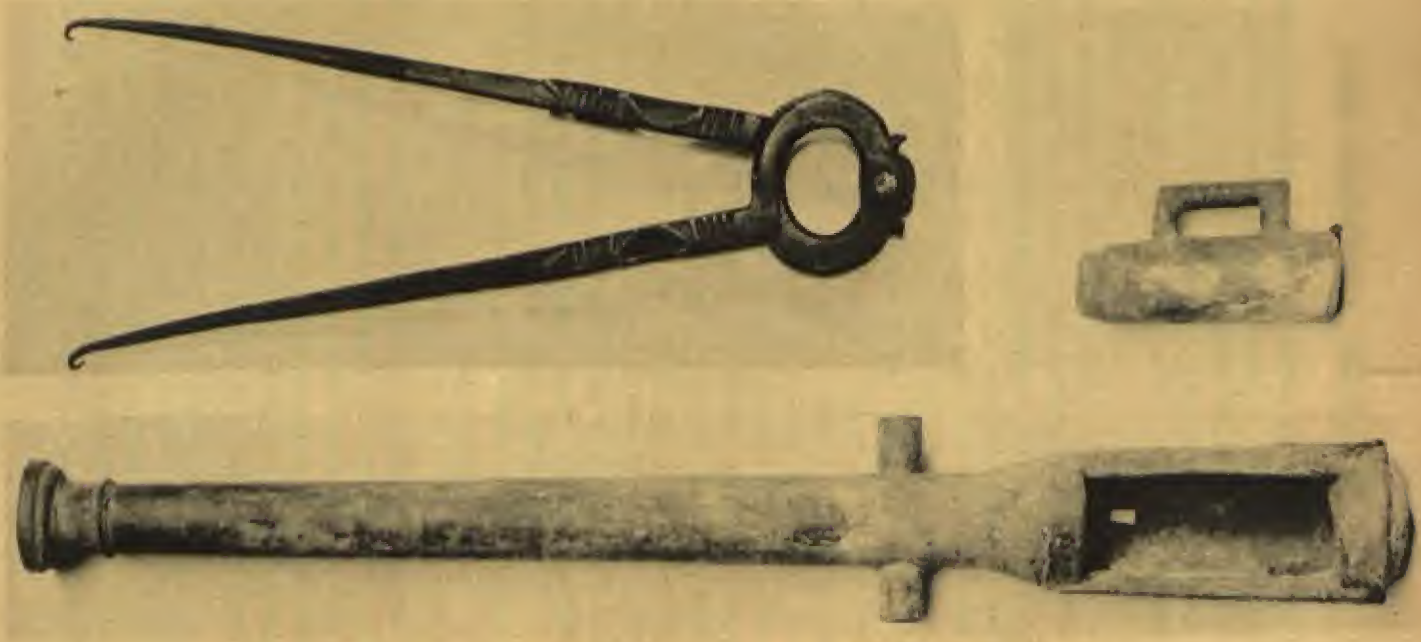
Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise upon the Scotish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land, [I. 605.] there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scotish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time untill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be raunsomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinseman.

New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards overthrow.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Silver and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be given to God onely.



COMPASSES AND BREECH-LOADING GUN FROM THE SPANISH GALLEON 'FLORENCIA'

FOUND IN TOBERMORY BAY JUNE 1903

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

The people of England and of the united provinces, pray, fast, and give thanks unto God.

While this woonderfull and puissant Navie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were observed thorowout the united Provinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majestie, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enjoyned to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Majestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

[I. 606.] Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not upon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

STraverat innumeris Hispanus navibus æquor,
Regnis juncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti hujus, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Avaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis avaros,
Hausit inexhausti justa vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius una, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge juvare pios,
Ut te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as never seene before:
And all to joyne the kingdome of that land
Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which farre above the heavens did swell,
And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.
But well have windes his proud blasts overblowen,
And swelling waves alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs unknowen,
Devoured the devourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray unto the sand,
That meant to pray upon anothers land.

And now, O Queene, above all others blest,
For whom both windes and waves are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enjoy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

[I. 607.] A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage unto Cadiz, 1596. of the overthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

AFter that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come unto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with divers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodovick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir John Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending upon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, as well for the new furnishing and revictualing of her Majesties Royall Navie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from divers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendevous for all the whole Fleete, thereto complete the full number of al such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisedomes thought meete and agreed upon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy service of God, dayly and reverently to be frequented: and also for other good and civill orders of militarie discipline to be observed, to the exceeding great comfort and rejoycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due observation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselves, rising as it was supposed, upon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and foorthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreover, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbeare) was by sound of Drumme publikely in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sort disgraded, and cashierd for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more unfit for service, and of lesse sufficiency and abilitie. This severe executing of justice at the very first did breed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed to cut off all occasion of the like disorder for ever afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make knowen to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, just, and urgent causes, that at this time provoked her Majestie, to undertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Navie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was their good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne private present daungers, or else were willing to avoyde her Majesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most provident and godly decrees, which they had devised for the honest cariage of every particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made knowen to all men, and published in sundry writings, with divers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and devoutly called upon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being divers times most reverently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Associats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippes or thereabout: In the name of the most High & ever-[I. 608.] living God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Majesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of June embarked themselves, weighed Ancre, and hoysed up sayle, and put to sea onward their journey from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting foorth, seemed very favourable: but yet in the evening growing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against us, and we having sayled no further then to a certaine place

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called Dodman head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Majestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter, as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine divers good motives which then presently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more convenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, & wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-suretie of harme might breed either daunger to us, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these devout petitions Lord give thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

SUmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ hujus totius nostri mundi molis fabricator & Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, & ad fundum usque nostrarum cogitationum explorando penetras, ac in eis,

quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni æternitate præscientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua ulciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec injuriarum referendarum, desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicujus lucri, quæstusve aviditus ad istam classem præparandam, & emittendam nos commoverit: sed potiùs, quòd provida quædam cura, solersque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis damnum & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæç sint nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentemque injeceris, ut istud aggrederemur: curvatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, ut velis hoc nostrum incœptum secundissimè fortunare, totum iter prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditam victoriam nobis concedere, reditumque talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, & Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque cum minimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine, sacrosanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I have said, the third of June very early in the morning, having a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from the land: There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. Of this select or privie Councell, were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall,

the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary master of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to [I. 609.] call a common Counsell (as often times they did upon weightie matters best knowen to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned unto this sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sayling should foorthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowen.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent to every particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne unto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of us. But under the titles and superscriptions of every mans particuler letter these words were endorsed. Open not these letters on pain of your lives, unles we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did conteine in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde so much as suspect it, more then themselves, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my judgement of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to entertaine those two vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem : so much commended by the old writers. And if there was ever any great designement, in this our age, and memorie, discreetly, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect of that poynt onely : yet for such faithfull secrecie, it deserveth immortall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being devided into five squadrons : that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did every day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such shippes as were happily under sayle, as also for the better procuring of sea-roome : yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day, towarde evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to an other : which they terme by the name of Hayling : a ceremonie done solemnly, and in verie good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyse of cheerefull voyces : and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our journey was most prosperous, and all our shippes in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyarde, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

Nowe being thus betweene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie us : The tenth of June, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie : but they were both of them very honourably and well used by the Lords Generall : and so after a fewe dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Levison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slewe two of them, and hurt eleven, and in the ende brought them all three in: and this was the very first hansell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exployt woorthy observation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was so well perfourmed of those most worthy Gentlemen, as every man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse rejoyced at this their fortunate successe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vale his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordinance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Flemming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the River up to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in [I. 610.] by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the John and Francis of London. Thus by deviding their squadrons, and spreading the whole sea over a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little stragling Caravels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer utterly unlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were marvellously well used by the Lords

Generall, and that Caravel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to give their attendance, and their Honors did understand what they might of these poore men, of the estate of Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to avoyde the daunger, they presently mount up, and forsake the water, and betake themselves to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not above five or sixe score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fish it selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or silke, or other stuffe, which will with certaine pleights easily runne and fold themselves together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I had good leasure and opportunitie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, having beene there but the day before at twelve of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were divers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to give his attendance.

The 20. of June being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Navy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other maner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked unto, but were a regiment entire of themselves, and by themselves to be provided for, either for their diet, or for the preservation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning presented our selves before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went marvelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Councell being called, our Lords Generall foorthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horsemen, pynnesses, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saved excepting viii. And therefore they were constrayned to put off their landing till an other more convenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire dove upon the maine yard of the L. Admirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing dismayed all that while, every man gazed and looked much upon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Dove presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to us all, and did so still keepe us company, even till our arrivall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selves, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselves very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boysterous, and litle or nothing could be done, more then that about the evening there [I. 611.] passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very litle.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thorough out the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and favourable, betweene five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set upon the Spanish ships, being then under sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, up toward Puente de Suaço on Granada side, being in number lix. tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending upon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy us, and alwayes relieve themselves interchangeably: having likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play upon us and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful advantage of us, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles over or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelves, sands and shallowes in it, so that the very chanell & place for sea roome, is not above 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places, not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and invincible courage, the Lords generall presently set upon them, and sorting out some such convenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were driven to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore upon a grave consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue upon so mightie a disadvantage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound judgement prevented, & therwithall in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or some other subtill politike devise, for the hazarding of her Majesties ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, & wisedome, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever have had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in ye Non Pareille for that time, & the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of marvelous great worth & regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude & great resolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warspight associated with divers most famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Martiall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage & discretion in all military actions, of as great praise & good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whosoever, having with them some of ye ships of London, and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, & give the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their convenient time & order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame, deserve to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, upon a sudden & unlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie & perfection, as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans envy any whit blemish or diminish them) understanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiving by the M. of his ship, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie unto, began to yeeld and give over, her men that remained alive shifting for themselves as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, & therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, & presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselves in ye like maner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran them- [I. 612] selves on ground, as farre from us as they could, and therby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing

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space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorious overthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselves in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. & as is sayd, all tall ships & very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much unto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leave to other mens judgement and report, but sure I am, that themselves offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should have beene received, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, & with what courage performed, and with what terror to the beholders continued, where so many thundring tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leave it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet such was the great mercy & goodnes of our living God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by & by make mention) many above the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding divers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves. I knowe not of any other hurt done, saving onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saved.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen up by his owne powder, who could not have any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinckling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saved.

Immediatly upon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. shot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, under the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, & Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with divers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodovick of Nassaw, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes service did most valiantly behave themselves, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a manner, and beside that, very uneven, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemie having reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome us, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such unspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the unexspected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, retyred themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recover themselves into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to skale the walles : which thing in very deede, although it was not [I. 613.] without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed : Yet such was the invincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man or els in a maner joined with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed upon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their waie with sworde and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at every turne.

Immediately upon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Levison, and with divers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being advanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and understanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the intolerable heate for the time, and the overtiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, joyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gave them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being joyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being caried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head most unfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, & from time to time as they could, still annoying them with seven battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that unlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselves, they should looke for no mercy, but should every one be put to the sword: upon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselves absolutely to their mercy, and delivered up the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were divers great and suddaine alarms given : which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. At every which alarme, the two Lordes Generall shewed themselves marvelous ready & forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, skant wel furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, & those too altogether in a maner untied, they were abroad in the streetes themselves, to see the uttermost of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the least not well knowen unto me) either wherfore, or by whom these alarmes were attempted : I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard usage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, upon paine of death : And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine dayes, they were continually in counsell about other grave directions, best knowen to their honorable wisdomes.

This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously observed of the English : But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceive betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Sivil and S. Lucar and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as delt with them friendly by the way of traffick & Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of June, all the Spanish shippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great overthrowe had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselves there set on fire, and so from that time forward they never left burning of them, till every [I. 614.] one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much marvelled at of us, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and saving of the goods, and it was not to them unknowen that this their offer was not misliked, but in all probabilitie should have bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselves also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselves to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something up towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect perfourmed, within the compasse, in a maner, of fourteene houres: A thing in trueth so strange and admirable, as in my judgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeved of posteritie. And if ever any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

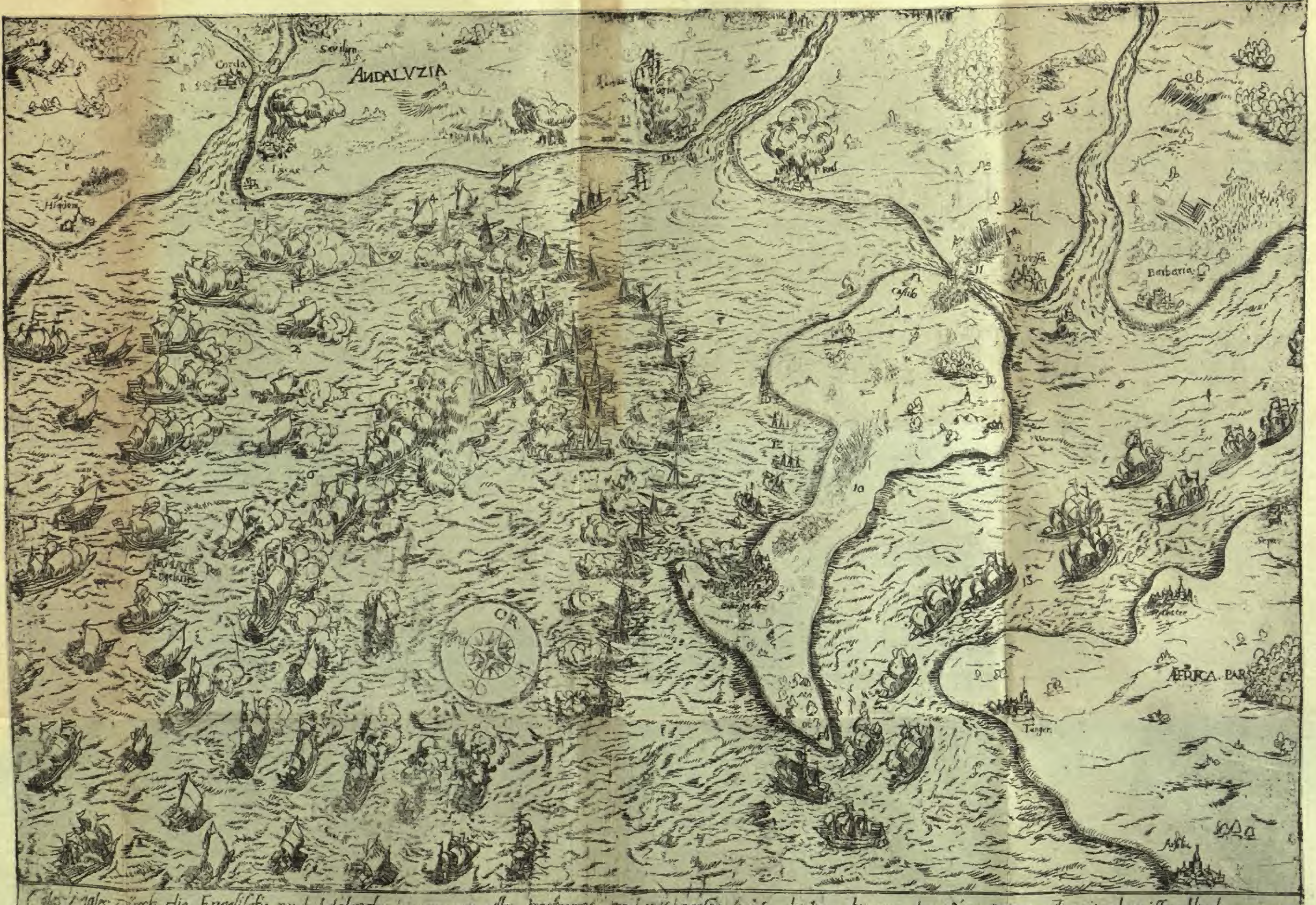
A.D. 1596.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that every mans particular worthy acte in this dayes service, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registred to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible tò be precisely perfourmed by any other, I am to crave pardon for that I rather leave it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is set foorth of this journey, where it is in some parte conveniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and having a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better judgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, even from the very foundation to the top, and every house was in a manner a kind of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: having upon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled up in such good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by every woman most easily upon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to avoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and have very large folding leaves of wainscot or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of lest account, serving for some necessary uses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, having, as it should seeme unto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselves from all kind of great heat, then how to provide for any store of great roste. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can say nothing to it: Themselves give it out that they understood not of it, but onely by a Caravel the Friday at evening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well provided as they were, they would have defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoever in al Christendome. But surely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty overthrow by sea, or whether they were amased at the invincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the [I. 615.] English nation, for their dishonorable and divelish practises, against her Sacred Majestie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetuall shame and infamie,


Sevilien
ANDALUZIA
S. Lucar
Castile
Barbaria
MARE von Engelant
OR
OC
AFRICA. PARS
Tanger
Asilla

Cales Males: Durch die Engelische vnd Holender eingenomen alles verbrant vnd mit groser beut darvon komen den 9. Juni. A°. 1596. Als weiter die ziffer erklert.

there was never thing more resolutely perfourmed of the couragious English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolve the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne never a whit the poorer. But as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby utterly lost and spoyled, as not woorth the carying away, and by the over great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Olives, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled under feete, in every common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I judge that the better part was most ryotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable device.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the lives of every one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, should be well and favourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported over to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as fayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainely knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seven miles distant over against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subject to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreover, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some convenient Barkes, to transport over to the sayd Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wives, who were suffered to put upon themselves, some of them two, yea, some three sutes of apparell, with some convenient quantitie of many Jewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie, of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme unto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other just occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealings it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a just revenge for the manifolde injuries, and most dishonourable practises that have beene from time to time attempted by them against us and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they have sought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull devices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Upon Saturday being the 26. Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre foorth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Navie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought meete and convenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seventh day being Sunday, in the Abbey the divine service was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete utterance, and even there the same day, something before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, upon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at Cadiz in June 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall. [I. 616.]

Sir Samuel Bagnol.
Sir Arthur Savage.
The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burk.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Nevel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leven.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir Richard Levison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliver Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.

Sir John Leigh, *alias* Lee. *June* 21. 22.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir James Wootton. 27.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir John Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir John Buck.
Sir John Morgan.
Sir John Aldridg.
Sir John Asshindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir John Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir John Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir James Escudamor.
Sir Urias Leigh.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Stafford.
Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Gylbert.
Sir William Harvie.
Sir John Gray.
Don Christ. prince of Portingal
Sir John Vanderfoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I have observed, as neere as I could, the just day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal breede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted received their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them upon the sea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood upon their staies for a space, while certaine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long service, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in ye beginning of her Majesties praier, which I presumed (though unworthy) to translate into Latine: and nowe at this very time, there was some opportunity offered, for to make some use of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending upon my most honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a grave aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to have gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his journey for that time. With these men ever as occasion did serve, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the injuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Majestie, whereby shee was provoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely good nature, [I. 617.] she was altogether given to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Majesties praier in Latine, which I had alwaies of purpose ready about me, whereby it might the better appeare unto them, how unwillingly, and upon how great & urgent occasions her Majesty was, as it were enforced to undertake this action: and therewithall I did use now and then to bestow upon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Majesties good inclination, and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceeding favourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to give him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to understand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or unarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, silver, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold injuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to understand, that whensoever they attempted any base-conceited & dishonorable practise to their soveraigne Queene, their Mistresse, that it should be revenged to the uttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaves, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselves to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conveied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey understand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Majesty is a most admirable Prince already, over all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall have just cause to admire her infinite Princely vertues, and thereby bee provoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so undoubtedly, that she is to be judged and accounted of us, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoever wicked designement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Majesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and overthrowen.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and upon the advise of his Phisition, to deale something in physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the

Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliverance of English captives, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the saide Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue unto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram jam nunc esse apud portum S. Mariæ. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat à sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, ut contra vos, vestrásque copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcircò non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quàm mite quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hic jam in hoc ipso tempore, adversus hujus loci populum atque incolas usurpaverimus: tum etiam sæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, benignéque eos omnes tractaverimus, quos ex vestris jure belli captivos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa millia, etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donaverimus, id putamus omnibus esse testatius, quàm ut à quoquam denegetur. Quocirca, neque ullo modo nobis in mentem venire potest, ut dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem adversus nostros captivos simus reperturi. Cùm igitur nobis compertum jam sit, habere vos in vestris galeris, ex Reginæ nostræ serenissimæ Dominæ meæ subditis unum & quinquaginta captivos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, & ad nos missuri: [I. 618.] ea lege, ac conditione, ut totidem ex vestris hic captivis ejusdem loci atque ordinis, melioris etiam fortassis notæ,

ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos vicissim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captivos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliùmque bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inviti, & contra voluntatem prosequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud Cadiz ultimo Junii, stilo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answere was brought from the Duke with al convenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answere returned to him in writing, which immediatly hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A copie of my L. Admirals second letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò nostra sit ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt: pleniùs declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitùs persuasum Excellentiæ vestræ, nos sedulò operam daturos, ut in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatisque genere, expectationi vestræ omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captivos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ vestræ, quòd plenius à nobis vestræ voluntati satisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captivis tales nos captivos vobis remittemus, quales tum ab ipso Dom. Mendoza, tum ab aliis illustrib. viris, qui à Dom. Porta Carero in illorum ad nos favorem mittebantur, communi cum consensu erant ab ipsis approbati. Si verò quis alius jam captivus est vel posthac futurus erit in nostra potestate, pro cujus redemptione nondum plenè conventum est & stipulatum de certo pretio persolvendo: concedimus Excellentiæ

vestræ, ut in hoc etiam casu vos, vestro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia classe Anglicana, apud Cadiz, 3. die Julii stylo antiquo. 1596.
Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of July, the LL. general caused the town of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased & defaced so much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houses only being spared, and left unblemished. And with the town al such provision for shipping, & other things, as were serviceable for ye K. use, & yet were not either so convenient for us to be caried away, or els such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently therupon, their Lordships, with as convenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of July, the LL. general with all the armie being under saile, & now making for England, & but as yet passing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley ful of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met us from Rotta, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships y^t sailed formost, assoone as the said galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged upon her, & at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other grievously hurt. The error being espied and perceived, our ship gave over immediatly from any farther shooting. Assoone as the galley came neere us, my L. Admiral caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them understanding of that unfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sory for the same, and yet such was the merciful providence of almighty God, that even in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand over the English. And al the harme that was done did light only upon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley to the Lorde general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like maner most honorably received, and intertained, the Spanish gentlemen delivered up their prisoners the English captives, of whom some had bin there 6 yere, some 8, or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and upward, and some of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes last voiage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners delivered were but 39. and no mo, and were brought in, and delivered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captives, there were no moe delivered then was, I presuppose, (and I thinke it true to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that meanes, not able at this time [I. 619.] to bee in a readinesse, but yet like enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent over into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres aliâs Xeres? And why Rotta and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left undone? I will not answere him with our common English proverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answere in five dayes.

But that grave auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: Nemo tentavit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiúsque ac reverentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quàm scire. Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth marveilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of mystical maner uttered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitive after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to seeke to dive into their secrets, but rather alwayes to have a right reverend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and theron so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but so to remaine ready alwaies to arme our selves with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine upon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare say and affirme, that upon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left untouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well have served rather as a stale, perchance, to have entrapped, then as a meanes to have enriched. And it had bin more then a suspition of follie, for such an army as this, to have sought to fight with the aire, and to have laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with some evident danger too, to have overthrowen that, which could very litle or nothing have profited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, untouched.

And thus much for our journey to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said towne, for the overthrowe of the Spanish Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leave it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

THE SECOND VOLUME

of the

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,

made to the South and South-east quarters of the
world, within the Straight of Gibraltar, with
the Directions, Letters, Priviledges,
Discourses, and Observations
incident to the same

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Christ. M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.

[II. i. 1.]

Britannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permistos fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetustissimo, ubi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conscripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forsitan Gallatiam innuit) consederit.

Triadum liber.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cujus meminit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomen evincit, quod Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prausum fuisse scribit, ut natione Britonem faciam.

The same in English.

IT is not unlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions to Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient British booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were levied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who having wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke up his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere unto the sea of Greece.

Likewise, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wrest that testimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to have bene a Prause by birth) that I may proove him also to have bene a Briton borne.

The travaile of Helena.

HElena Flavia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & unica filia, Magni Constantini Cæsaris mater, incomparabili decôre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis suæ fœminas, nulla inveniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copiosior. Innatam habebat ingenii claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatissimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole (inquit Virumnius) quæ Regni solio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præceptores, ut eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Unde ob incredibilem ejus pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Constantius Chlorus Cæsar illam duxit in uxorem,

atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Evangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perduravit ad ultimum vitæ diem, tota Christianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim [II. i. 2.] authores, qui narrent per istam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesiis datam : Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitum Evangelium pervenisse, ut olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúsque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petiit, & omnia salvatoris loca perlustravit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Christo quievit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstite, anno salutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octavio. Hujus corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetiis servatur.

The same in English.

HElena Flavia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and godly Majestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or in the divers languages of nations more abundant then herselfe. She had a naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behaviour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time governe the Realme : so that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the

great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in divinitie, that shee wrote and composed divers bookes, and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Jerusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She lived to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15 day of August, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octavius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also living, and her body is to this day very carefully preserved at Venice.

The life and travels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

FLavius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorem Constantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorùmque Regibus pro spectaculo bestiis objectis, Galliam subjectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris avunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentii tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promovit. Innumeræ in eo (ut Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes,

dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Unde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus divina, religionis curam in mediis superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum divinis exercendo studiis, noctes trahebat insomnes, & quæsita scribendi diverticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem divitiis omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum deorum eversor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & universam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, jubens per edicta Christum coli, Evangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum ubique destrui templa. Et ut fidei forma cunctis videretur, Evangelium Jesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes provincias destinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesiis infinita præstitit, agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque ut pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indiès ipsis in ejus vita testibus fudit. Unum te Deum esse novimus, unum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adjutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Adversarium fudimus, &c. Pro deliciis habuit, ut Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fovere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epistolas. E vita Nicomediæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66. & Imperii 32. à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopli sepultus, Octavio in Britanniis regnante. Ejus vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Joannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem. [II. i. 3.]

The same in English.

FLavius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his native countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Having conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle throwen out to wild beasts, he held France it selfe as subject unto him: and having happily delivered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers uncles, all Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull unto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and that having a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the just commendation of Martiall prowesse, he never pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena having instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Divinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee undertooke a care of Religion, stirring up innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, having his minde occupied in divine studies: and whensoever his laisure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the use of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and

A.D. c. 300.

Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking upon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He overthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often revived, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieved, and the temples of Idoles every where to be destroyed.

Whithersoever he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing upon them lands and fields, and upon the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He used learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his usuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and we call upon thee as our helper: through thee we have gotten the victorie, and by thee we have overthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to favour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after

the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octavius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by John Portes a Frenchman.

[II. i. 4.]

The life and travailes of Pelagius borne in Wales.

Pelagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegii Banchorensis a Cestria non procul, præpositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, juxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Post quam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, ut Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum lacessitus injuriis, gravatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Galliis, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliásque orientis Regiones demum pervenit. Ubi ex earum partium Monacho præsul ordinatus, sui nominis hæresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia salvari posse, ut ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & consimilibus impostricis doctrinæ fœcibus in patriam suam reversus, omnem illam Regionem, Juliano & Cælestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, ut post Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alii ferunt authores, composuítque multos libros ad Christianam utilitatem. At postquam est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæresi succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, unde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, ut in Epistola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

A.D. c. 390.

The same in English.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or governour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein lived a Societie of 2100. Divines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselves to the profite of the Christian people, and living by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great travailes for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and injuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grievously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and having gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Monke of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saved by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Julian and Celestine, who favoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes serving not a litle to Christian utilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the fift. He flourished in

the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Justinian the Emperor, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

BRitanniam insulam tres numerosissimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum unicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Frisones, & qui ejusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, ut singulis annis inde magno numero cum uxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deserta videtur, excipiunt. Unde insulam sibi vendicare ferunt. Utique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quosdam è suis Constantinopolim ad Justinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambitiosius vendicans, quasi hæc insula suo subesset imperio.

[II. i. 5.] The same in English.

THe Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, every of which is governed by a severall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that every yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wives and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receive them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayd Island unto themselves. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subjects ambassadours to Constantinople unto Justinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, am-

bitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene under his jurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, unto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter de gestis regum Anglorum.

ELeemosynis intentus privilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roboravit; & trans mare Romam, & ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sighelmus Shirburnensis Episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit.

The same in English.

KIng Alphred being addicted to giving of almes, confirmed the privileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas unto Rome, and unto S. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) travailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious unions and costly spyces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

[A second

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage unto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesbury his second booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus.

SIghelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam missus, mira prosperitate, quod quivis in hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; indequè rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.

The same in English.

SIghelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and travailing unto S. Thomas of India, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him divers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and travailes of John Erigena.

JOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Menevia urbe, seu ad fanum Davidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas usque suscepit, annosque quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudavit: omnia illic invisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. [II. i. 6.] Inveniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore, in Italiam & Galliam est reversus ubi ob insignem eruditionem, Carolo Calvo, & postea Ludovico Balbo acceptus, Dionysii Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis malevolis interimebatur, Anno Christi, 884.

The same in English.

JOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. David in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time undertooke a long journey, even as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built unto himselfe. And having found at length that which he had with long travell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much favoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heavenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster unto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and upon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right governement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine,

which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The travailes of Andrew Whiteman aliâs Leucander, Centur. 2.

ANdræas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (juxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Ramesiensis Cænobii tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus studio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies invigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Accessit præterea & ardens quoddam desiderium, ea propriis & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Servator Christus redemptionis nostræ mysteria omnia consummavit, quorum prius sola nomina ex scripturarum lectione noverat: unde & sacram Hierosolymorum urbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac passionis ejus testem invisit, atque domum rediens factus est Abbas. Claruisse fertur anno nati Servatoris, 1020. sub Canuto Dano.

The same in English.

ANdrew Leucander otherwise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly given to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongst all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Saviour performed and wrought all the mysteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his journey, and went to Jerusalem a witnesse of the miracles, preaching, and passion of Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yere of Christ 1020. under Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin unto Jerusalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.

SWanus perversi ingenii & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo descivit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes majorum polluit. Postremò pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti, & (ut quidam dicunt) fratris Jerosolimam abiit: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumventus, & ad mortem cæsus est.

The same in English.

[II. i. 7.]

SWanus being of a perverse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards prooving a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestours with his robberies upon the seas. Last of all, being guilty unto himselfe of the murther of his kinseman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he travailed unto Jerusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded unto death.

[A voyage

A.D.
c. 1056.

A voyage of three Ambassadours, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent unto Constantinople, and from thence unto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

DIe sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, & optimatum turma circumvallatus. Cùmque alii longam quadragesimæ inediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis revocato animo, divinum quiddam speculatus, mentes convivantium permovit ampliorem perfusus in risum: nullóque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsoniis finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum unus erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec immeritò videri, quarè in tanta serenitate diei & negotii, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi. Tum illi, ut moris est humani ingenii, sciscitari & quærere causam ardentiùs, ut supplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem instantibus mira respondit: septem dormientes in monte Cælio requiescere jam ducentis annis in dextro jacentes latere: sed tunc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus invertisse sinistrum: futurum ut septuaginta quatuor annis ita jaceant: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, & regnum adversus regnum, terræ motus per loca, pestilentiam & famem, terrores de cœlo & signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, & habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè disseruit: ac si cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exsculpendam, Manicheti Constantinopolitano imperitori misere, adjectis regis sui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè secum habitos episcopo Ephesi destinavit, epistola pariter, quam sacram vocant, comitante: ut ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuviæ. Factúmque est ut vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse jurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ scilicèt a Christo gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Asiam omnino, & majoris multas urbes, inter quas & Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolymam depopulati, super Christianos invaderent.

The same in English.

UPon Easter day king Edward the Confessour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with divers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselves with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting up his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heavenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence til dinner was ended. But after dinner as hee was in his bed-chamber putting

off his solemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being more familiar with him then the residue followed him in, and bouldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange unto them all, what should move him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessively. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching [II. i. 8.] him that hee would vouchsafe to impart that secret unto them. Whereupon musing a long while unto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seven Sleepers had rested in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying upon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselves on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie unto mankinde. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Saviour Christ foretold unto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heavens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared unto them the passion of the seven Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man living had as then committed unto writing) and that so plainely and distinctly, as if he had conversed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a clearke, and the abbot a monke unto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giving them friendly entertainment, sent them over unto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters unto him giving him charge, that the English Ambassadours might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seven Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards vision was approved by all the Greekes, who protested they were advertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seven Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested upon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the cave, those Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandish prophesie, unto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other unbeleeving nations invading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Jerusalem also.

The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester unto Jerusalem, an. 1058. Recorded by Roger Hoveden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. linea 15.

ALuredus Wigorniensis Episcopus ecclesiam, quam in civitate Glavorna à fundamentis construxerat, in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorificè dedicavit: & posteà regis licentia Wolstanum Wigorniensem Monachum à se ordinatum Abbatem constituit ibidem. Dein præsulatu dimisso Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, & Hermanno, cujus suprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare transiit, & per Hungariam profectus est Hierosolymam, &c. *A.D.* 1058.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured bishop of Worcester, very solemnely dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the citie of Glocester) unto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apostle: and afterward by the kings permission ordained Wolstan a Monke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the same place. And then having left his Bishopricke which was committed unto him over the Church of Wilton, and having resigned the same unto Hermannus above mentioned, passed over the seas, and travailed through Hungarie unto Jerusalem, &c.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland unto Jerusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigorniensis) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and described by the said Ingulphus himselfe about the conclusion of his briefe Historie.

A.D. 1064. EGo Ingulphus humilis minister Sancti Guthlaci Monasteriique sui Croilandensis, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè urbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cumque in Aristotele arripiendo supra multos coætaneos meos profecissem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullii primam & secundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adolescentior, fastidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestiri, pomposisque laciniis amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus [II. i. 9.] *A.D.* 1051. nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc adhuc comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias adventabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me ubique ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum *A.D.* 1064, *According to Florentius Wigorniensis.* prosperè plurima perfecissem, in brevi agnitus illustrissimo comiti & astrictissimè adamatus, cum ipso Normanniam enavigabam. Factus ibidem scriba ejus, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum invidiam

A.D. 1064.

regebam; quosque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque juvenili calore impulsus in tam celso statu supra meos natales consistere tæderem, quin semper ad altiora conscendere, instabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubescentiam ambitiosus avidissimè desiderarem: nuntiatur per universam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperii cum nonnullis aliis terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita devotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quam clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini nostri comitis benevolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & ampliùs domino Maguntino conjuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem millia, pertranseuntes prosperè multa terrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim pervenimus. Ubi Alexium Imperatorem ejus adorantes Agiosophiam vidimus, & infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Divertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; evisceratique de infinitis pecuniis, cum mortibus multorum, & maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix evadentes, tandem desideratissimam civitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immenso fulgore suscepti, ad divinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inoravimus, quot lachrymas inflevimus, quot suspiria inspiravimus, solus ejus inhabitator novit D. noster Jesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria civitatis invisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ civitatis, tam extra, quàm intra; numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecuniis, exire in patriam & sacratissimo Jordane intingi, universáque Christi vestigia osculari, desiderantissima devotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam observabant, longiùs a civitate evagari, sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accedente, stolus navium Januensium in porta Joppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per civitates maritimas commutassent, & sancta loca similitèr adorassent, ascendentes omnes mari nos commisimus. Et jactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brundusium, & prospero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copiosissima sanctorum martyrum monumenta per omnes stationes osculati sumus. Indè archiepiscopi, cæterique principes imperii Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos versùs Franciam ad sinistram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratiis & osculis ab invicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exivimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reversi sumus.

The same in English.

I Ingulphus an humble servant of reverend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterward sent to the Universitie of Oxford. And having excelled divers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat unto the first & second Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare brave and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our sovereigne king

now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came unto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessour his kinsman. *A.D.* 1051. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my service for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloved by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I governed the Erles Court (albeit with the envie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie even of this place, wherein I was advanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: [II. i. 10.] there went a report throughout all Normandie, that divers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for devotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, sundry of us, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my selfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped us on that voiage, and travailing thirtie horses of us into high Germanie, we joyned our selves unto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seven thousand persons sufficiently provided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many provinces, and at length attained unto Constantinople. Where doing reverence unto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed divers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeves: and after we had bene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreame danger of our lives, at length wee joyfully entered into the most wished citie of

Jerusalem. Where we were received by the most reverend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied unto the most divine Church of our Saviour his sepulchre with a solemne procession aswell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we uttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Jesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so having bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and having bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent devotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selves in the most sacred river of Jordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theevish Arabians lurking upon every way, would not suffer us to travell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the spring there arrived at the port of Joppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of us embarked, committing our selves to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous journey travelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reverence unto divers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire travelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaves with unspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned thither skarse twenty poore pilgrims of us, being all footmen, and consumed with leannesse to the bare bones.

Divers of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a voyage to Jerusalem 1096. Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POpe Urbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auvergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a journey into the Holy land, for the recovery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall journey was concluded upon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went under the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went also among other divers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

The voyage of Gutwere an English Lady maried to Baldwine brother of Godfreide duke of Bouillon, toward Jerusalem about 1097. And the 11. yeere of William Rufus King of England.

THe Christian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length unto the citie of Marasia, where they encamped, and sojourned there three whole dayes, because of the wife of Baldwine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne.

A.D.
c. 1097.

Which Lady being long time vexed with a grievous [I. i. 11.] malady, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutwere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same author in the 10. booke & first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine having folowed the warres for a time, gave his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in love with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutwere, whom he married and caried with him in that first happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his journey, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sicknes finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came unto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we have declared before.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27. maketh also mention of this English Lady, which he calleth Godwera in this maner.

HAc in regione Maresch uxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Angliæ eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggravata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalavit, sepulta Catholicis obsequiis; cujus nomen erat Godwera.

The same in English.

IN this province of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother unto K. Edward the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwin) unto Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

A.D. 1102.

Subsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & evaginato gladio dextra levaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (ut aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, & sagittis terebratus, martyrium consecravit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere progeneris amplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio sprevit. Quosdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, ut nihil eis videatur jucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Undè Edgarus fatua cupidine illusus Angliam rediit, ubi (ut superius dixi) diverso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit.

[The same

The same in English.

AFterward Edgar being sonne unto the nephewe of Edward the confessour, traveiled with Robert the sonne of Godwin a most valiant knight, unto Jerusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of Robert especially, going before him, and with his drawen sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, delivered out of that danger, and escaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But upon his happie successe being more eager and fierce, as hee went forward somewhat too hastily, his sworde fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take up, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried unto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed unto a stake in the midst of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar having lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekish and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly have entertained him stil for his great [II. i. 12.] nobilitie) contemned all things in respect of his native soile. For in very deede some are so inveagled with the love of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant unto them, unlesse they breath in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being misledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subject unto divers changes of fortune (as we have above signified) he spendeth*now his extreeme olde age in an obscure and private place of the countrey.

**When the author was writing of this history.*

Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage unto the Holy land in the second yeere of Baldwine King of Jerusalem, in the third yere of Henry the first of England.

CHronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verùm dehinc septem diebus evolutis rex ab Assur exiens, navem quæ dicitur Buza ascendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo & elato in aēre ad radios solis usque, Japhet cum paucis navigavit, ut hoc ejus signo cives Christiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hostium minis pavefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut urbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & salute ejus desperare. Saraceni autem viso ejus signo, & recognito, ea parte quæ urbem navigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio undis maris illis ex adverso tumescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili cursu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Joppæ delusis hostibus subitò affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in navicula percussis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque civitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, revixit spiritus cunctorum gementium & de ejus morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput & rex Christianorum & princeps Hierusalem adhuc vivus & incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

BUt seven dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Busse, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it up aloft in the aire against

A.D.
1102.

the beames of the Sunne, sailed unto Japhet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceive hope that the King was yet living, and being not easily terrified with the threates of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld up the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which environed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waves with an easie and nimble course arrived suddenly in the haven of Joppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and until then lamented as though hee had bene dead, revived, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Jerusalem was yet alive, and come againe unto them in perfect health.

Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Joppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

CHronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obsidio ageretur 200. naves Christianorum navigio Joppen appulsæ sunt, ut adorarent in Hierusalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, unus de præpotentibus Westfalorum, primi & ductores fuisse referuntur,

&c. Erat autem tertia feria Julii mensis, quando hæ Christianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc navigio angustiatis & obsessis ad opem collatæ sunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino sibi hospitio proximè jungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentoriis amplius milliari subtractæ consederunt, dum luce exorta consilium inirent, utrum Ascalonem redirent, aut cives Japhet crebris assultibus vexarent.

The same in English. [II. i. 13.]

WHile the Sarazens continued their siege against Joppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arrived at Joppa, that they might performe their devotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to have bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall provision, arrived here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Joppa, the third day of July, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Jerusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power joyned themselves boldly, close by them even face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooved their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee advised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults vexe the citizens of Japhet.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this historie of these two hundreth saile of ships, and sheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and overthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso verò die tertiæ feriæ dum sic in superbia & elatione suæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni persisterent, & multis armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent,

A.D. 1102.

sexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus a Japhet egrediens, in manu robusta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus intonantes. Christiani quoque qui navigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & gravi strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, sævissimis atque mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, & ultrà vim non sustinentes fugam versus Ascalonem inierunt. Alii verò ab insecutoribus eripi existimantes, & mari se credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic civitas Joppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Sarracenorum: Christianorum verò pauci periisse inventi sunt.

The same in English.

YEt notwithstanding, after the said third day of July, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixt day of July early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Japhet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on every side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arrived in the navie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, untill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out against the valure of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, lept into the sea, and were swalowed up in the waves thereof. And so the citie of Joppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed

of their enemies. There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arrived at Joppa in the Holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.

AT the same time also in the seventh yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seven thousand, having with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arrived with ships which they call Busses, at the haven of the citie of Japhet, determining there to make their abode, untill they having obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which navie the chiefest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner. Christ preserve the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and souldiours of Christian profession, have, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie and [II. i. 14.] large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worship at Jerusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your favour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe up to Jerusalem, and worship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

THe king favourably hearing their whole petition, granted unto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes unto Jerusalem and all other places of devotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering unto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great joy, and without all let unto Joppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good unto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answere to this point, untill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and convenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling unto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of David, and the other chiefest men of warre, he determined to have a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

WHo, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their divers opinions & judgements, at length it seemed best unto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peradventure, through Gods helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be overcome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king every one to go home, and to furnish them-

A.D. 1107.

selves with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Every one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the invasions of the enemies, which could never be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remove their campe nor fleet from the city of Japhet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same ambassadours also declared unto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull; and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were comming downe unto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to invade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Japhet, untill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it should so be done according to the kings commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the haven of Japhet, & would in all points be obedient unto him unto the death.

Chap. 4.

THe king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most convenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come unto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an invincible power of men of warre was arrived at Japhet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonied, fearing that by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cæsaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediatours, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, upon condition that ceasing to besiege and invade their city, he would spare their lives. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they sollicited the king for the ransomming both of their city and of their lives, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and [II. i. 15.] perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought unto his souldiers, harkened wholy unto this offer of money. Howbeit because he feared the Christians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, invaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and silver most abundant in cattle frontering upon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might have suffised him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiving this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed foorth as farre as the mountaines, over which Hughes footemen did drive the pray.

A.D. 1107.

There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other indevoured with all their might to recover it, untill at length the Turkes and Saracens prevailing, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly understanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe upon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought unfortunately. For Hugh, being unarmed, and immediatly rushing into the middest of all dangers, and after his woonted manner invading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liver and brest, he gave up the ghost in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recovered pray, and being devided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grievous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

After the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none privie thereto, to receive the money which was offered him for his differring off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon sending a message unto Japhet, hee advised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly upon the kings commaundement, and foorthwith hoysing up the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and stremers of purple, and diverse other glorious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling unto him such as were privie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe unto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolved, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going aboard their fleete, saluted the king, and returned home unto their native countries.

The travailes of one Athelard an Englishman, recorded by master Bale Centur. 2.

Athelardus Bathoniensis Cœnobii monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, & causas omnes, diligentiâ tam undecunque exquisitâ perscrutatus est, ut cum aliquibus veteris seculi philosophis non indignè conferri possit. Hic olim spectatæ indolis Adolescens, ut virente adhuc ætate juvenile ingenium fœcundaret, [II. i. 16.] atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petiit regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura invenisset, quæ ejus desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam

tum demùm revertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

AThelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserveth worthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and travailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne private contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

¶ The life and travailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. Centur. 13.

GUlielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus commendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. postquam Tyrorum Civitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem urbi primus Archiepiscopus præficiebatur. Est autem Tyrus civitas antiquissima, Phœniciæ universæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ provincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, & Epistolas, ad Dominum migravit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, & in Tyrensi Ecclesia sepelitur.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henricoprimo.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jerusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behaviour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Jerusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Province of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William having in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. having bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The travailes of Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literariis, ultramarinas statim visitare provincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Galliis, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum pervenit in Asiam, ubi non parvo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea navigio traductus, circa fluvium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno servatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

THis Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Universities of England, determined to travaile to the partes beyond sea: and so travailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he lived in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the river Iberus, gave him selfe wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steven being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of certaine English men under the conduct of Lewes king of France unto the Holy land.

[II. i. 17.]

1147. *Tempore regis Stephani*

TAntæ expeditionis explicito apparatu uterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu separtito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium amplissimis copiis. Rex vero Lodovicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Provincialium, Aquitanorum, equestri simul & pedestri agmine comitatus. Gulielmus Neobrigensis, fol. 371.

The same in English.

BOth the princes provision being made for so great an expedition, they severing their armies, entered on their journey. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes journey, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, English men, Burgundions, men of Provence, and Gascoins.

The voyage of John Lacy to Jerusalem.

1173. ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Johannem Lacy Constabularium Cestriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obiit in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit vicessimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord John Lacy Constable of Chester, & lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandevile to Jerusalem.

1177. WIlliam Mandevile earle of Essex, with divers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

JAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes inprimis floruit. Adeo ut ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum evocati fuerint Angli. Joannes enim Alexii Comneni filius, ut refert noster Malmesburiensis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens: Adeo ut jam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopolatæ dicti. Qui ubique Imperatorem prosequebantur ferentes humeris secures,

quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam secures suas collidentes ut sonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The same in English.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, used them very nere about him, recommending them over to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held up when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished unto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by Henry the 2.

[II. i. 18.]

THe same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand markes of silver, and five hundred markes of golde. Matth. Paris. and Holens. pag. 105.

[A letter

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, unto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries Noble men and subjects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Hoveden, in Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.

Eodem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campestri cum Soltano Iconii & illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, divinitùs coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliæ, charissimo amico suo, salutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputet notificare tibi, ut dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ sibi obveniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum judicavit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis nostræ imperium nostrum adversus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutrivit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriari, elevaríque in nomen dei, & Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quo circa & alio quidem tempore indifferentèr invasit eos, & prout deus ei concessit, sic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter patrata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum & perditionem, imperium nostrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, & bellum contra omnem Persidem movere, quia res cogebat. Et non ut voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum status, potentèr eos invasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas:

sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum instrumentorum conferentium civitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis adversus nos militaret in bellis adversarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris invasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperii nostri pertransibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore gravior. Et hoc malum invalescens maximè nos contrivit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum invasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperii nostri undique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò ubi ei qui illic adjacet angustiæ loci, quæ à Persis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquavimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adjutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro supervenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperii nostri propter viæ omnino angustiam & difficultatem, usque ad decem milliaria extenso; & cum neque qui præibant possent postremos defendere, neque versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes juvare, non mediocritèr ab invicem hos distare accidit. Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperii nostri dividebantur, postremarum oblitæ, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex jam factis præliis cognoverant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subventorem cum invenissent, posteriora statuerunt invadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctissimo igitur ubique loco existente, instabant barbari undique, à dextris & à sinistris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela super nos quasi imbres descendentia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium nostrum ubi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportunum judicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adjuvare, expectando utiquè contra infinita illa Persarum agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patraverit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem existente imperio nostro, & omne belli gravamen in tantum sustinente, postremæ cohortes universæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ jaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione utuntur, & ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad [II. i. 19.] adjacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum festinarent: sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem elevato pulvere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundissimæ vallis alius super alium homines & equi sic incontinentèr portati corruerunt, quòd alii alios conculcantes ab invicem interemerunt non ex gregariis tantum, sed ex clarissimis & intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsum? At verò imperium nostrum tot & tantis confertum barbaris saucians, sauciatúmque, adeò ut non modicam in eos moveret perturbationem, obstupentes perseverantiam ipsius, & non remittebatur, benè juvante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum scandere adversarios permisit, in quo dimicavit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum timore incitavit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocavit circa se: & sic primos attigit, & ordinatim proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, sicut oportunum erat, rem hujusmodi dispensavit, ut ipsum rursùm invaderet: mittens supplicavit imperio nostro, & deprecatoriis usus est sermonibus, & requisivit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperii nostri adimplere voluntatem, & servitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captivos absolvere, & esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ.

Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, & cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra civitatem Iconii, perditis testudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quòd boves cecidissent a telis in modo pluviæ jactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd & universa animalia nostra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, suscepit Soltani deprecationem & fœdera & juramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, & pacem suam ei dedit. Inde ingressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per suam bonitatem & nunc ipsum honoravit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabunt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Cæterùm autem, licèt contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, ut dilecto amico nostro, & ut permultùm conjuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem. Vale. Data mense Novembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Constantinople having fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote unto Henry the second king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the everliving God a faithful emperour, descended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most sovereigne, and governour of the Romans; unto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to advertise you our welbeloved friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie unto your royall Majestie certaine exploits at this present atchieved by us. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration

our imperiall highnes hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph over Christians, to exalt themselves against the name of God, and to usurpe over Christian kingdomes. For which cause our imperiall highnesse hath in some sort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleased God to give us grace. And we suppose that your Majestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subversion. For even now, being urged thereunto, we have determined to leade a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet have we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly invaded them. Wherefore our Majestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our army sundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our journey. Moreover, while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against us: our people were visited with the most grievous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troups destroyed and slew great numbers, more then the sword of the enemy would have done. Which mischiefe so prevailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had invaded the Turkish frontiers, we had at the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our souldiers. But as we approched unto that straight passage which [II. i. 20.] is called by the Persians Cibrilcimam, so many bands of Persian footemen and horsemen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almost superiour unto us in number. Wherefore the army of our

Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to helpe the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to rescue the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very deed the foremost troupes were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiving the narownesse of the place to be a great advantage, they determined to set upon our rereward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assayling us upon the right hand and upon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against us, slew divers of our men and horses. Hereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing our majestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind, and to succour our bands in the rereward, and so expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person atchieved in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your majestie may perhaps understand more of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the middest of this conflict, and enduring the fight with so great danger, all our hindermost troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themselves close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safegard, they urged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and utterly deprived us of sight, and our men and horses pressing so sore one upon the necke of another, plunged themselves on the sudden into such a steepe and dangerous valley, that treading one upon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but divers most honourable personages, & some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restraine the irresistable throng of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being environed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giving and receiving wounds (insomuch that the miscreants were greatly dismaied at our constancie) we gave not over, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to ascend unto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred wee on our horse any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our troupes together, and delivering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperial person; and so we overtooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiving that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our Imperial highnes provided to give him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe unto us, and using submisse speaches, made suite to have peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our majestie Imperiall, to doe us service against all commers, to release all our subjects which were captives in his realme, and to rest wholy at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, having lost all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as hailestones: and also for because all our beasts in a maner were most grievously diseased; our majestie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken under our ensignes, and granted our peace unto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieved for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and yeelding unto God most humble

The citie of Iconium intended to have bene besieged.

thanks, who of his goodnesse had even now given us the victory. We are right glad likewise that some of your majesties princes and nobles accompanied us in this action, who are able to report unto you all things which have happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieved for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signifie unto you the successe of our affaires, as unto our welbeloved friend, & one who is very neerly allied unto our highnesse Imperial, by reason of the consanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Given in the moneth of November, and upon the tenth Indiction.

Certaine noble men of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell against the Soldan of Iconium.

The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe.

King Richard the first of that name, for his great value surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had undutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the [II. i. 21.] French king to take his voiage with him for the recoverie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey, used divers meanes to take up summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand pounds, and the Jewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Having thus gotten sufficient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recoverie of

Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that journey, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme above limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard having committed the government of this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, advanced forward his journey, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he joyning together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

¶ The oth of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

> That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie unto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Navie, the forme therof was this.

The discipline and orders of the king.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully convicted, shal have his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe strawed upon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Navie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to dissever themselves for time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Navie to meete him. From thence crossing over to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Navie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship over his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arrived at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it wás to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

[II. i. 22.] To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken up the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arrivall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the haven, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliverance of Joane his sister (who had bin somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in ye midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana & Calabria, from whence ye Monks being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de le Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to invade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking divers of their heads, could not asswage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen agaynst the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselves. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making up to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, unto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom five valiant souldiers & twentie of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking upon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well have eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowen to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the English armes upon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set up, & joyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

Messana won by the English.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then upon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of November.

[II. i. 23.] From this time untill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent over his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, under the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gave divers shippes, upon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he destributed largely to his souldiers and servants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not onely redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profite, as the sequele afterward prooved.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably received, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receive nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gave againe unto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leave, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would give him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes journey, to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent unto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traytour, & would never keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor never had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should never be broken through him: neither could he beleeve that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Compartner in that voyage, would utter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreover, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tavernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard mooved in stomacke against King Philip, never shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marveiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king understood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therfore he forged (sayd he) these lies upon him, and all because he by that meanes would avoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreover that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he lived.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers & sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him every yeere for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of March, the French king lanching out of the haven of Messana, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon. [II. i. 24.]

After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arrived Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the haven of Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his journey toward Achon: who being upon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his Navie, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was

The Navie of King Richard.

driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the haven of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, with two ships were driven to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblowen, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Navie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymszem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haven, were drowned with divers of the kings servants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all English men, which by shipwracke were cast upon his land, also invegled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driven upon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reverence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captivitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once,

A.D. 1191.

twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captives go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones giveth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselves in armour and follow him, to revenge the injuries received of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and give them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arrive, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boordes, stooles, and chestes before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert and unskilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to followe. The Englishmen thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and divers he tooke alive, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymszem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Joanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymszem, with 50. great ships, and 14. galliots: so that all the whole Navie there meeting together, were 254. tall shippes, and above threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely give battell to king Richard: but he preventing him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth upon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being unawares and a sleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leaving his tents and pavilions to [II. i. 25.] the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standerd, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Navarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe overmatched, was driven at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to give king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captives againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend upon the king to the lande of Jerusalem, in Gods service and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort prevaile, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselves to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and silver, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left governour of Cyprus.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June upon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and five hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of unknowen serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiving, eftsoones set upon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken alive: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

A great ship of Saracens taken by king Richard.

King Richard arrived at Achon.

The next day after which was the seventh of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be undermined and towers overthrowen, were driven by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof used at sundry times to cast over the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heavines unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they ever understand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Upon the twelfth day of July the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, upon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giving up of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should have the citie of Achon freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captives of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captives with two hundreth horsemen, whosoever they themselves would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would give unto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselves should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd covenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

[II. i. 26.] These covenants being agreed upon, the Kings sent their souldiers and servants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest & best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring unto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they premitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, revolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of July, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, devided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the citie: who in deviding the spoyle, were so good carvers to themselves that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselves somewhat discontented, which being knowen of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of July, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselves by othe to remaine there stil in the land of Jerusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recovering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Jerusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leave undone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leaving the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

The French kings shamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captives, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captives of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captives to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time before limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and five hundreth, save onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captives.

The captives of the Saracens slaine by King Richard.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Joppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Joppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in

A notable victorie against the Saladine.

such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Avernus in that conflict was overthrowen.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atchevances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping y^t he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should have bene, had not they falling into discorde dissevered themselves, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones invaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also John the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league upon the same with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne driven by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

[II. i. 27.]

1193.

King Richard returneth from Palæstina.

[The letter

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de universis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honoraverit & exaltaverit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperii nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus rupta navi sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Ubi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis evasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captivare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam converso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cœpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, observata strata sæpè, dictum Regem juxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captivavit.

Cum itaque in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestavit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmisimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curavimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ bene placita existere, animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Janua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde

to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolved of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and delivered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time above mentioned, a yeere & 3 moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle John the Kings brother, made stirre and invaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subjects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payde, and the hostages given for the ransome of the King, I have an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues.

The just judgment of God upon the Duke of Austria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

[II. i. 28.]

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same : who then at his death is reported to forgive K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you have heard, Richard the King was ransomed & delivered from the covetous captivitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King Richards voiage to Jerusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis, and Roger Hoveden.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

Scribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema *Jope.
Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta Jope.

Civitas Joppe.

Epitaphium ejusdem ubi viscera ejus requiescunt.

VIscera Kareolum, corpus fons servat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The life and travailes of Baldwinus Devonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

BAldwinus Devonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, & ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inveniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit prætereà Cisterciensis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Cœnobii, magnus suorum æstimatione, ac universæ eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis præsul, fuit & mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè invigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur ejus temporis iniquitas, ubique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni insigniis, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria paravit. Secutus est illicò regem in Syriam, & Palæstinam usque Baldwinus, ut esset in tam Sancto (ut ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ ferè 6. annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finivit, ubi & sepultus est.

The same in English.

BAldwine a Devonshire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning

& wisdom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in every place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indevour prepared a Fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Jerusalem, taking with him the standerd and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his travailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yeres: but having followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

[II. i. 29.]

An annotation concerning the travailes of the sayd Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi successor hic secundus, audita salvatoris & salutiferæ Crucis injuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in ejusdem obsequiis, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et postmodùm iter accipiens, navigióque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter & obsessum Aconem transivit: ubi multos ex nostris inveniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in summa desolatione jam positos, & desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia graviter afflictos, quosdam verò aëris

A.D. 1190.

inclementia distemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens, sumptibus & impensis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmavit.

The same in English.

THis Baldwine being the second successor unto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ye wrong which was done to our Saviour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking upon him the Lords Character, he couragiously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his journey and imbarking himselfe at Marseils, having at length passed ye Levant sea, he arrived safely in the Haven of Tyrus, and from thence went over to Achon unto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensivenesse and despaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grievously afflicted with hunger and povertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing every one according to his abilitie in the bond of love, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

[A note

A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K. Richard the first, as foloweth.

PErtinuit iste liber priùs Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Judææ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iste magnæ staturæ & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus suis dormit apud Tirrington juxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Mershland. Cujus altitudo in salva custodia permanet ibidem usque in hunc diem. Et post ejus obitum sexdecem militibus ejus nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successivè obvenit, quorum unus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris hæreditas hæredi generali devoluta est, quæ nupta est Johanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles ultimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iste liber. Anno ætatis suæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

The same in English.

THis booke pertained in times past unto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Jurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere unto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name Tilney. The just height of this knight is there kept in safe custody untill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritance of his landes fell successively unto

A.D. 1200.

sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, untill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell unto an heire general, which was maried unto John duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father unto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, unto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

The travailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus.

[II. i. 30.]

Richardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impensè amavit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem evasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palæstinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Unde in Angliam tum demum reversus, omnia quæ presens vidit in urbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit ejusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addiditque præclaro suo operi hoc aptissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Joanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

Richard surnamed Canonicus an observant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great love with the studies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endevour and long exercise therein, hee grewe to bee such an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age living, by reason whereof hee grew in favour with Richard then King of England, and undertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria agaynst the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behaviour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giving to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Journall of King Richard. He flourished in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. under John king of England.

The travailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

GUlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, ut multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studiis. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum ut miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palæstina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babyloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, & vivis depinxit coloribus, ita ut quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractavit carmine, opúsque jam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicavit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa ejus scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno à salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Joanne.

A.D. 1201.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much given to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee understanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in lively colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And having finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giving it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. under king John.

The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king John king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. Matth. Paris and Holinsh. pag. 164.

[II i. 31.]

AT the same time also the kings of France and England gave large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went foorth under the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted unto them

the fortieth part of all the revenues belonging unto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken upon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled eftsoones to receive it now againe.

The travailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

HUbertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenióque ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos unus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palæstina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incœpto, ad eum cursìm divertebat: Quem & ille statim in Angliam misit, ut illic regii Senatus authoritate, indicto pro ejus redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac regem liberavit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post ejus mortem Joanni illius fratri ac successori paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir providus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, & ex immenso animi dolore demum obiisse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses octo, & dies sex: quum vidisset ex intestinis odiis, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pessùm ire, regnante Joanne.

The same in English.

HUbert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from

Palæstina and came in his journey into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leaving his journey homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captived, whom the king immediatly upon his comming sent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and delivered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother John that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so received of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, having beene archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the civil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turvy, and in the reigne of king John.

The travailes of Robert Curson.

Robertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex conjecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonii Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus usus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparavit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petiit, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Unde uterque Matthæus Parisius, ac Westmonasterius, hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini. 1218 (inquiunt) in cap-

tione Damiatæ Ægypti urbis, sub Joanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, &c. [II. i. 32.] Bostonus Buriensis in suo Catalogo Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per prædictos testes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Joannis regis filio: fuítque hic diebus Honorii tertii Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

ROBERT Curson descended of a noble family of England, used great diligence aswell in prophane as in divine studies in the famous University of Oxford (as I conjecture.) He had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he lived. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Divinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt under John Brenne king of Jerusalem, M. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote divers books. He flourished in the yeere aforesayd by the witnesses aforesayd. Henry the third sonne of king John being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorious the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with divers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.

IN the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had besieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterprise the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that journey Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, besides divers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, John constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliver fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and divers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

THis yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their journey which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.

[The travailes

The travailes of Ranulph Glanvile earle of Chester.

RAnulphus Glanvile Cestriæ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & utroque jure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adolescentiæ suæ annos legibus tum humanis tum divinis consecravit, ut non prius in hominem per ætatem evaserit, quàm nomen decúsque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparaverit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Joanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti urbem obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illùc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Christianam juvandam. Cujus virtus, Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reversus, scripsit, De legibus Angliæ librum unum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à Servatoris nostri nativitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Henricus tertius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The same in English.

RAnulph Glanvile earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the Lawes, deserves of duetie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and divine Lawes, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, [II. i. 33.] as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, upon the counsell of John Brenne king of Jerusalem, they resolved to besiege

Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king upon the motion of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marveilously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote other books, but time the destroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from us. He flourished in the yeere after the nativity of Christ 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Jerusalem in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of Henry the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, mense verò Julio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta jam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reversus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; & Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of July, Peter bishop of Winchester having spent almost five whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and comming unto Winchester was received with solemne procession into his cathedrall church.

[The honourable

The honourable and prosperous voyage of Richard earle of Cornewall, brother to king Henry the third, accompanied with William Longespee earle of Sarisburie, and many other noble men into Syria.

1240. IN the 24 yeere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a navy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly advanced the part of the Christians. There went over with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longspee, and William Basset, John Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, John Nevel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furnivall.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went over also the same time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furnival with his brother Gerard de Furnivall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiers. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holesh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwine into England in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, & Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABout the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of William || Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England.

|| *Or, Longsword.*

LEwis the French king being recovered of his sickenesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his journey into Asia, and the time thereof was also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. John Baptist the next yeere ensuing. [II. i. 34.]

At which time William Longespee a worthie warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooved with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October, the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the

Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and having fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooved his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longespee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriors retaining unto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longespee and the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

A fort won by the English-men.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and rich treasure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the sayd William Longespee with his company of English soldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made privie hereto) began to conceive an heart burning against the English souldiers, & could not speake well of them after that.

A rich bootie also gotten by the English-men.

It hapned againe not long after, that the sayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, having their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious jewels, spices, gold & silver, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need: he having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so by night falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some hee tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the drivers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, loosing in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his servitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

The injurie of the Frenchmen to our English.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pavillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen for adventuring and issuing out of the Campe without leave or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to have the spoyle devided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

Will. Longspee justly forsaketh ye French king.

When this would not serve, hee being sore grieved in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so adventurously had travailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serve by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which upon spight and disdaine stood agaynst him, he bidding the King farewell sayd hee would serve him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his company breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Upon whose departure the earle of Artoys sayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, and being offended also with the Souldan, promised to deliver the same to the French king, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redresse of all his injuries before received: who at the kings request came to him againe, and so joyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king passing with his armie towardes Cayro aforesayd, came to the great river Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming over:

there was at this time a Saracen lately converted to Christ, serving the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the river where they might easily passe over. Whereupon the sayd earle Robert & the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army issued over the river, after whom followed W. Longspee with his band of English souldiers. These being enjoyned together on the other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, [II. i. 35.] would needs forward, dividing himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certaine sage men of the Temple, giving him contrary counsell, advised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed privily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reviled them, calling them cowardly dastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, objecting unto them the common report of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be woon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to give eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and sweare, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we have here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much disdaine: whereunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) wheresoever you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeve) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse, as in deede in the event it prooved true: for Earle Robert would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the comming of the hoste, and first invaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians invading and entring into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maymed, and almost in despaire.

The worthy answere of William Longspe to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly upon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be devided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against us: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horse, fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftnes of his horse, and so taking the river Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

The valiant ende of William Longespe.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe bearing all the force of the enemies, stoode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, till at length his horse being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting upon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man remained alive, saving two Templaries, one Hospitaler, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings, hereof to the King.

And thus by the imprudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight overmatched, to the griefe of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the utter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia in the yeere 1270. [II i. 36.]

About the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and divers other Noble men of England tooke upon them the crosse upon S. John Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subversion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the journey, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (having a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arrived at Tunez, where he was with great joy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodovicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Navarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and sayd, the prince of this citie and the province adjoyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every yere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seven yeeres unpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but justly demaunded, had now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, & have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch to ye holy city Jerusalem. Then said they, now have we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for us to breake the same. But let us returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooved to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and received and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord.

Within seven dayes after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicilia, over agaynst the Citie Trapes, casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the haven of the citie they sent out barges and boates to receive and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the evening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a mightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned there was of them at that tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saved then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good & wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Erles wife, who perceiving the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting to the shoare it were not possible to save themselves: he answered, that to save the ship it was impossible: howbeit the men [II. i. 37.] that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, save the soules therein, and have to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediatly hoising the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so nere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he brast the ship and saved all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe every one unto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved.

Then prince Edward renovating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter

The arrival of prince Edward at Acra.

arrived he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him sixe or seven thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some streit or other advantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe upon them gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set upon them very earely in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate upon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie against the Saracens, wherein 1000 of them were slaine.

In the meane season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and joyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came unto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the governors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they devised among themselves how by some pollicy they might circumvent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Joppa sent unto him, faining himselfe under great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and used of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this messenger came, and was of the princes servants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had up into the princes chamber, and after his reverence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he delivered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed upon his bed bare headed, in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an invenomed knife, thinking to have stroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was striken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wrasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediatly thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

Prince Edward traiterously wounded.

[II. i. 38.]

The princes servants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the busling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke up a stoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heavy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming wise sayd unto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themselves, and were very sad and heavy.

Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them: why mutter you thus among your selves? what see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd unto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe unto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? to whom the prince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord John Voisie, And doe you also faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they unto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

This lord Edmund was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and invenimed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and sayd unto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) upon your horsebacke, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects.

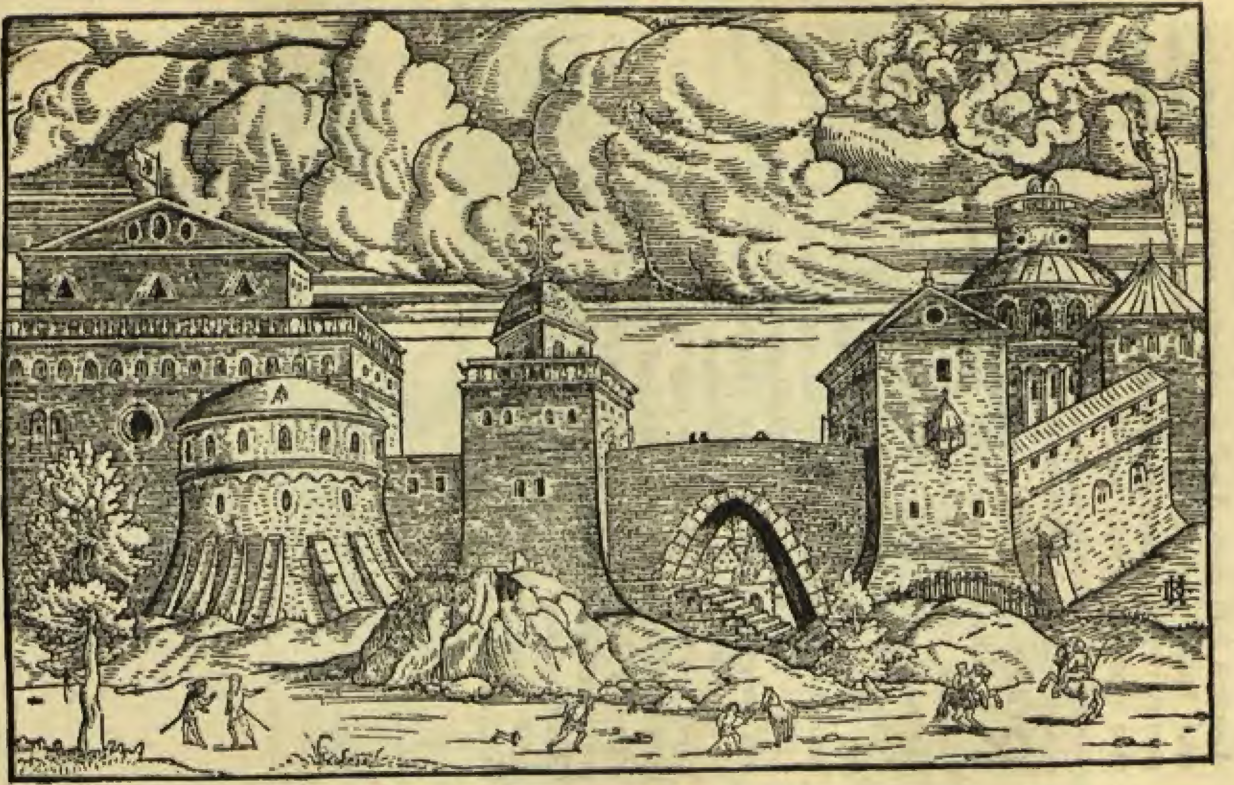
When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet alive, he could scarsely beleeve the same, and sending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his God to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground: you (sayd the prince) do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neverthelesse he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seven weekes he arrived in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence travailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to have intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Prince Edward continued foorth his journey to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The travaile of Robert Turneham.

Robertus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologiæ professor insignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, [II. i. 39.] Henrici tertii filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Saracenos Assyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus

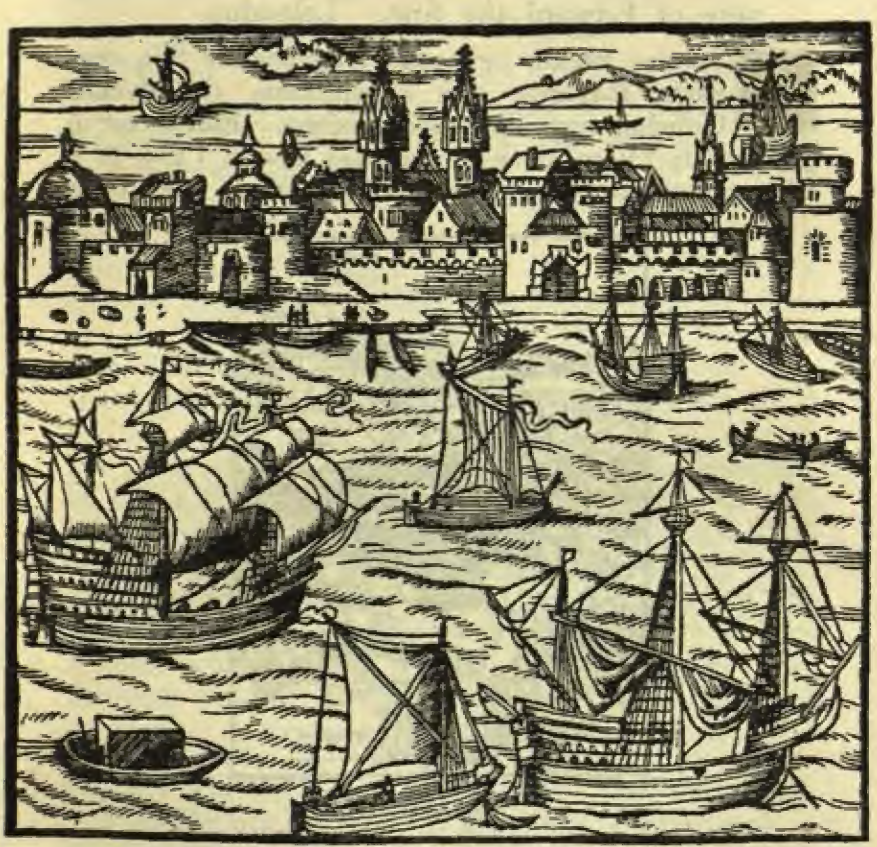


THE DEFENCES OF ACRE

Assyrios unà cum Anglico exercitu petiit, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280, varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo ejus nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

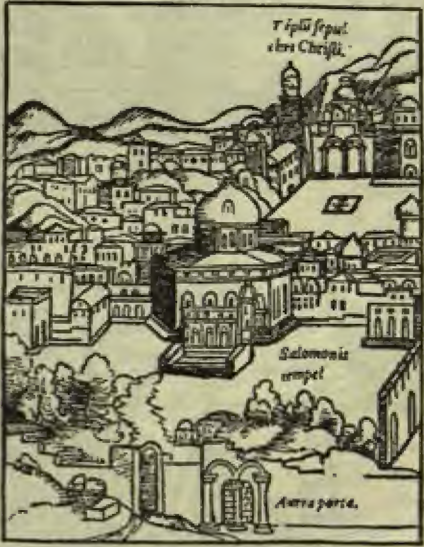
ROBERT Turneham Franciscan, a notable professour of Divinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart towne of Linne, situate upon the river of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stir up the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standerd bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280, setting foorth divers works under the same king Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.



VIEW OF TYRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1305. Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome: in the 34 yere of Edward the first. Lelandus.

ANtonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo ejus appellationis ab adventu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hiero-solomitanum anno Christi 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat supra quâm decebat episcopum. Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Unduglessi fluvioli. Elteshamum etiam vicinum Grenovico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ provinciæ, ædificiis illustria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, & potentia conflavit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem invidiam, quam vivens nunquam extinguere


Tēplū ſepulchri Chriſti.
Salomonis tempel
Aurea porta.

JERUSALEM

potuit. Sed de Antonio, & ejus scriptis fusiùs in opere, cujus titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obiit Antonius anno a nato in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

The same in English.

Anthony Beck was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the invasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Jerusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a prety river called Unduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor being nere unto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey. And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, through his over great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great envy among the nobility, which he could not asswage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intitled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

Licet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus hujus mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Julii de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audivi, quæ possum veracitèr enarrare. Primò transiens Mare Majus me de Pera juxta Constantinopolim transtuli

Trapesundam, quæ antiquitùs Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè situata est, sicut scala quædam Persarum & Medorum, & eorum qui sunt ultra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicèt hominem ducentem secum plusquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per [II. i. 40.] terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aëra, quas ipse ad quoddam castrum dictum Zavena duxit, distans à Trapesunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quiescere voluit, omnes se aptabant circa ipsum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas usque ad Trapesundam, & usque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis sumpsit quot voluit, & residuas vir ille ad locum unde venerat, adduxit. In hac civitate requiescit corpus Athanasii supra portam civitatis. *Armenia major.* Ultra transivi usque in Armeniam majorem, ad quandam civitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, sed Tartari eam pro magna parte destruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carnium, & aliorum omnium victualium præterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc civitas est multum frigida, & de illa dicitur quòd altius situatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur & scaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per unam dietam ab civitate distat: hæc civitas via media eundi Taurisium. Ultra progressus sum ad quendam montem dictum Sobissacalo. In illa contrata est mons ille supra quem requiescit arca Noe; in quem libenter ascendissem, si societas mea me præstolare voluisset: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus unquam illum montem ascendere potuit, quia ut dicitur, hoc Deo altissimo non placet. *Tauris civitas Persiæ.* Ultra veni Tauris civitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitùs Susis dicta est. Hæc civitas melior pro mercenariis reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ sit in mundo, nam nihil comestibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc civitas multum benè situatur: Nam ad eam quasi totus mundus pro mercimoniis confluere potest: De hac dicunt Christiani qui ibi sunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quàm Regem Franciæ de toto regno suo: Juxta illam civitatem est mons salinus præbens sal civitati, & de illo sale unusquisque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil solvendo alicui. In hac civitate multi Christiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Ultra ivi per decem dietas ad civitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Persarum tempore æstivo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad civitatem aliam sitam supra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem civitas magna est, & frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Ultra cum quadam societate Caravanorum ivi versus Indiam superiorem, ad quam dum transissem per multas dietas perveni ad civitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Cassan, quæ regia civitas est & nobilis, nisi quod Tartari eam in magna parte destruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & aliis bonis multis. Ab hac civitate usque Jerusalem quo Magi iverunt miraculosè, sunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia sunt in hac civitate quæ pertranseo. Indè recessi ad quandam civitatem vocatam Gest à qua distat mare arenosum per unam dietam, quod mirè est mirabile & periculosum: In hac civitate est abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potissimè, & uvarum siccarum & viridium, plus ut credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Hæc est tertia civitas melior quam Rex Persarum habet in toto regno suo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Christianus ultra annum vivere unquam potest. Ultra per multas dietas ivi ad quandam civitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima civitas antiquitùs erat, cujus ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea sunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Ultra per multas terras transiens, perveni ad terram Job nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium plenissima est, & pulcherrimè situata; juxta eam sunt montes in quibus sunt pascua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quàm pro uno grosso: In

Sultania.

Vel Cassibin.

Gest.

Como.

ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, ubi homines nent & filant, & fœminæ non: hæc terra correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

INdè ivi in Chaldæam quæ est regnum magnum, & transivi juxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio suam linguam propriam habet, & ibi sunt homines formosi, & fœminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, ut hîc mulieres, & portant super capita sua fasciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò solum unam vilem camisiam attingentem usque ad genua, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ usque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt discalciatæ portantes Serablans usque ad terram. Triceas non portant, sed capilli earum circumquaque disperguntur: & alia multa & mirabilia sunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram est, quam Tartari multum destruxerunt; & in ea ut plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlii. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro uno grosso. Ultra [II. i. 41.] transivi per multas dietas ad mare oceanum, & prima *Ormus.* terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & divitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus, & descendunt usque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes vivere, faciunt unctionum, & ungunt illa, & sic uncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines utuntur navigio quæ vocatur Jase, sutum sparto. Ego autem ascendi in unum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo dietis perveni ad civitatem *Thana.* Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyrizati sunt. Hæc terra est optimè situata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitùs fuit valdè magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit. Hujus terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, serpentes, & arbores: Et istam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & subjacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi sunt diversa genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi simiæ, gatimaymones, & noctuæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hic scepi, & ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, in illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum suam unum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset una columna, & pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua. Multæ novitates sunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum esset audire.

De martyrio fratrum.

MArtyrium autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa civitate Thana fuit per istum modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum una navi, ut navigarent usque Polumbrum, & violentèr deportati sunt usque Thanam ubi sunt 15. domus Christianorum, qui Nestoriani sunt & Schismatici, & cùm illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cujusdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & uxorem ejus, quam serò vir fortitèr verberavit, quæ suo Kadi, 1. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogavit Kadi, utrum hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quòd sic; quia 4. Franchi, 1. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipsos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce unus de Alexandria præsens rogavit Kadi ut mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximæ scientiæ & scripturas benè scire, & ideò dixit bonum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis, & adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Jacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, ut res suas custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide nostra disputare; dicens Christum tantùm hominem esse & non Deum. E contrà frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Christum verum Deum & hominem esse evidenter ostendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi se sic confusum, incepit clamare sic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Respondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probavimus Christum verum Deum & hominem esse, qui legem posuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens sis optimè scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi & alii Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus vester filius perditionis est, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solùm ipse, sed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, & falsa, & contra Deum, & contra salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in sole urente stare permiserunt, ut ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo in eo per spacium unius missæ persisteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani & hilares à tertia usque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanserunt, quod videntes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copiosum, & in illum vos projicere, & si fides vestra sit ut dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: si autem vos combusserit, patebit quòd fides vestra nulla sit. Responderunt fratres; parati sumus pro fide nostra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima & verissima est, & non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt salvæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres comburerentur, rumor insonuit per totam civitatem, de qua omnes senes, & juvenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud spectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam civitatis, ubi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quem frater Thomas voluit se projicere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens; Non vadas tu cum sis senex, quia carmen aliquod [II. i. 42.] vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset lædere, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni sumentes fratrem Jacobum, eum in ignem projicere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentèr in ignem projecerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen ejus audierunt, invocantem semper nomen virginis gloriosæ; Igne autem totalitèr consumpto stetit frater Jacobus super prunas illæsus, & lætus, manibus in modum crucis elevatis, in cœlum respiciens, & Deum laudans & glorificans, qui sic declararet fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læsus per ignem inventus est; Quod videns populus unanimitèr conclamare cœpit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & sancta est. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunica quam portat est de lana terræ Habraæ, & ideò nudus exspolietur, & in ignem projiciatur, & videbitur si comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, & fratrem Jacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, & oleo abundantissimè unxerunt, insuper & oleum maximum in struem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, & igne accenso fratrem in ipsum projecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis devotioni se dederunt. Frater autem Jacobus iterum ignem exivit illæsus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum est, peccatum est, offendere eos, quià sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich. i. potestas civitatis, vocavit ad se fratrem Jacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta sua, & dixit, videte fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, & fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse ; & ideo consulimus vobis, ut de ista terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confudistis eum : Hora autem tunc erat quasi completorii, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & stupefacti, tot & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab istis hominibus, quòd nescimus quid tenere & observare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres ultra unum parvum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa civitate distantem : ad quem etiam ille in cujus jam domo fuerant hospitati associavit eos, ubi in domo cujusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi ivit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus ? Lex Machometi destructa est, veruntamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet præcepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis unum Christianum interficeret, tantum mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alkoranus lex Saracenorum sicut Evangelium, Mecha verò est locus ubi jacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchrum Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade & fac sicut vis : quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos ut irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam transiissent, facta est nox, & illo sero eos non invenerunt, statim Melich omnes Christianos in civitate capi fecit, & incarceravit, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, invenerunt, & extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inviti, quia vos estis boni homines & sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere ; quia si jussa sua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis nostris & uxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui hûc venistis, & tale mandatum recepistis, ut per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis injunctum est perficite ; quia pro amore domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus est, & pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se exspoliare, & frater Thomas primus junctis manibus in modum crucis genu flectens capitis abscissionem suscepit: Fratrem verò Jacobum unus percussit in capite, & eum usque ad oculos scidit, & alio ictu totum caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, & secundò caput suum abscissum est: Statim ut fratres suum martyrium compleverunt, aër ita lucidus effectus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, & luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruscationes, & obscuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Navis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa posteà aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum nostrorum, & tunc inventus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alii Saraceni maxima promittentes persuaserunt quòd fidem suam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane usque ad meridiem diversis [II. i. 43.] pænarum ac tormentorum generibus aflixerunt ipso semper constantissimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus persistente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & destruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum non posse a suo proposito evelli, eum super quandam arborem suspenderunt, in qua de nona usque ad noctem vivus & illæsus pependit: nocte verò ipsum de arbore sumpserunt, & videntes illum lætum, vivum, & illæsum per medium suum corpus diviserunt, mane autem facto nihil de corpore ejus inventum est, uni tamen personæ fide dignæ revelatum est, quod Deus corpus ejus occultaverat revelandum in certo tempore, quandò Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifestare. Ut autem Deus ostenderet animas suorum martyrum jam in cœlis consistere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & aliis Sanctis ejus, die sequenti post martyrium fratrum prædictorum Melich dormitioni se dedit, & ecce aparuerunt sibi isti fratres gloriosi, & sicut Sol, lucidi, singulos enses tenentes in manibus, & supra eum eos sic vibrantes, quod ut si eum perfodere ac dividere vellent : qui excitatus horribilitèr exclamavit, sic, quòd totam familiam terruit : quæ sibi accurrens quæsivit, quid sibi esset ? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici jussi, venerunt huc ad me cum ensibus, volentes me interficere. Et statim Melich misit pro Kadi, referens sibi visionem, & petens consilium, & consolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi sibi consuluit, ut illis maximas eleemosynas faceret, si de manibus interfectorum evadere vellet. Tunc misit pro Christianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat : A quibus cum ad eum venissent indulgentiam petiit pro facto suo, dicens se esse amodò socium eorum, & confratrem : Præcepit autem & legem statuit, quòd pro tempore suo, si quis aliquem Christianum offenderet, statim moreretur, & sic omnes illæsos, & indemnes abire permisit. Pro illis autem quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor mosquetas. (i.) Ecclesias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodsi istos tres fratres talem sententiam subiisse, misit pro Melich, ut vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus esset, quæsivit imperator, quare ita crudelitèr illos fratres jusserat interfici, respondit, quia subvertere volebant legem nostram, & malum & blasphemiam de propheta nostro dicebant : & imperator ad eum ; O crudelissime canis, cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberaverit, quo modo ausus fuisti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta sententia, ipsum Melich cum tota sua familia per medium scindi fecit, sicut ipse talem mortem fratri inflixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, & sic evasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum.

EST autem consuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur sepulturæ, sed in campis dimittuntur, & ex calore Solis citò resolvuntur, & sic consumuntur: Corpora autem trium fratrum prædictorum per 14. dies illic in fervore Solis jacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inventa fuerunt sicut illa die quandò martirizati erant: quod videntes Christiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè sepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorum fratrum, ivi illuc, & corpora eorum effodi, & ossa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towalliis colligavi, & in Indiam superiorem ad unum locum fratrum nostrorum ea deportavi, habens mecum socium, & unum famulum. Cum autem essemus in via, hospitabamus in domo cujusdam hospitarii, & ipsa ossa capiti meo supposui, & dormivi: Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis subitò accendebatur, ut me cum domo comburerent. Domo autem sic accensa, socius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me solum cum ossibus dimiserunt, qui videns ignem supra me, ossa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus statim combusti fuerunt, angulo in quo steti cum ossibus salvo remanente: Supra me autem ignis se tenuit in modum aëris lucidi, nec descendit quamdiu ibi persistebam; quàm citò autem cum ossibus exivi, statim tota pars illa sicut aliæ priores igne consumpta est, & multa alia loca circumadjacentia combusta sunt. Aliud miraculum contigit, me cum ossibus per mare proficiente ad civitatem Polumbrum ubi piper nascitur abundantèr, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos suos pro vento prospero, quem tamen non obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni suas invocationes, & adorationes laboriose fecerunt, sed nihil profecerunt; Et præceptum est mihi & socio meo ut orationes funderemus Deo nostro: Et dixit rector navis in Armenico mihi, quod alii non intelligerent: quòd nisi possemus ventum prosperum à Deo nostro impetrare, nos cum ossibus in mare projicerent: Tunc ego & socius fecimus orationes, voventes multas missas de beata virgine celebrare, sic quòd ventum placeret sibi nobis impetrare. Cum autem tempus transiret, & ventus non veniret, accepi unum de ossibus, & dedi famulo, ut ad caput navis iret, & clàm in mare projiceret; quo projecto statim affuit ventus prosper qui nunquam nobis defecit, usquequò pervenimus ad portum, meritis istorum martyrum cum salute. Deinde ascendimus aliam navem ut in Indiam superiorem iremus; Et venimus ad quandam civitatem vocatam Carchan in qua sunt duo loca fratrum nostrorum, & ibi reponere istas reliquias volebamus. In navi autem [II. i. 44.] illa erant plus 700. mercatores & alii: Nunc illi Idolatræ istam consuetudinem habebant, quòd semper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam navem perquirerent, si isti aliqua ossa mortuorum animalium invenirent, qui reperta statim in mare projicerent, & per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculum evadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent, & illa ossa frequenter tangerent, semper oculi delusi fuerunt, sic quòd illa non perpenderunt; & sic ad locum fratrum deportavimus cum omni reverentia, ubi in pace requiescunt; ubi etiam inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo gravantur, in terra illa ubi fratres passi sunt ipsi vadunt, & de terra ubi corpora sanguinolenta jacuerunt sumunt quam abluunt, & ablutionem bibunt, & sic ab infirmitatibus suis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, & ubi nascitur.

Ut autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, sciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui, nomine *Minibar, nascitur, & in nulla parte mundi *Malabar.*

tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo nascitur, continet octodecim dietas, & in ipso nemore sunt duæ civitates una nomine Flandrina, alia nomine Cyncilim: In Flandrina habitant Judæi aliqui & aliqui Christiani, inter quos est bellum frequenter, sed Christiani vincunt Judæos semper: In isto nemore habetur piper per istum modum. Nam primò nascitur in foliis olerum, quæ juxta magnas arbores plantantur, sicut nos ponimus vites; & producunt fructum, sicut racemi nostri producunt uvas; sed quandò maturescunt sunt viridis coloris, & sic vindemiantur ut inter nos vindemiantur uvæ, & ponuntur grana ad solem ut desiccentur: quæ desiccata reponuntur in vasis terreis, & sic fit piper, & custoditur. In isto autem nemore sunt flumina multa in quibus sunt Crocodili multi, & multi alii serpentes sunt in illo nemore, quos homines per stupam & paleas comburunt, & sic ad colligendum piper securè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris versus meridiem est civitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cujuscunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bovem vivum sicut Deum suum adorant, quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, & in septimo faciunt ipsum quiescere ab omni opere; ponentes ipsum in loco solemni, & communi, & dicentes ipsum esse animal sanctum. Hunc autem ritum observant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelves de auro, vel de argento, & unam submittunt urinæ bovis, & aliam stercori, de urina lavant sibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. sensus: de stercore verò ponunt in utròque oculo, posteà liniunt summitates genarum, & tertiò pectus, & ex tunc dicunt se sanctificatos pro toto die illo: & sicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex & regina. Isti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate una superior est homo, & in alia est bos, & illud idolum dat eis responsa, & aliquotièns pro stipendio petit sanguinem, 40. virginum: & ideò homines illius regionis ita vovent filias suas & filios, sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel sancto in cœlis. Et per istum modum

Polumbrum civitas.
Adoratio bovis.

Combustio mortuorum.

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per istum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, & multa alia abominabilia facit populus iste bestialis, & multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hîc inserere. Aliam consuetudinem vilissimam habet gens illa: Nam quando homo moritur, comburunt ipsum mortuum, & si uxorem habet, ipsam comburunt vivam, quia dicunt quòd ipsa ibit in aratura, & cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo: Si autem uxor illa habeat liberos ex viro suo, potest manere cum eis si velit sine verecundia & improperio, communiter tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito; si autem uxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum, sed potest aliam uxorem ducere. Aliam consuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd fœminæ ibi bibunt vinum, & homines non: fœminæ etiam faciunt sibi radi cilia, & supercilia, & barbam, & homines non: & sic de multis aliis vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum. Ab isto regno ivi decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum Mobar, quod habet in se multas civitates, & in illo requiescit in una ecclesia corpus beati Thomæ Apostoli, & est ecclesia illa plena idolis, & in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici vivunt in 15. domibus Nestoriani, id est, mali Christiani, & schismatici.

De quodam idolo mirabili, & de quibusdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno est unum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reverentur: & est statura hominis ita magni, sicut noster Christophorus depictus, & est totum de auro purissimo & splendidissimo, & circa collum habet unam chordulam sericam cum lapidibus pretiosissimis, quorum aliquis valet plus quàm unum regnum: Domus idoli est tota de auro, scilicet in tecto, & pavimento, & superficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, sicut nos ad S. Petrum: Alii veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alii cum manibus retrò ligatis, alii cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & si post peregrinationem fiat brachium marcidum, illum reputant sanctum, & benè cum Deo suo. Juxta ecclesiam illius idoli est lacus unus manufactus, & manifestus, in quem peregrini projiciunt aurum & argentum, & lapides pretiosos in honorem Idoli, & ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ, & ideò quando aliquid debet ornari, vel reparari, vadunt homines ad [II. i. 45.] hunc lacum, & projecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in uno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere musicorum, & multæ virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ & binæ, processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, ut transeat Deus supra eos; & omnes super quos currus transit, comminuit, & per medium scindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sanctè & securè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, conveniunt omnes amici ejus & parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, & post festum appendunt collo ejus 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum pervenerit, sumit unum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & frustum incisum projicit in faciem idoli: ultima verò incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus ejus comburitur, & sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est ditissimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretiosis; ibi etiam sunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè transiens ivi per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes

Crudelissima Santanæ tyrannis, & carnificina.

Deum, Adam & Evam fecisse nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communes, ita quòd nullus potest dicere, hæc est uxor mea, & cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hiis qui concubuerunt: *Platonica κοινωνία.* Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in divisione terrarum, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humanæ quando homo est pinguis ita benè comeduntur, sicut inter nos bovinæ: & licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riso, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis aliis. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim occidunt eos & comedunt. *Simoltra vel Samotra.* In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatum Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hii semper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Ultra transivi ad aliam insulam *Java.* quæ vocatur Java cujus ambitus per mare est trium millium milliarium, & rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, & hæc insula optimè inhabitatur, & melior secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascuntur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nuces muscatæ: & breviter omnes species ibi sunt, & maxima abundantia omnium victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobilissimum inter omnia quæ vidi altissimè stat, & gradus & scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper unus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus; Pavimentum verò unum laterem habet de auro, alium de argento. Parietes verò omnes interius sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit & superavit.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

Vel Malasmi.

JUxta istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamasim, & Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculosius quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi unum solum, & est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpsisset, si velit liberari, sumat stercus hominis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ & bassæ, & quandò inciduntur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam sicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in sacculis de foliis factis, & per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex isto liquore desiccato fit farina, quam primò ponunt in aqua maris, posteà lavant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit pasta valdè bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & est panis exterius pulcher, sed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ceciderit, nunquam posteà comparet. In contrata illa inveniuntur Cannæ longissimæ plures passus habentes quàm 60 & sunt magnæ ut arbores. Aliæ etiam Cannæ sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terram diriguntur ut gramen, & in quolibet nodo earum ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur super terram per unum miliare ferè : in hiis Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum si quis unum super se portaverit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro, & ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant [II. i. 46.] illos lapides super : Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parvi incidi in uno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt unum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere se per unum pulverem de quodam pisce, cujus nomen ignoro, qui pulvis statim vulnus consolidat & sanat :

Mare quod semper currit versus meridiem.

& virtute illorum lapidum communitèr isti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec possent isti homines lædi per aliqua arma ferrea: Unum tamen remedium est, quòd adversarii illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, provident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutissimos & ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum: Similitèr sagittant cum sagittis sine ferro, & sic confundunt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. *Vela ex arundinibus facta.* De istis etiam Cannis Cassan faciunt sibi vela pro suis navibus & domunculas parvas, & multa sibi necessaria. *Campa.* Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentissimum in omnibus victualibus. Cujus rex quando fui ibi tot habuit uxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies millesies & quatuor elephantum domesticorum, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boves, vel greges in pascuis.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se projiciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata unum mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd unaquæque generatio piscium in mari ad istam contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnum spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, & super aridam se projiciunt quando propè ripam sunt, & permittunt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis sumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeunt ad mare: Post illam speciem per illum modum venit alia species, & offert se, & sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæsivi à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc possit fieri? responderunt quòd hoc modo pisces per naturam docentur venire, & imperatorem suum revereri. *Testitudines magnæ.* Ibi etiam sunt testitudines ita magnæ sicut est unus furnus, & multa alia vidi quæ incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiam contrata homo mortuus comburitur, & uxor viva cùm eo, sicut superius de alia contrata dictum est, quia dicunt homines, illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam uxorem accipiat. Ultra transivi per mare Oceanum versus meridiem, & transivi per multas contratas & insulas, quarum una vocatur Moumoran, & habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portant facies caninas & mulieres similitèr, & unum bovem adorant pro Deo suo, & ideò quilibet unum bovem aureum vel argenteum in fronte portat: Homines illius contratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quòd unum pannum lineum portant ante verenda sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi & fortissimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant unum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite usque ad pedes, & si contingat eos aliquem de adversariis capere in bello qui pecunia non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum; si autem possit se redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo unum lapidem longitudinis unius spansæ, & dum habet illum videtur ab aliis quasi una flamma ignis, & ideò nullus audet sibi appropinquare, & dicitur quòd non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laboraverit.

Moumoran.

De Insula Ceilan, & de monte ubi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

TRansivi per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu plusquam duo millia milliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, ursarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & silvestrium, & potissimè elephantum. In illa contrata est mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium suum 500 annis. In medio illius montis est planicies pulcherrima, in qua

Ceilan insula.

est lacus parvus multum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adæ & Evæ, sed probavi hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: hæc aqua plena est hirudinibus & sanguisugis, & lapidibus pretiosis; istos lapides rex non accipit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes sub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot possunt colligere illis concedit, ut orent pro anima sua. Ut autem possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis ungunt se valdè benè, & sic nudos se in aquam submergunt, & sanguisugæ illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exit & currit usque ad mare, & in transitu quandò retrahit se, fodiuntur Rubiæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & aliæ gemmæ pretiosæ: undè opinio est quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium & avium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullum forensem invadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantum homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa insula aves ita magnas sicut sunt hîc anseres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non scribo. Ultra versus meridiem transivi, & applicui ad insulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morantur pessimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiam faciunt quæ quasi excogitari non poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrem, & maritus uxorem, & è contrario, & hoc per hunc modum: si pater alicujus infirmetur, filius vadit ad Astrologum sacerdotem, scz. rogans eum quòd consulat Deum suum, si pater de tali infirmitate evadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, facientes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noster, te adoramus, & rogamus ut nobis respondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Dæmon respondet, & si dicat, vivet, filius vadit & ministrat illi usque ad plenam convalescentiam: Si autem dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & unum pannum super os ejus

Bodin Insula.
[II. i. 47.]

ponet, & suffocabit eum, & ipsum mortuum incidet in frusta, & invitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes ejus ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, ossa tamen ejus honorificè sepelient. Cùm autem ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens causam: Respondit unus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes ejus comedant, tunc ejus anima magnam pœnam sustineret, nec poteram evellere eos ab isto errore: & multæ aliæ novitates sunt ibi, quas non crederent, nisi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hîc refero, nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificari poterit. De ista insula inquisivi à multis expertis, qui omnes uno ore responderunt mihi, dicentes, quod ista India 4400. insulas continet sub se, sive in se, in qua etiam sunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod major pars illius insulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hîc istius Indiæ facio finem.

De India superiori, & de Provincia Manci.

IN primis refero, quòd cum transirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas versus Orientem, perveni ad illam magnam provinciam Manci, quæ India vocatur à Latinis. De ista India superiori inquisivi à Christianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales sunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes uno ore responderunt, quòd hæc provincia Manci habet plusquam 2000. magnarum civitatum, & in ipsa est maxima copia omnium victualium, puta, panis, vini, risi, carnium, piscium, &c. Omnes homines istius provinciæ sunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunque penuria, dummodo propriis manibus juvare se possent per labores, nunquam ab aliquo eleemosynam peterent. Viri istius provinciæ sunt satis formosi, sed pallidi, & rasas & parvas barbas habentes; fœminæ verò sunt pulcherrimæ inter omnes de mundo. Prima civitas ad quam veni de ista India vocatur Ceuskalon, & distat à mari per unam dietam, positáque est super flumen, cujus aqua propè mare cui contignatur, ascendit super terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Ista autem civitas tantum navigium

Vel Ceuscala.

habet, quod incredibile foret nisi videnti. In hac civitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quàm pro uno grosso: Ibi sunt anseres grossiores & pulchriores, & majus forum de illis, quàm sit in mundo, ut credo, & sunt albissimi sicut lac, & habent unum os super caput quantitatis ovi, & habet colorem sanguineum, sub gula habent unam pellem pendentem semipedalem: Pinguissimi sunt, & optimi fori: & ita est de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ sunt valdè in illa terra plusquam duæ de nostris. Ibi sunt serpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: unde qui faceret festum solemne, & non daret serpentes, nihil reputaret se facere: brevitèr in hac civitate sunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè transivi per civitates multas, & veni ad civitatem nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portavi de ossibus fratrum nostrorum pro fide Christi interfectorum, de quibus supra. In hac est copia omnium victualium pro levissimo foro, hæc civitas ita magna est, sicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monasteria religiosorum, qui omnes idolis serviunt. In uno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui, & dictum est mihi quòd inerant 3000. religiosorum habentium 11000. idolorum, & unum illorum, quod quasi parvum inter cætera mihi videbatur, est ita magnum sicut Christophorus noster. Isti religiosi omni die pascunt Deos suos, unde semel ivi ad videndum comestionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quæ detulerunt sibi comestibilia sunt, & calidissima, & multum fumigantia, ita quòd fumus ascendit ad idola, & dixerunt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autem cibum illi reportaverunt & comederunt, & sic de fumo tantum Deos suos paverunt.

Hi sunt alcatrarsi vel onocratoli.

Vel Zaiton.

De Civitate Fuko.

ULtra versus Orientem veni ad civitatem quæ vocatur Fuko, cujus circuitus continet 30. milliaria, in qua sunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ sicut nix, lanam solum pro pennis habentes sicut

Vel Foquien.

pecudes. Hæc civitas pulcherrima est, & sita supra mare. Ultra ivi per 18. dietas, & pertransii multas terras & civitates, & in transitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, & vidi quòd in uno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra ut carbo, & homines & mulieres diversum modum vivendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba sicut nix, & homines totaliter diversè ab aliis vixerunt. Ibi omnes fœminæ quæ sunt desponsatæ portant in signum quòd habent maritos unum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde transivi per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddam magnum flumen, & intravi civitatem unam, quæ transversum illius fluminis habet pontem maximum, & hospitabar in domo unius hospitarii, qui volens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; & duxit me super pontem, & vidi in brachiis suis mergos ligatos super perticas, ad quorum gulam ubi ille ligavit unum filum, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio uno posuit 3. cistas magnas, & tunc dissolvit mergos de perticis, qui statim in aquam intraverunt, & pisces ceperunt, & cistas illas repleverunt in parva hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissolvit fila à collis eorum, & ipsi reintrantes flumen se de piscibus recreaverunt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & se ligari sicut priùs permiserunt: Ego autem de illis piscibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbantur. Inde transiens per multas dietas veni ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur *Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostra civitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnam civitatem vidi, Circuitus enim ejus continet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi spatium quin benè inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solaria unum supra aliud: hæc habet suburbia maxima continentia majorem populum quàm ipsa civitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarum portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt civitates fortè majores ut æstimo, quàm est civitas Venetiarum, & Padua. Hæc civitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamen habet propter ventum sicut civitas Vene-

Magnum flumen.

[II. i. 48.]

Aliàs Cansai, vel Quinzai.

tiarum. In ea sunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numeravi & transivi, & in quolibet ponte stant custodes civitatis continuè custodientes civitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Unum mandatum dicunt gentes illius civitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis solvit unum balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui unum florenum cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. supellectiles facient unum ignem, & sic pro uno igne solvent. Isti ignes sunt benè 85. Thuman, cum aliis 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò unum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo civitatis sunt alii Christiani, alii mercatores, & alii transeuntes per terram, undè maximè fui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominum poterant simul habitare : In ea est maxima copia victualium, scz. panis & vini, & carnium de porco præcipuè cum aliis necessariis.

De monasterio ubi sunt multa animalia diversa in quodam monte.

IN illa civitate 4 fratres nostri converterant unum potentem ad fidem Christi, in cujus hospitio continuè habitabam, dum fui ibi, qui semèl dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre civitatem istam ; & dixi quòd sic, & ascendimus unam barcham, & ivimus ad unum monasterium maximum, de quo vocavit unum religiosum sibi notum, & dixit sibi de me. Iste Raban Francus, i. religiosus venit de indè ubi sol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, ut deprecetur vitam pro magno Cane, & ideò ostendas sibi aliquid, quòd si revertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quòd tale quid novum vidi in Canasia civitate : tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquiis quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad unam perclusam parvam, quam aperuit cum clave, & aparuit viridarium gratiosum & magnum in quod intravimus, & in illo viridario stat unus monticulus sicut unum campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalum, & incœpit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quandò monachi intrant refectorium, ad cujus sonitum multa animalia diversa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua ut simiæ, aliqua ut Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic starem congregaverunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & se in ordinibus collocaverunt, coram quibus posuit paropsidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquisivi quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorum, quas nos hîc pascimus amore Dei, qui regit orbem, & sicut unus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima ejus post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò simplicium & rusticorum, corpora vilium animalium intrant. Incœpi istam abusionem improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi, non enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Indè transivi ad quandam civitatem nomine Chilenso, cujus muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In ista civitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm unquam viderim, & benè inhabitatur, & navigium maximum habet, & copiam omnium victualium, & aliorum bonorum. Inde ivi ad quoddam flumen dictum Thalay, quod ubi est strictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmæorum transit, quorum civitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus civitatibus mundi est. Isti Pigmæi habent longitudinem trium spansarum mearum, & faciunt majora & meliora goton, & bombicinam quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen transiens, veni ad unam civitatem Janzu, in qua est unus locus fratrum nostrorum, & sunt in ea tres ecclesiæ Nestorianorum: hæc civitas nobilis est, & magna, habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Christiani vivunt: Dominus istius civitatis solum de sale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Balisi, & valet balisus unum florenum cum dimidio: Ita quòd unum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, unam tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit caristia in

Pythagorica μετεμψύχωσις.

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Kakam.

eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hæc civitas consuetudinem, quòd quando unus vult facere convivium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, & ubi ille circuit per hospites, [II. i. 49.] dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, & tantum in festo volo expendere, & per illum modum meliùs convivant amici in pluribus hospitiis quàm facerent in uno. Per 10. milliaria ab ista civitate *Montu.* in capite fluminis Thalay est una civitas vocata Montu, quæ majus navigium habet, quàm viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naves ibi sunt albæ sicùt nix, & in ipsis sunt hospitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur.

De civitate Cambaleth.

INdè transivi per 8. dietas per multas terras & civitates, & veni tandèm per aquam dulcem ad quandam civitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen *Caramoran.* vocatum Caramoran, quod per medium Catai transit, & magnum damnum sibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè transiens per flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas & civitates, veni ad unam civitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ majorem copiam habet de serico, quàm aliqua civitas in mundo; Quando enim est major caristia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia omnium mercimoniorum, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piscium, & omnium specierum electarum. Inde transivi versus Orientem per multas civitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam *Cambalec.* Cambaleth quæ est civitas multum antiqua, & est in provincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Et juxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam civitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & semper inter unam & aliam sunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas civitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quasi unam civitatem; Et ambitus istarum duarum civitatum est *Mandevil cap. 33.* plusquàm 40. milliaria. In hac civitate magnus imperator Canis habet sedem suam principalem, & suum magnum palatium, cujus muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiam illo est unus mons pulcherrimus consitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium amœnissimum in quo communitèr Canis residet: A latere autem montis est unus lacus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, & in illo lacu est magna copia anserum & anatum, & omnium avium aquaticarum; & in silva montis copia omnium avium & ferarum silvestrium, & ideò quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium suum. Palatium verò principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas aureas, & omnes muri ejus cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatii est una pigna altitudinis duorum passuum, quæ tota est de uno lapide pretioso nomine merdochas; & est tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo ejus est unus serpens de auro qui verberat os fortissimè: Habet etiam hæc pigna retia de margaritis, & per istam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & juxta eam pendent multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt multi pavones de auro; & cùm aliquis Tartarus facit festum domino suo, tunc quando convivantes collidunt manus suas præ gaudio & læticia, pavones emittunt alas suas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factum arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

QUando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro latere sedet Regina, & per unum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se, quando non potest ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu resident omnes dominæ de sua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suum unum pedem hominis, longitudinis unius brachii cum dimidio; & subter illum pedem sunt pennæ gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius ejus primogenitus, regnaturus post ipsum, & inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi etiam sunt 4. scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cujus conspectum sunt Barones sui, & multi alii nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui nisi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & histrionibus, qui suum dominum consolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, nisi secundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatii sunt Barones custodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere convivium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino suo servientes; Et quilibet portat unam vestem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quàm decies millies florenorum. Curia ejus optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & talitèr quòd quilibet in suo ordine peragit officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in istis festis suis fui, quià nos fratres minores in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos semper ire, & dare sibi nostram benedictionem: Et inquisivi ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui sunt in curia domini, & responderunt mihi quòd de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Custodes autem canum & bestiarum, & avium sunt [II. i. 50.] 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. & unus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hii omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autem vult equitare de una terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & unus per unam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, & tertius similitèr, & quartus; ita quòd semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quòd inveniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit;

Sedet in curru cùm duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretiosis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt istum currum, quos præcedunt 4. equi altissimi optimè cooperti. Juxta currum à lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra currum sedent duo Gerfalcones albissimi, & dùm videt aves quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, & per jactum unius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui nisi populus assignatus: undè incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de numero gentis suæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti sui. Iste dominus Canis imperium suum divisit in 12. partes, & una habet sub se 200. magnarum civitatum: undè ita latum & longum est suum imperium, quòd ad quamcunque partem iret, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis insulis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitiis paratis per totum imperium pro transeuntibus.

ISte dominus, ut transeuntes habeant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, fecit hospitia præparari ubique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua novitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si distat, ambassiatores super equos vel dromedarios festinant, & cùm lassantur in cursu, pulsant cornu, & proximum hospitium parat unum similitèr equum, qui quando alius venit fessus accipit literam, & currit ad hospitium, & sic per hospitia, & per diversos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, uno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; & ideò nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim scitur ab eo. Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, est una foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium & avium quòd mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipsum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, cervos, & alia animalia reducunt ad unam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes bestiæ sylvæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantes & 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & post ipsum omnes Barones, & post ipsos alii de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; & omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis signis & diversis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viva nemus reintrare ut aliâs habeat ex eis venationem suam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cujus corpore invenit sagittam suam quam jaciebat.

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QUatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum nativitatis, festum circumcisionis, coronationis, & desponsationis suæ; & ad ista festa convocat omnes Barones, & histriones, & omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Cane in suo throno sedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineo, & tertii de croceo, & tenent in manibus unam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis uno semisse latis, & stant pedibus silentium tenentes. Circa illos stant histriones cum suis instrumentis: In uno autem angulo cujusdam magni palatii resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cùm devenitur ad punctum & horam petitam à philosopho, unus præco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi statim surgunt. Iterum Philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cùm perventum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & statim dicit, extrahite ipsum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam significationem habere, quæ scribere nolui, nec curavi, quia vana sunt & risu digna. Cùm autem perventum fuerit ad horam histrionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domino, & omnes pulsant instrumenta sua, & faciunt maximum sonitum; & statim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt histrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reverentiam domino Cani; Et tunc histriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum se applicare ut bibant. Hæc & multa alia [II. i. 51.] mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; & ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audivi à fide dignis, quòd in uno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiuntur, & intùs invenitur una bestiola similis uni agnello: sicut audivi quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aves vocatæ Bernakles, & illud est verum.

De diversis Provinciis & civitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transivi 50. dietas versus Occidentem; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cujus civitas principalis Kosan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se civitates. Ultra per multas dietas ivi, & perveni ad unam provinciam vocatam Kasan; & hæc est secunda melior provincia mundi, ut dicitur, & est optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta unius civitatis, videntur portæ alterius civitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Provinciæ est 50. dietarum, & longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè castaneorum; & hæc est una de 12. provinciis magni Canis. Ultra veni ad unum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est subjectum Cani, in quo est major copia panis & vini, quam sit in toto mundo ut credo. Gens illius terræ

Casan.

Tibec regio aliàs Tebet Guilielmo de Rubricis.

A.D. 1330.

moratur communiter in tentoriis factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis civitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albissimis, & nigerrimis interescalariter dispositis & curiosè compositis, & omnes viæ ejus optimè pavatæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicujus animalis, ob reverentiam unius Idoli. In ista civitate moratur Abassi i. Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam centum tricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicujus moritur, tunc filius convocat omnes sacerdotes & histriones, & dicit se velle patrem suum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, ubi sacerdotes cum magna solemnitate amputant caput suum, dantes illud filio suo, & tunc totum corpus in frusta concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eo redeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte assuefacti ad hujusmodi, & carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradisum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo mortuo: Tunc filius sumit caput patris, & coquit ipsum, & comedit, de testa ejus faciens ciphum in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo & cognatione ejus bibunt cum solemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comesti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

Eadem historia de eodem populo apud Guilielmum de Rubricis.

De divite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DUm fui in provincia Manzi transivi juxta palatium unius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut avis aviculas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris risi 30.

Thuman, quorum quodlibet decies millies facit: unum autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum quo milliaria tenet in ambitu; cujus pavimentum semper unum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Juxta ambitum istius palatii est unus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere ungues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum est parvos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quandò filiæ suæ sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimittunt crescere. Ultra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorite, quæ pulchra est valdè & fertilis; Et in ista contrata erat unus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi unum murum circumeuntem istos montes. Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et juxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad suavitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & ideò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradisum. Iste Senex cùm viderit aliquem juvenem formosum & robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum & lac abundantèr. Iste Senex cùm voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso ut aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradisum illum, & illum deliciis frui permitteret, & tunc daret sibi potionem unam, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet, & ipsum sic dormientem faceret extra paradisum deportari: qui excitatus & se extra paradisum conspiciens, in tanta tristitia positus foret, quòd nesciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum senem iret, rogans eum, ut iterùm in paradisum introduceretur; qui sibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nisi talem vel talem interficias; & sive interfeceris, sive non,

Mulierum parvi pedes.

Milestorite.

[II. i. 52.]

reponam te in paradiso, & ibidem poteris semper manere; Tunc ille sic faceret, & omnes seni odiosos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum senem timuerunt, & sibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CUm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepissent, venerunt ad istum Senem, & dominium illius Paradisi ab eo abstulerunt, qui multos sicarios de Paradiso illo emisit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes civitatem, in qua erat senex obsederunt, eum ceperunt, & pessima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd citissimè per virtutem nominis Christi Jesu, & in virtute illius sanguinis pretiosi, quem effudit in cruce pro salute generis humani, dæmonia ab obsessis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem sunt obsessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati statim credunt in Christum, qui liberavit eos habentes ipsum pro Deo suo, & baptizati sunt, & idola sua, & pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communitèr de feltro, & de crinibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in communi loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, ut videat Deos vicinorum suorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem projiciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta consperserunt, & iterùm Idola in ignem projecerunt, & dæmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanserunt, & combusta sunt. Posteà auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulsus sum. Et per istum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidivant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuò quasi stent cum illis, & illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per unam vallem, quæ sita est juxta fluvium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audivi sonos musicos dulces & diversos, & maximè de cytharis, undè multum timui. Hæc

A.D. 1330.

vallis habet longitudinem septem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam si quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam vivus potest transire per medium illius vallis, & ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc esset. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce signans, in nomine Jesu intravi, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet nisi videret. In hac valle ab uno ejus latere, in uno saxo unam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribilitèr me respexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuisse mortuus: Sed semper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est & habitavit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me signavi, nec propiùs quàm per 7. passus, vel 8. accedere capiti ausus fui: Ivi autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & super unum monticulum arenosum ascendi, in quo undique circumspiciens nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, quas per se (ut mihi videbatur) pulsari & resonare mirabiliter audivi. Cùm verò fui in cacumine montis, inveni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quasi fuissent squamæ piscium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientia, in terram projeci, nihil mecum reservans, & sic per gratiam dei liber exivi. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ sciverunt me vivum exisse, reverebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & sanctum: & corpora illa fuisse dæmonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas ut homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de visis certudinalitèr ego frater Odoricus hîc inscripsi; & multa mirabilia omisi ponere, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent.

De honore & reverentia factis Domino Cani.

UNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis quòd quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante ostia sua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, ut dominus transiens suavem sentiat odorem, & multi obviam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama undique divulgaretur de suo adventu, unus noster Episcopus, & aliqui nostri minores fratres & ego ivimus obviàm sibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, posuimus crucem super lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator spiritus: Et dum sic cantaremus audivit voces nostras, fecitque nos vocari, ac jussit nos ad eum accedere; cùm ut suprà dictum est, nullus audeat appropinquare currui suo ad jactum lapidis, nisi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum custodiunt. Et dum ivissemus ad eum, ipse deposuit galerum suum, sive capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, [II. i. 53.] & fecit reverentiam Cruci; & statim incensum posui in thuribulo; Episcopus noster accepit thuribulum, & thurificavit eum; ac sibi prædictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, sempèr sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; secum illam antiquam legem observantes; Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus; Idcircò portavimus nobiscum poma, & ea sibi super unum incisorium reverentèr obtulimus; & ipse duo accepit, & de uno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis signum quòd recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque divertimus, & ivimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos, qui in exercitu ejus erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipientes ita videbantur lætari, ac si præbuissemus eis familiaritèr magnum munus. Hæc prædicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicùt prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maii in loco Sancti Antonii de Padua; Nec curavit de latino difficili, & stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc ut homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Julii de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum testificor, &

testimonium perhibeo reverendo patri Guidoto ministro provinciæ Sancti Antonii in Marchia Trivisana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ superiùs scripta sunt, aut propriis oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audivi: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem, nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & vivere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam ut via & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decrevit primò præsentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Joannis Papæ 22. cujus benedictione obedientiáque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cúmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à civitate Pisana, in quadam via occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Ave (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quæreret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India novi te, tuúmque novi sanctum propositum; Sed & tu modò ad conventum undè venisti revertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, præsertim cùm Senex ille statim post dictum ab ejus aspectu disparuit; reverti decrevit; Et reversus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens gravedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem; Cúmque esset in conventu suo Utinensi. N. in provincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta sibi fuit revelatio, accepta communione, ipsóque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens incolumis in Domino fœlicitèr requievit: Cujus

sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici præfato sub manu Notarii publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Januarii obiit in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cujus precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstravit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Utini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilii Utini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quià sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

Here beginneth the journall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartars of the East.

Albeit many and sundry things are reported by divers authors concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being desirous to travel unto the forrein and remote nations of infidels, sawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to avouch. First
Pera. of al therefore sayling from Pera by Constantinople, I
Trapesunda. arrived at Trapesunda. This place is right commodiously situate, as being an haven for the Persians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the sea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him more then foure thousande partriges. The man him-
[II. i. 54.] selfe walked upon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde unto a certaine castle called Zavena, being three dayes journey distant from Trapesunda. The saide partriges were so tame, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they

would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so hee led them unto Trapesunda, and unto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried unto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanasius, upon the gate of the citie. And then I passed on further unto Armenia major, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tartars have almost layed it waste. In the saide citie there was abundance of bread and flesh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the world. It hath most holesome and sweete waters about it: for the veines of the said waters seeme to spring and flow from the mighty river of Euphrates, which is but a dayes journey from the saide city. Also, the said citie stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on unto a certaine mountaine called Sobissacalo. In the foresaide countrey there is the very same mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah rested: unto the which I would willingly have ascended, if my company would have stayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could ever ascend the said mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I travailed on further unto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Susis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing else belonging unto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city stands very commodiously: for unto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may resort for traffique. Concerning the said citie, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receives more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare unto the said city there is a salt-hill yeelding salt unto the city: and of

The citie of Azaron in Armenia major.

Sobissacalo.

Tauris a citie of Persia.

that salt ech man may take what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Christians of all nations do inhabite, over whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traveiled on further unto a city called *Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progresse unto another city standing upon the Sea called *Baku. Also the foresaid city is very great and colde, having good and holesome waters therein, unto the which also store of marchandize is brought. Moreover I travelled with a certaine company of Caravans toward upper India: and in the way, after many dayes journey, I came unto the citie of the three wise men called *Cassan, which is a noble and renowmed city, saving that the Tartars have destroyed a great part thereof, and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city unto Jerusalem (whither the three foresaid wisemen were miraculously led) it is fiftie dayes journey. There be many wonders in this citie also, which, for brevities sake, I omit. From thence I departed unto a certaine city called *Geste, whence the Sea of Sand is distant, one dayes journey, which is a most wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and especially of figs, reisins, and grapes; more (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole world besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any meanes live therein above a yeere. Then passing many dayes journey on forward, I came unto a certaine citie called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage unto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great store of victuals. From hence traveiling through many countreys, at length I came unto the land of Job named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situated. There-

Or, Sultania.

The Caspian sea.

Or, Cassibin.

Geste.

Como.

abouts are certaine mountaines having good pastures for cattell upon them. Here also Manna is found in great aboundance. Foure partriges are here solde for lesse then a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth upon the North part of Chaldæa.

Of the maners of the Chaldæans, and of India.

FRom thence I traveled into Chaldæa, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar unto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the same countrey use to have their haire kempt, and trimmed like unto our women: and they weare golden turbants upon their heades richly set with pearle, and pretious stones. The women are clad in a course smock onely reaching to their knees, and having long sleeves hanging downe to the ground. And they goe barefooted, wearing breeches which reach to the ground also. They weare no attire upon their heads, but their haire hangs disheaveled about their eares: and there be many other strange things also. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars overran and wasted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the most part, whereof 42. li. are there sold for lesse then a groat. I passed further also many dayes journey unto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arrived, is called * Ormes, being well fortified, and having great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the privities of men come out of their bodies and hang downe even unto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the same place, to preserve their owne lives, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their privie members therewith, do lap them up in certaine bags fastened unto their bodies, for otherwise they must needs die. Here also they use a kinde of Bark or shippe called Jase being compact together onely

The tower of Babel.

[II. i. 55.]

Ormus.

with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the space of 28. dayes I arrived at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friers were martyred for the faith of Christ. This countrey is well situate, having abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and under the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battel with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And over all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themselves are in subjection unto king Daldilus. There be divers kinds of beasts, as namely blacke lyons in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doves. Also there are mise as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, because cats are not able to incounter them. Moreover, in the same countrey every man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a piller, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied thereunto: with many other novelties and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Thana, whereof Frederick Cæsar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

MOreover, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be understood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my selfe arrived, being called * Minibar, and it is not so plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18. dayes journey. And in the said wood or forrest there are two cities, one called * Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Jewes and Christians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians overcome the Jewes at all times. In the foresaid wood pepper is had after this maner: first it groweth in leaves like unto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere unto great trees

Malabar.

Or, Alandrina.

as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in clusters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many rivers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other serpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne up with straw and with other dry fewel, and so they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the said forrest stands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worship a living oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for sixe yeres, and in the seventh yere they cause him to rest from al his worke, placing him in a solemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beast. Moreover they use this foolish ceremonie: Every morning they take two basons, either of silver, or of gold, and with one they receive the urine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the urine they wash their face, their eyes, and all their five senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their cheeks therewith, and thirdly their breast: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, even so doe their King and Queene. This people worshippeth also a dead idole, which, from the navel upward, resembleth a man, and from the navel downeward an oxe. The very same Idol delivers oracles unto them, and sometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes unto their idols, even as Christians do their children unto some Religion or Saint in heaven. Likewise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said Idol by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish beastly people commit: and I sawe many

Polumbrum.

moe strange things among them which I meane not here to insert. Another most vile custome the foresaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to ashes: and if his wife surviveth him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she shall accompany her husband in his tilthe and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the said wife having children by her husband, may if she will, remaine still alive with them, without shame or reproch: notwithstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt w^t their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such inconvenience, but he may mary another wife also. Likewise, ye said nation hath another strange custome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Also the women have the lids & brows of their eyes & beards shaven, but the men have not: with many other base & filthy fashions which the said women do use contrary to the nature of their sexe. From that kingdom I traveiled 10. daies journey unto another kingdome called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idols: and in 15. houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and schismatiques.

The burning of their dead.

[II. i. 56.]

Mobar, or Maliapor.

Of a strange and uncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

IN the said kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull strang idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christopher, & consisting all of most pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke riband, ful of most rich & precious stones, some one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The house of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pavement, and the sieling of the wall within and without. Unto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do unto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some other with knives sticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded arme festereth or corrupteth, they esteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. Neare unto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrimes cast gold, silver, & precious stones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therfore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go unto this lake taking up the treasure which was cast in. Moreover at every yerely feast of the making or repairing of the said idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrimes assemble themselves, & placing the said idol in a most stately & rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with songs, & with all kind of musical harmonie, & a great company of virgins go procession-wise two and two in a rank singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselves under the chariot wheeles, to the end that their false god may go over them: and al they over whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, & divided asunder in the midst, and slaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they think themselves to die most holily & securely, in the service of their god. And by this meanes every yere, there die under the said filthy idol, mo then 500. persons, whose carkases are burned, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Moreover they have another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the service of his false god, his parents, & all his friends assemble themselves together with a consort of musicians, making him a great & solemne feast: which feast being ended, they hang 5. sharpe knives about his neck carying him before the idol, & so soone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his knives crying with a loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he casteth the morsel which is cut, at ye face of his idol: but at the very last wound wherewith he murthereth himselfe, he utterth these words: Now do I yeeld my self to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is esteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, silver, and precious stones, & there be the fairest unions in al the world. Traveling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies journey southward, I came unto a certain land named Lammori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: who seeing me apparelled scoffed at me, saying, that God made Adam & Eve naked. In this countrey al women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it upon any one that hath lien with her, whom she pleaseth. Likewise al the land of that region is possessed in common, so that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of possession in the division of lands: howbeit every man hath his owne house peculiar unto himselfe. Mans flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are most lewd, yet the country is exceeding good, abounding with al commodities, as flesh, corne, rise, silver, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants comming unto this region for traffique do usually bring w^t them fat men, selling them unto the inhabitants as we sel hogs, who immediatly kil & eat them. In this island towards the south, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themselves with red-hot yron in 12. sundry spots of their faces: and this nation is at continual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traveled further unto another island called Java, the compasse whereof by sea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned

Perhaps he meaneth Comori.

Sumatra.

Java.

[II. i. 57.]

kings under his jurisdiction. The said Iland is throughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of ye whole world. In the same Iland there groweth great plenty of cloves, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of spices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the said land of Java hath a most brave and sumptuous pallace, the most loftily built, that ever I saw any, & it hath most high greeses & stayers to ascend up to the roomes therin contained, one stayre being of silver, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paved all over with one square plate of silver, & another of gold. All the wals upon the inner side were seeled over with plates of beaten gold, wherupon were ingraven ye pictures of knights, having about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious stones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Java the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes overcome & vanquished.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

NEere unto the said Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same country hath many Ilands under his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the most deadly poison in all ye whole world: for against it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of ye poyson, & would be delivered from the danger therof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & so drinke a good quantitie thereof, & it expels the poyson immediatly, making it to avoid at the fundement. Meale is produced out of the said trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there issueth out of the stocke a certain licour like unto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaves, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the sun, & at the end of those 15 dayes, when the said licour is throughly parched, it becommeth meale. Then they steepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good & savorie paste, wherof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my selfe did eate, & it is fayrer without & somewhat browne within. By this countrey is the sea called Mare mortuum, which runneth continually Southward, into ye which whosoever falleth is never seene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which overspread the earth like grasse, & out of every knot of them spring foorth certaine branches, which are continued upon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whosoever carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the most part, carry such stones with them, whithersoever they goe. Many also cause one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the said stones into the wound, healing also, and closing up the said wound with the powder of a certaine fish (the name whereof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the sayd stones, doe practise against them: namely, they provide themselves armour of yron or steele against their arrowes, & weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewise they shoot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound & slay some of their un-

A sea running still Southward.

armed foes trusting too securely unto the vertue of their stones. Also of the foresayd canes called Cassan they make sayles for their ships, and litle houses, and many other necessaries. From thence after many dayes travell, I arrived at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king wherof, at my being there, had so many wives & concubines, that he had 300 sonnes & daughters by them. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept even as we keepe droves of oxen, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselves upon the shore.

IN this countrey there is one strange thing to be observed, y^t every several kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that, for a great distance into the sea, nothing can be seene but ye backs of fishes: which, casting themselves upon the shore when they come neere unto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of them as they please, & then they returne againe unto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, offering it selfe after the same maner, and so in like sort all other kinds whatsoever: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this strange accident could come to passe? They answered, that fishes were taught, even by nature, to come & to do homage unto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an oven. Many other things I saw which are incredible, unlesse a man should see them with his own eies. In this country also dead men are burned, & their wives are burned alive with them, as in the city of Polumbrum above mentioned: for the men of that country say that she goeth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in mariage. Moreover I traveled on

Tortoises.

[II. i. 58.]

further by the ocean-sea towards the south, & passed through many countries and islands, wherof one is called Moumoran, & it containeth in compasse ii. M. miles, wherin men & women have dogs faces, and worship an oxe for their god : and therefore every one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or silver upon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, saving that they hang a linen cloth before their privities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or steele-targets before them, which do cover and defend their bodies from top to toe : and whomsoever of their foes they take in battel not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently devoure him : but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and most beautifull unions, and saith every day 300. prayers unto his god. He weareth upon his finger also a stone of a span long, which seemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch unto him : and they say that there is not any stone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands : notwithstanding that he hath done the utmost of his indevour for this purpose.

Moumoran.

Of the island of Sylan : and of the mountaine where Adam mourned for his sonne Abel.

I Passed also by another island called Sylan, which conteineth in compasse above ii. M. miles : wherin are an infinit number of serpents, & great store of lions, beares, & al kinds of ravening & wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that region do report that Adam mourned for his son Abel ye space of 500. yeres. In the midst of this mountain there is a most beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake conteining great plenty of water, which water ye inhabitants report to have proceeded from the teares of Adam & Eve: howbeit I proved that to be false, because I saw the water flow in the lake. This water is ful of hors-leeches, & blood-suckers, & of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not unto his owne use, but once or twise every yere he permitteth certaine poore people to dive under the water for ye said stones, & al that they can get he bestoweth upon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But y^t they may with lesse danger dive under the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themselves throughly with the juice therof, & so they may dive naked under ye water, the hors-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth even unto the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other pretious stones out of the shore: wherupon it is thought, that ye king of this island hath greater abundance of pretious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth besids. In the said country there be al kinds of beasts and foules: & the people told me, that those beasts would not invade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island fouls as big as our country geese, having two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traveling on further toward the south, I arrived at a certain island called Bodin, which *Or, Dadin.* signifieth in our language unclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who devour & eat raw flesh committing al kinds of uncleannes & abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, & the son his father, the husband his owne wife, & the wife her husband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be sick, the son straight goes unto the sooth-saying or prognosticating priest, requesting him to demand of his god, whether his father shall recover of that infirmity or no? Then both of them go unto an idol of gold or of silver, making their praiers unto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adore, beseeching thee to resolve us, whether such a man must die, or recover of such an infirmity or no? Then the divel answereth out of ye foresaid idol: if he saith (he shal live) then returneth his son and ministreth things necessary unto him, til he hath attained unto his former health: but if he saith (he shal die) then goes ye priest unto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morsels, & al his friends and kinsfolks are invited unto the eating thereof, with musique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reason thereof, one of them gave me this answere: this we doe, least the wormes should eat his flesh, for then his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remoove them from that errour. Many other novelties and strange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, unles he saw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty [II. i. 59.] God) do here make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure. Concerning the foresaid islands I inquired of divers welexperienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. islands under it, or within it: in which islands there are sixtie and foure crowned kings: and they say moreover, that the greater part of those islands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude concerning that part of India.

Or, China.

Of the upper India: and of the province of Mancy.

First of al therefore, having traveled many dayes journey upon the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arrived at a certaine great province called

Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al such as bare any office under the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this province of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rise, flesh, and fish. All the men of this province be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in never so extreme penurie, so long as they can helpe themselves by the labor of their hands, wil never beg almes of any man. The men of this province are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, having their heads shaven but a litle: but the women are the most beautiful under the sunne. The first city of ye said India which I came unto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies journey distant from the sea, stands upon a river, the water whereof, nere unto the mouth, where it exonerateth it selfe into the sea, doth overflow the land for the space of 12. daies journey. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of idols. The foresaid city of Ceuskalon hath such an huge navy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeve it unlesse he should see it. In this city I saw 300.li. of good & new ginger sold for lesse then a groat. There are the greatest, and the fairest geese, & most plenty of them to be sold in al the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and have a bone upon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: under their throat they have a skin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel sold. Also they have ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be monstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: whereupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is nought set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed by many cities & at length I came unto a city

Or, Ceuskala.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrarzi.

Or, Zaiton. named Caitan, wherin ye friers Minorites have two places of aboad, unto the which I transported the bones of the dead friers, which suffred martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as it is above mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The said city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monasteries of religious persons, al which do worship idols. I my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, having xi. M. idols: and one of ye said idols which seemed unto me but litle in regard of the rest, was as big as our Christopher. These religious men every day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed those things which they brought unto them were good to eat, & fuming hote, insomuch that the steame of the smoke thereof ascended up unto their idols, & they said that their gods were refreshed with the smoke: howbeit all the meat they conveyed away, eating it up their owne selves, and so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

Of the citie Fuco.

TRaveling more eastward, I came unto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very snow, having wol in stead of feathers, like unto sheep. It is a most stately & beautiful city & standeth upon the sea. Then I went 18. daies journey on further, & passed by many provinces & cities, and in the way I went over a certain great mountaine, upon ye one side whereof I beheld al living creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that side differed somwhat in maner of living from others: howbeit, on the other side of the said hil every living thing was snow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of living, were altogether unlike unto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they have husbands, a great trunke of horne upon their heads. From thence I traveiled 18. dayes journey further, and came unto a certaine great river, and entered also into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to passe the said river. And mine hoste with whom I sojourned, being desirous to shew me some sport, said unto me: Sir, if you will see any fish taken, goe with me. Then hee led me unto the foresaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine dive-doppers or water-foules, bound unto a company of poles, and about every one of their necks he tied a threed, least they should eat the fish as fast as they tooke them: and he caried 3. great baskets with him also: then loosed he the dive-doppers from the poles, which presently went into the water, & within lesse then the space of one houre, caught as many fishes as filled the 3. baskets: which being full, mine hoste untyed the threeds from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the river they fed themselves with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselves to be bound unto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, me thought they were exceeding good. Travailing thence many dayes journeys, at length I arrived at another city called *Canasia, which signifieth in our language, the city of heaven. Never in all my life did I see so great a citie; for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither sawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of tenne or twelve stories high, one above another. It hath mightie large suburbs containing more people then the citie it selfe. Also it hath twelve principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way unto every one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaid city of Canasia is situated in waters or marshes, which alwayes stand still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like unto Venice. In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and passed over them: and upon every of those bridges stand certaine watch-

A great river.

Foules catching fish.

[II. i. 60.]

Or Cansai, or Quinzai.

The Italian copy in Ramusius, hath 11000. *bridges.*

men of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the said city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey say, that they have one duetie injoyned unto them by their lord: for every fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is five papers or pieces of silke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelve housholds are accompted for one fire, and so pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al those tributary fires amount unto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman consisteth 10000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some traveilers through the countrey: whereupon I marveiled much howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and live together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and especially of hogs-flesh, with other necessaries.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of divers kindes doe live upon an hill.

IN the foresaide citie foure of our friers had converted a mighty and riche man unto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the citie. Who upon a certaine time saide unto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I said, yea. Then embarqued we our selves, and directed our course unto a certaine great Monastery: where being arrived, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying unto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight or novelty have I seene in the city of Canasia. Then the said religious man tooke two great baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me unto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he unlocked with his key, and there appeared unto us a pleasant faire greene plot, into the which we entred. In the said greene stands a litle mount in forme of a steeple, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine shady trees. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they use to ring to dinner or bevoir in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of divers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys; and some having faces like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselves together about him, to the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselves in good order, before whom he set a platter, and gave them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang upon his cymbal the second time, and they al returned unto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be? They are (quoth he) the soules of noble men which we do here feed, for the love of God who governeth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, entreth into the body of some excellent beast or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of more vile and brutish creatures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my speach did nothing at all prevaile with him: for hee could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed unto a certaine citie named Chilenso, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in circuit. *Chilenso.* In this city there are 360. bridges of stone, the fairest that ever I saw: and it is wel inhabited, having a great navie belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went unto a certaine river called Thalay, which, where it *Thalay.* is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of Pygmæi, whose chiefe city is

Cakam. called Cakam, and is one of the goodliest cities in the world. [II. i. 61.] These Pigmæans are three of my spans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and silke, then any other nation under the sunne. And coasting along by the saide river, I came unto a certaine citie named Janzu, *Janzu.* in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Janzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of such beastes, foules and fishes, as Christians doe usually live upon. The lord of the same citie hath in yeerely revenues for salt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: insomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth unto the value of fifteene thousand florens. Howbeit the sayd lord favoureth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiveth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcity or dearth among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about unto certaine tavernes or cookes houses appointed for the same purpose, he sayth unto every particular hoste, you shall have such, and such of my friendes, whom you must intertaine in my name, and so much I will bestowe upon the banquet. And by that meanes his friendes are better feasted at diverse places, then they should have beene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the foresayd river of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greatest navy that I saw in the whole world. All their ships are as white as snow, and they have banqueting houses in them, and many other rare things also, which no man would beleeve, unlesse he had seene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

TRaveiling eight dayes journey further by divers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water unto a certaine citie named Leneyn, standing upon the river of *Karavoran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it overfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence passing along the river Eastward, after many dayes travell, and the sight of divers cities, I arrived at a citie called *Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great scarcitie of silke, fortie pound is sold for lesse then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals also, as of bread, wine, flesh, fish, with all choise and delicate spices. Then traveiling on still towards the East by many cities, I came unto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being situate in the province of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere unto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelve gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betweene the two foresayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compasse or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere unto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong unto his court. Within the precincts of the sayd palace Imperiall, there is a most beautifull mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, having a most royall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Upon the one side of the

Karamoron.

Sumacoto.

sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance of geese, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing upon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beasts. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreover, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, having within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red skinnes, which are sayd to be the most costly skinnes in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a cisterne of two yards high, which consisteth of a pretious stone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at ech corner thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were, furiously shaking and casting forth his head. This cisterne also hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewise by the sayd cisterne there is drinke conveyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, such as useth to be drunke in the emperors court, upon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whosoever will may drinke of the sayd licour. In the foresayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet unto his lord, if the guests chance to clap their hands for joy and mirth, the sayd golden peacocks also will spread abroad their wings, and lift up their traines, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine under the ground.

[II. i. 62.]

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

MOreover, when the great emperor Can sitteth in his imperiall throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene or empresse, and upon another inferior seate there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his spouse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his kinred. All the maried women weare upon their heads a kind of ornament in shape like unto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all over thicke set with great and orient pearles. Upon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begotten sonne and heire apparant unto his empire, and under him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee also foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and divers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, unlesse they have obtained licence of the emperor so to doe, except his jesters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleasure of their emperor, and as hee enjoineth them by lawe. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading upon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleaseth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes & litle crownes upon their heads, and giving attendance upon their lord, and every one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is woorth ten thousand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by governours of tens, governours of hundreds, and governours of thousands, insomuch that every one in his place performeth his duetie committed unto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there present in person for the space of three yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for we friers Minorites have a place of aboad appointed out for us in the emperors court, and are enjoined to goe and to bestow our blessing upon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperors court? And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and such like, there were eighteene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beasts and foules were fifteene Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body, were foure hundred; the Christians also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foresayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreover, when he will make his progresse from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes journey before, and another to come a dayes journey after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midst, and so every particular troupe have their daily journeys limited unto them, to the ende they may provide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, upon which a majesticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious stones, and foure elephants bravely furnished doe drawe the sayd chariot, before which elephants foure great horses richly trapped and covered doe lead the way. Hard by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from approching neere unto their emperour. Upon the chariot also two milke-white Jer-falcons doe sit, and seeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and so they take it, and after this maner doeth hee solace himselfe as hee rideth. Moreover, no man dare come within a stones cast of the chariot, but such as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wives attendants, and of the traine of his first begotten sonne and heire apparant, would seeme incredible unto any man, unlesse hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The foresayd great Can hath devided his Empire into twelve partes or Provinces, and one of the sayd provinces hath two thousand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that unto whatsoever part thereof he intendeth his journy, he hath space enough for six moneths continual progresse, except his Islands which are at the least 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for travailers throughout the whole empire.

THe foresayd Emperor (to the end that travailers may have all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be provided in sundry places upon the high wayes, where all things pertaining unto victuals are in a continuall readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from that part, his ambassadors upon horses or dromedaries ride post unto him, and when themselves and their beasts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise provideth a horse and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth unto another Inne: and so by divers Innes, and divers postes, the report, which ordinarily could skarce come in 30. days, is in one naturall day brought unto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but straightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreover, when ye great Can himselfe will go on hunting, he useth this custome. Some twenty dayes journey from the citie of Kambaleth there is a forrest containing sixe dayes journey in circuit, in which forrest there are so many kinds of beasts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Unto this forrest, at the ende of every third or fourth yeere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth, and they all of them together environ the sayd forrest, sending dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring foorth the beasts: namely, lions and stags, and other creatures, unto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the forrest, because all the beasts of the forrest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himselfe, being caried upon three elephants, and shooteth five [II. i. 63.]

arrowes into the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner discharge their arrowes also, and every mans arrow hath a sundry marke. Then they all goe unto the beasts which are slaine (suffering the living beasts to returne into the wood that they may have more sport with them another time) and every man enjoyeth that beast as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth every yeere in his Court.

FOure great feasts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate : namely, the feast of his birth, the feast of his circumcision, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his mariage. And unto these feasts he inviteth all his Barons, his stage-players, and all such as are of his kinred. Then the great Can sitting in his throne, all his Barons present themselves before him, with wreaths and crownes upon their heads, being diversly attired, for some of them are in greene, namely, the principall : the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Ivorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they stand upon their feete keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players or musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend upon points or characters : and when the point and hower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selves before your Emperour : with that all the Barons fall flat upon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe ; Arise all, and immediately they all arise. Likewise the Philosophers attend upon a point or character the second time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine ; Put your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he saieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say have some certaine signification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor give any heed unto them, because they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the musicians hower is come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast unto your Lord: with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noyse. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whist. Then come the women-musicians and sing sweetly before the Emperour, which musike was more delightfull unto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeisance unto the great Can. Then the juglers cause golden cups full of wine to flie up and downe in the ayre, and to apply themselves unto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeve unlesse he had seen them with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to speake of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beast like unto a yong lambe, even as I my selfe have heard reported, that there stand certaine trees upon the shore of the Irish sea, bearing fruit like unto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of divers provinces and cities.

AND after three yeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, travailing fiftie dayes journey towards the West. And at length I came unto the empire of

His returne Westward.

[II. i. 64.] Pretegoani, whose principall citie is Kosan, which hath many other cities under it. From thence passing many dayes travell, I came unto a province called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely provinces under the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, insomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in divers of them. The breadth of the sayd province is fifty dayes journey, & the length above sixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chesnuts, and it is one of the twelve provinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came unto a certaine kingdome called ‖ Tebek, which is in subjection unto the great Can also, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world besides. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is invironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed checkerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together: likewise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paved. In the sayd countrey none dare shed the bloud of a man, or of any beast, for the reverence of a certaine idole. In the foresayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (upon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his maner) even as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare above an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they have two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tushes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assembleth together all the priests and musicians that he can get, saying that he is determined to honour his father: then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinsfolks, friends, and neighbours, accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut

Casan.

‖ *Or, Thebet.*

off the fathers head, giving it unto his sonne, which being done, they divide the whole body into morsels, and so leave it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the sayd morsels of flesh: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can devise to performe unto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, seething it and eating the flesh thereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himselfe with all his family and kinred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and devoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the sayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither can nor will beleeve, except they should have the sight of them.

The same story concerning the very same people is in William de Rubricis.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fiftie virgins.

WHile I was in the province of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending upon him, feeding him every meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Also he hath sundry kindes of meat served in at his table, and three dishes of ech kinde: and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in yeerely revenues thirty thuman of tagars of rise, every of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pavement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of silver. Neere unto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and silver, whereupon stand turrets and steeples and other delectable things for the solace and recreation of the foresayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men *Long nailes.* of that countrey to have long nailes upon their fingers, and especially upon their thumbes, which nailes they may folde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to have small and slender feet: and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde up their feet, that they may not grow great. Travelling on further towards the South, I arrived at a *Melistorte.* certaine countrey called Melistorte, which is a pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the fairest and most chrystall fountaines in the whole world: and about the sayd fountaines there were most beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horses also, and in a word, every thing that could be devised for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradise. Moreover by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke [II. i. 65.] to flow abundantly. This Senex, when he hath a minde to revenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is governor of the sayd paradise, to bring thereunto some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to give him a certaine potion being of force, to cast him into such a slumber as should make him quite voide of all sense, and so being in a profound sleepe to convey him out of his paradise: who being awaked, & seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorowfull, that he could not in the world devise what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he go unto the foresaid old man, beseeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradise: who saith unto him, You cannot be admitted thither, unlesse you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will give the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I wil place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the same in execution, indevouring to murther all those against whom the sayd olde man had conceived any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd olde man, and gave unto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

AND when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came unto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed thereat, sent abroad divers desperate and resolute persons out of his forenamed paradise, and caused many of the Tartarian nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the said olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place have this speciall gift and prerogative: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ Jesu, and in the vertue of his pretious bloud, which he shedde upon the crosse for the salvation of mankinde, they doe cast foorth devils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many possessed men in those parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes journey unto the sayd friers, who being dispossessed of the uncleane spirits, do presently beleeve in Christ who delivered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptised in his name, and also delivering immediatly unto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the sayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people resort, that they may see the false gods of their neighbors burnt) and cast the sayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the first those idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled the sayd fire with holy water, casting the idols into it the second time, and with that the devils fled in the likenesse of blacke smoake, and the idols still remained till they were consumed unto ashes. Afterward, this noise & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by these meanes the friers doe baptise great multitudes, who presently revolt againe unto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must eftsoones, as it were, underprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I saw there: for passing by a certaine valley, which is situate beside a pleasant river, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard divers sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length seven or eight miles at the least, into the which whosoever entreth, dieth presently, and can by no meanes passe alive thorow the middest thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereabout decline unto the one side. Moreover, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Jesu, I entred, and saw such swarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeve unlesse he were an eye witnesse thereof. At the one side of the foresayd valley upon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should have died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, the word became flesh, and dwelt amongst us, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neerer then seven or eight pases I durst not approch unto the said head: but I departed & fled unto another place in the sayd valley, ascending up into a little sandy mountaine, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculously sounding and playing by themselves without the helpe of musicians. And being upon the toppe of the mountaine, I found

A.D. 1330.

silver there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew for a wonder, but my conscience rebuking me, I cast it upon the earth, reserving no whit at all unto my selfe, and so, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley alive, they reverenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that the foresayd bodies were men subject unto the devils infernall, who used to play upon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murther them. Thus much concerning those things which I beheld most certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus have heere written: many strange things also I have of purpose omitted, because men will not beleeve them unlesse they should see them. [II. i. 66.]

Of the honour and reverence done unto the great Can.

I Will report one thing more, which I saw, concerning the great Can. It is an usuall custome in those parts, that when the forsayd Can travelleth thorow any countrey, his subjects kindle fires before their doores, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come foorth to meet him. And upon a certaine time when he was comming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my selfe, went two dayes journey to meet him: and being come nigh unto him, we put a crosse upon wood, I my selfe having a censer in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice: Veni creator spiritus. And as we were singing on this wise, he caused us to be called, commanding us to come unto him: notwithstanding (as it is above mentioned) that no man dare approch within a stones cast of his chariot, unlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere unto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an inestimable price, doing reverence unto the crosse. And immediatly I put incense into the censer, and our bishop taking the censer perfumed him, and gave him his benediction. Moreover, they that come before the sayd Can do alwayes bring some oblation to present unto him, observing the ancient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And for that cause we carried apples with us, and offered them in a platter with reverence unto him: and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified unto us, that we should go apart, least the horses comming on might in ought offend us. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going unto certaine of his barons, which had bene converted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the same time in his army: and we offered unto them of the foresayd apples, who received them at our hands with great joy, seeming unto us to be as glad, as if we had given them some great gift.

All the premisses abovewritten frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing even as the foresayd frier Odoricus uttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but even as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the more easily understand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do testifie and beare witnesse unto the reverend father Guidotus minister of the province of S. Anthony, in the marquesate of Treviso (being by him required upon mine obedience so to doe) that all the premisses above written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same reported by credible and substantiall persons. The common report also of the countreyes where I was, testifieth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I have omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to travell countreyes or lands, in which action I dispose my selfe to die or to live, as it shall please my God.

Of the death of frier Odoricus.

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe for the performance of his intended journey, that his travell and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe unto pope John the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being received, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might convey himselfe unto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was travelling towards the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he answered: Whilest you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also: but see that you returne immediatly unto the coven from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you shall depart out of this present world. Wherefore being astonished and amazed at these wordes (especially the olde man vanishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken them) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazednesse nor infirmity of body. And being in his coven at Udene in the province of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, having received the Communion, and preparing himselfe unto God, yea, being strong and sound of body, hee happily rested in the Lord: whose sacred departure was signified unto the [II. i. 67.]

Pope aforesaid, under the hand of the publique notary in these words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Januarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceased in Christ, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Utina, sonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gastaldion, and one of the Councell of Utina, have written as faithfully as I could, and have delivered a copie thereof unto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight, against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke under Hamden in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obivit, cum (ut ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos, præliis Benamazin, Sclusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictaviensi, & Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

IT is by no meanes to be passed over in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke under Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaved himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

A.D. 1386.

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. John Froyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.

THus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate, tooke upon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beside Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled foorth till he came to Dover; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the brute ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arrived at Dover, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and so he came to the kings Uncles there, who sweetly received him, and at a time convenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long, the Saracens, Jewes & Turkes are waxed proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I have lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recover them againe without there were firme peace in all Christendome: & I would gladly shew the matter that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I have done to the French king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I beleeve he be at [II. i. 68.] Sluce, I sawe not him sithence I tooke my leave of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conveyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French king in the meane season enter with his puissance into England; yee may happe thereby to receive great blame, and your person to be in great jeoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I have sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remove from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well advised, that he will graunt my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you in the instance of love and peace, to convey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Uncles, if ye have authoritie, to give me answere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, syr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee have no charge to meddle any further with the businesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answere ye can have none of us, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall convey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answere that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreshed at Dover a day, and had spoken with the kings Uncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were sore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England whom he had never seene before, & said, how he was right joyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the

French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Counsell, then he was shortly answered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soveraigne lord, and all we are glad to see you here, but sir, we say that the king hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled (and I thinke he had sent to his Uncles to know their intents, but they were not present at the answere giving) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was sore decayed and feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth, and is like to leese; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to adventure themselves. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor never was seene betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king my Sovereigne lorde should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, wherefore sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puissance to returne backe into their owne [II. i. 69.] countreys. And when every man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the answere the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee devised, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and silver, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leave and returned unto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Dover, and there he tooke his leave of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager, and arrived at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Uncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and what answere he had: the French king and his Uncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might have winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was sore contrary to them, for therewith they could never enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

[The voyage

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, to Tunis in Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

FRanci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulasque Italiæ latrociniis infestas reddebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbiensem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglique viribus & animis consociatis in Africam trajiciunt, qui ubi littus attigere, eatenùs à Barbaris descensione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, ut aditus pateret: in terram egressi recta Tunetam urbem regiam petunt, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, ut soluta certa pecuniæ summa ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæque ora manus abstinerent. Ita peractis rebus post paucos menses, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum est.

The same in English.

THe French in the meane season having gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being sollicited and urged by the intreaties of the Genuois undertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adjacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued unto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of English souldiers unto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes united, sayled over into Africa, who when they approched unto the shore were repelled by the

Barbarians from landing, untill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus having landed their forces, they foorthwith marched unto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadours unto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted unto them, upon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thencefoorth abstaine from piracies upon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so having dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

The Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froysard and Holenshed in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a journey against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went John de Beaufort bastarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir John Russell, Sir John Butler, Sir John Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them over into Barbarie. [II. i. 70.] And so about midsomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) stood all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing. After

The Chronicles of Genoa.

they had got to land, they invironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition upon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and so 61 dayes after their arrivall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derby should be generall of the English men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in divers parts of Italie of John Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

AD alteram ripam fluvii Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, ut accepi, Joannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, ut Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideique testimonium ornavit. Res ejus gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Jovius in elogiis celebrat: sat mihi sit Julii Feroldi tetrastichon adjicere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
  Italicæ, Italico presidiúmque solo,
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
  Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers side to King Richard the second, to Jerusalem and Saint Katherins mount.

THe Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Jerusalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he passed through France (where he had great cheere of the king, and of his brother and uncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke should have battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that journey. 1394. *Froyssart.*

The voiage of Thomas lord Moubray duke of Norfolke to Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by Holinshed, pag. 1233.

THomas lord Moubray, second sonne of Elizabeth Segrave and John lord Moubray her husband, was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of ye reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castle of Windsore, where he was strongly & safely garded, having a time of combate granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordred, that this duke of Norfolke was banished for ever: whereupon taking his journey to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Jerusalem, in the first yeere of king Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

[The comming

The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, to desire the aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walsingham.

SUb eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulaturus subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die Sancti Thomæ Apostilo, suscepítque, [II. i. 71.] prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxítque Londonias, & per multos dies exhibuit gloriosè, pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, & eum respiciens tanto fastigio donativis. Et paulò post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior recessit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donariis preciosis.

The same in English.

ABout the same time the emperor of Constantinople came into England, to seeke ayde against the Turkes: whom ye king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall upon Blackheath upon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and received him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giving him many honorable presents. And a litle afterward: Upon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great joy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Jerusalem, in the sixt yeere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

ULtimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constanciense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electionem summi pontificis celebratam, ubi tantum valuit ejus facunda persuasio, ut & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem summi pontificis se ocyùs præpararent.

The same in English.

THe last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his journey to Jerusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much prevailed, that he both perswaded my lords the Cardinals to unity and concord, and also moved them to proceed more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was prevented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

IN this foureteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be provided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recover the city of Jerusalem from the infidels: for it grieved him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent upon a mischievous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards shrine, there as it were, to take his leave, and so to proceede foorth on his journey. He was so suddenly and grievously taken, that such as were about him feared least he would have died presently: wherefore to relieve him, if it were possible, they bare

Order taken for building of ships and gallies.

him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and used all remedies to revive him. At length he recovered his speech, and perceiving himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answere was made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be given to the father of heaven: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem.

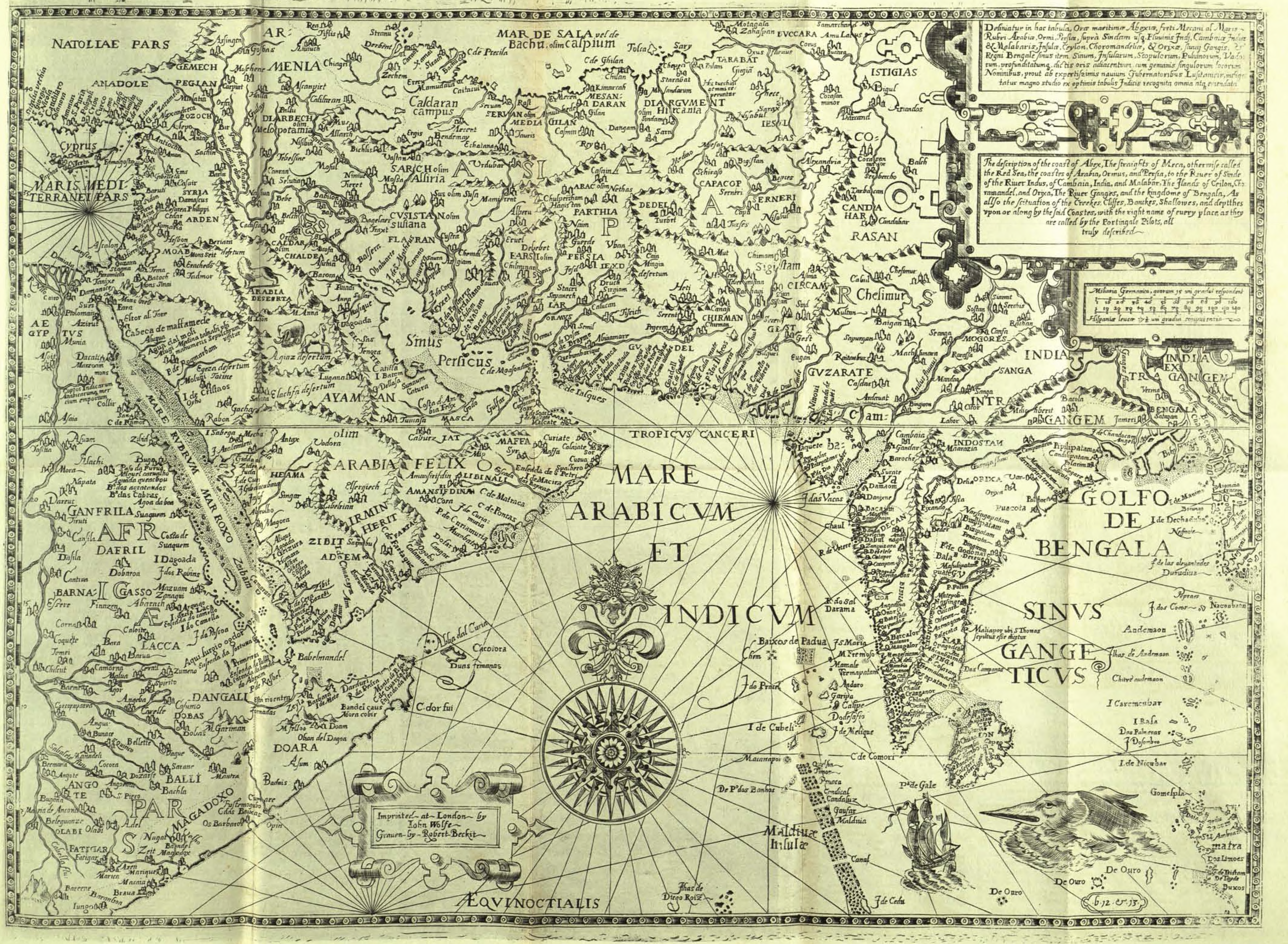
Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following:

POst hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quàm ad officium justitiæ, quæ ad hominum utilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, protinùs omisso civili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos omni tempore turpitèr occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes [II. i. 72.] sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destinabat, classemque jam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti casus mortem attulit: subito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina sublevari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium, annum agens quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ 1413.

The same in English.

AFterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the utmost of his indevour for the performance of justice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning civill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a more deepe consideration of well governing his Realme of

England, of waging warre against the common enemie, and of recovering, in processe of time, the citie of Jerusalem, yea, and was providing a navie for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his heroicall action and enterprise, he was surprised with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.



Deliniatur in hac tabula, Oræ maritimæ Abexiæ, freti Mecani al. Maris Rubri Arabiæ, Ormi, Perſiæ, ſuprà Sindam uſq. Fluuiis Indi, Cambaiæ Indiæ & Malabaris, Inſulæ Ceylon, Choromandeliæ, & Orixæ, ſinus Gangis, & Regni Bengale ſinus item Sinum, Inſularum, Scopulorum, Puluinorum, Vadorum, profunditatumq. dictis oris adiacentium cum genuinis ſingulorum locorum Nominibus, prout ab expertiſsimis nauium Gubernatoribus Luſitanicis, indigitatur magno ſtudio ex optimis tabulis Indicis recognita omnia atq. emendata

The deſcription of the coaſt of Abex, The ſtraights of Meca, otherwiſe called the Red Sea, the coaſtes of Arabia, Ormus, and Perſia, to the Riuer of Sinde of the Riuer Indus, of Cambaia, India, and Malabar, The Jlands of Ceilon, Choramandel, and Orixa, The Riuer Ganges, and the kingdome of Bengala, As allſo the ſcituation of the Creekes, Cliffes, Banckes, Shallowes, and depthes vpon or along by the ſaid Coaſtes, with the right name of euery place as they are called by the Portingale Pilots, all truly deſcribed

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A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reverend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Jerusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

WIlling faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withholden in Turkie to save and keepe them in their faith : the rest and yeerely solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Jesu Christ and other holy places : the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people : having course of marchandise in the parties of Levant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I have left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for favour. And first I shall shewe the occasions that mooved this cruell bloodshedder, enemie of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assayle the space of sixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yere of the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

THe first and principall cause was that he did consider and sawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Levant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing the continuall complaintes of his subjectes aswell of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prises dayly done of their bodies and goods by Christian men of warre received into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde Towne in his power and subjection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Levant, and that his subjects should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundreth sayles purposing for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes, [II. i. 73.] for to get him honour, and to set his Countries and subjectes in rest and suretie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the sayde Solyman, his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterprise, and raised an huge hoste both by water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The sayd Solyman having this victory, being swollen and raised in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neverthelesse, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well received as his predecessours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterprise. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, save onely Mustofa Basha his brother in lawe, the which counselled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to have it by treason or by force. And also for the same cause and purpose, his father in his dayes had sent a Jewe physician into Rhodes as a spie, to have the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherfore he sent him worde that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gave in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send unto the sayd Jewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the same Jewe wrote to him of Sio, under privie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to give knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treason, the sayde Jewe made himselfe to bee baptised. And to bee the more named to be expert in Physike, he did some faire cures to such as were diseased, whereby he began to bee well trusted, and came in favour with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee advertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auvergne, certifying him that if hee came hastely with his hoste, hee might easilie and at

The taking of Belgrade.

Forren physicians become spies oftentimes.

unawares surprise the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other advertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared hereafter. But beside his advertisement, the sayd great Turke stirred and provoked by a false traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the sayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and understanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooved and kindled to the sayd enterprise of treason, whereof was no marvell, for it was a great hope and comfort to have such a person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and unhappy will of the said traitor that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage, and shall be more at the length, if the divine power set not to his hand.

A Portingale traitor.

And here it is manifestly to bee understood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and covetousnesse to bee great master, and seeing himselfe deceived of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of January, of the right reverend and illustrate lord, Philip de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke so great envie and desperation, enmitie and evill will, not onely against the sayde lord, but against all the holy religion, that hee set all his studie and purpose, to betray and sell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the cursed misbeleevers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receive, with many other particuler pleasures that the sayd lord master had done to him. But the devill, unkindnesse, and wickednesse had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wise could refraine him, but at every purpose that was spoken afore him, hee was short and might not dissemble. And one day among other hee sayde before many knights, that hee would that his

Philip de Villiers great master.

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soule were at the devill, and that Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest purposes and wordes hee uttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obstinate as Judas, hee put in execution his cursed will: for soone after that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the sayde noble lord, the sayd de Merall did send a Turke prisoner of his to Constantinople, under shadowe to fetch his ransome. By whom hee advertised the great Turke and his counsell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, provoking and stirring him to come with a great hoste to besiege the towne. And after the comming of the sayd reverend lord great master, he gave other advise to the great Turke, shewing him that hee could never have better time to come, seeing that the great master was [II. i. 74.] new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to passe: and also gave the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Christian princes were busie, warring each upon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is seene by experience. And for lacke of succours of every part, and especially of such as might easily have holpen us beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being understood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ships & vessels of divers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, pallandres, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof every man had marvell. And many folkes deemed evil of his comming againe, as of a thing unaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner more then he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

THe great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne unwarily as hee was advertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subjects should goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the havens and portes in those coastes, because they should give no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to bee kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was sayd and done in Turkie. Neverthelesse, the sayd lord gave no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should have gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of

Venice. Howbeit the great master not willing to bee taken unwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, understanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build up, and raise the bulwarke of Auvergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord oversawe them twise or thrise every day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for provision for the towne.

THen the sayd reverend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitailes for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasurie, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir John Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chanceller Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore, and of his untruth agaynst his religion. The which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithstanding it were good to have more, or the siege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behoovefull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to purvey for every thing.

Sir Joh. Bourgh the English Turcoplier.

Of the provision for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

[II. ii. 75.]

AS touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great store, and to have lasted longer then it did. But it was needfull to spend largely at the first comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreover you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spred round about the towne, giving us so many assaults and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole moneths day and night assailing us, that much ordinance and store was wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no marvell. Howbeit the noble lord great master provided speedily for it, and sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castels of his isle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and saltpeter to strength the towne, but it suffised not.

And for to speake of the purveiance of vitailes, it was advised by the lord great master and his three lords, that it was time to send some ships for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoste were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Gallienge, whose captaine hight Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did us great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of divers ships that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make provision of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durst not saile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoste: and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Howbeit some merchants of the towne, were willing

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to have adventured themselves in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to have laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treasure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose part the said traitour held in his divelish heart: that notwithstanding, the reverend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requisite to a soveraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well sprighted man and wise, that by his wisedome wrought so well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came under shadow of those wines, because the governours of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beside those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Messire John Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. buts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folkes, whose good and lowable will I leave to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to have had his wines to Constantinople, or he was enformed of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and advantage. He being arrived at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and his folke, to the reverend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaved him woorthily in his person, and put himselfe in such places as woorthy men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

DUring these things, the reverend lord great master carefull and busie to have every thing necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the wafters of the sea to come into Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the [II. i. 76.] which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the service of the religion.

Harvest in April and May.

After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in some places, he made to shere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Constantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd Isle unawares, the sayd lord made them to leave shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master provided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arrived a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord willing to furnish him with people as most behoovefull for the towne, sent a knight of Provence named sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the haven with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him his ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to divers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many words and promises to him made, hee came into the haven, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaved him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes navie, of whom he received a letter.

After the moneth of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the wafters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which upon holy Rood day in May made their musters before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse & other things necessary for warre, & their araie faire & proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisedome perceived that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to have, whereof the great Turke might have knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters severall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselves, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselves. And the more to hearten and give them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and devises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as envying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and have the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three or foure thousand, beside men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Jaques truchman, the which under shadow to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to have perfect knowledge in what estate the towne was then in every thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliver Jaques, the reverend lord great master sent one of his galliasses, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Provence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arrived at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wise in the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some evill intent, or to surprise his vessell being alone, wherefore hee bade them give him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the evill and dishonest deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke under their words and safeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliasse to have gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gave him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arrived at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master, which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be red: The tenor whereof was such as foloweth. [II. i. 77.]

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SUltan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Jerusalem; of Asia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reverend father lord Philip, great master of Rhodes, to his counsailors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sending convenient and worthy salutations to your reverences, wee give you to weet, that we have received your letters sent unto our imperiall majestie by George your servant, the tenor whereof we doe well understand; and for this occasion we send unto you this our present commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will have that Isle of Rhodes for many damages and evill deeds which we have, and heare from day to day of the sayd place done to us and our subjects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of us & doe us obeisance, and give the citie to mine imperiall majestie. And we sweare by God that made heaven and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Misafi that fell from the skies, and by our first prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe us homage, and yeeld you with good will upon these othes, all you that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall majestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other place with his goods and houshold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite in any other places under mine Imperiall majestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any person. And if there bee any of the principals and woorthy men among you that is so disposed, wee shall give him wages and provision greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient usages and customes, and much better. And therefore if that yee will accept these our othes and intreatings, send unto us a man with your letters to mine Imperiall majestie, or els know yee that wee will come upon you with all provisions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say, but we have given you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee shall vault and undermine your foundations in such maner, that they shalbe torne upside downe, and shall make you slaves, and cause you to die, by the grace of God, as we have done many, and hereof have ye no doubt. Written in our court at Constantinople the first day of the moneth of June.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driven to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

WHen the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would give none answere to the great Turke, but that he should be received with good strokes of artillerie. So that to a foolish demaund behooved none answere. And it was very like that he would have nothing. For sixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of June, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a trueth the said armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Isle of the religion, an 100. mile from Rhodes, they had seene and told 30. sailes that were most part gallies and fustes : the which vessels set men on land in ye isle of Lango. Then the prior of S. Giles, Messire pre John de Bidoux commander of the sayd place, taried not long from horsebacke with his knights and people of the isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he drove them to their ships, and slew a certaine number of them : and of the side of Pre John some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called castle Judeo on the maine land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the navie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of Rhodes.

THe 18. day of the said moneth of June, these 30. gallies went from the sayd place, and passed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beside Rhodes, and were discovered from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the morow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a haven on maine land called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then [II. i. 78.] they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and traversing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Faves, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the same day, which was the feast of S. John Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discovered and spied the great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not be numbred, was entred into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of June the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, &

traversing the chanell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Christian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till noone or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after another before the towne and haven of Rhodes three miles off, and came to shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, sixe miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that unhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

THe number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, aswell bastards as subtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe or seven gallions, & 30 galleres, beside the navy that waited for Christian men, if any came to succour us. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And sith that the sayd host came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, aswell gallies as fusts. And many other ships came sith, and joyned with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the host came to the sayd place, the reverend lord great master ordeined a great brigandine to send into the West, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Christian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the sayd vessell he sent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude dansoyville called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks navy into the sayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came

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on shore, whereof we marveiled. And it was tolde us by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, untill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went privily, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombards, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. John, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

THe day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. John Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great devotions and reverence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint John Baptist his protectour: and above all other words, which were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city. The which keyes he presented and layed upon the altar before the image, beseeching S. John to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had given to him unworthy, the governing unto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them.

[II. i. 79.]

How the women slaves would have set fire in the towne.

THe eight day of July it was knowen that the Turkish women being slaves and servaunts in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leave their posterns & defenses to go and save their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a slave, was first moover thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

THe 18. day of July, for the beginning and first day they set up a mantellet, under the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Provence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and their pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set up two other mantellets. One beside a church of saine Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culverings, double gunnes, and great bombards agaynst the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gave many great strokes, and

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often brake them. And the more to grieve the towne and to feare us, they set up many other mantellets in divers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

FIrst there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of five or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleven spans about. Also there were twelve basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasvolans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelve potgunnes of brasse that shot upward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint John de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auvergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seven spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of shooting is little used amongst christian men. Howbeit by evident myracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, unto the end of August, & it was accounted that they shot 2000. times, more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the Jewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leave that shooting, for it was but time lost, and pouder wasted, and then they shot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine Gabriel Martiningo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaves were in danger to be slaine.

THe 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arrived that was sent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two [II. i. 80.] other captains. And there went to receive him messieur prou John prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Navarre. Then after his honourable receiving as to him well appertained, they brought him before the lord great master, that lovingly received him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the host, that gave us warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaves Turks that wrought for us in the diches had slaine their keepers, and would have fled, which was not so. Neverthelesse, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the sayd slaves comming to prison, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of

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the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slain an hundred & moe the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifteene hundreth of them: which slaves did great service in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arrived in person before Rhodes.

THe 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewise did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fisco a haven in the maine land with a galley and a fust, and arrived about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called unhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his presence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arrived, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their sayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arrived, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his pavilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or five miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morow, as it was reported to us, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steven, for to viewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set up mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

THe last day of July, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arayed as Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demaunded if there were any that would passe over into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first baliage or priorie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should give him twelve hundred ducates for pension every yeere, and the same day he was received to the Councell in the roome of a baylife.

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for us at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire John Baptista, the physicion aforesayd, which confessed his evill and divelish doings, and had his head striken of.

Of the marveilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

AFter the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did before, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and approches. And also they did more diligence then afore, to bring ye earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooved the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Nevertheless they never left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthning it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auvergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to cover our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: [II. i. 81.] wherethorow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aswell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and slew many of them. Then the bashas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & captaines under him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines under him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auvergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Janizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Provence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of saint Anthony on the North side, and divers other captaines with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set up seven mantellets by the milles toward the West: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat upon the same wall; which put us in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be set to fortifie the sayd weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hasted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Massif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so sore and so often upon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke up the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the brimmes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Johns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The foresayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelve dayes they shot sore against it: but they had so sharpe and vigorous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set up no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of marvaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance from thence, and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but without cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foureteene mantellets against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were five or sixe spannes about, and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost even smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleven spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and earth that fell, served the enemies for ladders, so that they might come upon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Provence, and set three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which shot stones of eleven spannes against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot

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without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is sayd in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayd mantellets, and hit upon one of the pieces, and slew foure or five men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had rather have lost one of his basshas or captaines then the sayd master. Also it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addressed against the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen, they might come up to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel Martiningo, made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

THE captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to give remedies to the needfull places, foorthwith caused to make the traverses upon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd traverses, the which shot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aswell at the assaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beside the traverses, the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes upon certaine houses within the towne, that stood open against the breach, with good repaires: [II. i. 82.] and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of trueth that beside the sayd mantellets that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as basilisks with holow stones and wilde fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all aventures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount upon the towne walles, and come to hand with us by traversing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they cast up much stone and earth, because it should cover them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auvergne. And also they shot fervently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, reserving only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible to them that have not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeve verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was never bent and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherfore it is no marvell if the walles be and have bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they overthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

AND because as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I have spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places, that I beleeve the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, unto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, or the host arrived, served right well since: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged us, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the posterne of Spaine and Auvergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the town to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came upon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought sore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or more with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driven backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on every side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage. And this was the first victory that our lord gave us, and there abode of our enemies a thousand and more.

A thousand & more Turkes slaine before the English bulwarke.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted upon it, but the ordinance of the traverses of the walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themselves: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, aswell knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a fever, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driven away.

THE ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seven in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Provence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe [II. i. 83.] afore. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standerd of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to have entred: but when they saw the sayd standerd, as people lost and overcome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swordes and other weapons, and to remount upon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pight seven banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with morispikes and fixed speares against them the space of three whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and small on every side, withdrew themselves. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not possible to get any more: for assoone as any of our men went up on our repaires, he was slaine with small gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was slaine of our enemies that day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and three persons of estate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnesse. And it was reported to us from the campe, they were three saniacbeis, that is to say, great seneshalles or stuards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victory given to us by the grace divine.

Two thousand Turks slaine at the English bulwarke.

How Sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

THe 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to give another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place aforesayd, without setting of fire in mines, and brought five banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recovered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre John was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our traverses on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine, skirmished them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselves with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and overcome: thanked be our Lord, which gave us the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Provence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auvergne.

AND the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auvergne, the which mine by Auvergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the wall to open from above to beneath unto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke under the Barbican, the which did cleave, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned upside downe. And for truth, as it was reported to us out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should have bene overthrowen, and then they might have entred into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to give assault at foure places at once, to make us the more adoo, and to have an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threescore thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and woonne againe.

[II. i. 84.]

THe 24 day of the same moneth, a little before day, they gave assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Provence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Janissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three score or three score and tenne banners and signes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was given, a great sort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set up eight or nine signes or banners upon it, and drove our men out, I can not tell how, unwares or otherwise. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gave us evill hope. But incontinently the lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of England, having knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leaving the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and every man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recover the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went up, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recovered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with us. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the traverses of Spaine and Auvergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the comming and presence of the lord great master) hath given us this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceive nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the mastifs carions was so grievous, that we might not suffer it seven or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might save themselves did so, and withdrew themselves to the trenches: and the reverend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or sixteene thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, having charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquebushes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died also messieur Nastasy de sancta Camilla aforenamed, having two hundred men under him of the lord great masters succours. There died also divers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that lost any member, messieur John de le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to have lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston abovesayd, captaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an harquebush: which knight behaved himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine under the Aga of the Janissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes before, with sixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thousand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Provence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here, because of shortnesse.

Sir Will. Weston captaine of the English posterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would have put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines under the bulwarke of England.

[II. i. 85.]

DUring this assault, the great Turke was by his pavillion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people were so sharpely put backe, and the victory lost on his side, & was very sore displeased, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Basha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither, and had made him to beleeve that he should take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furthest; and he had beene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Bashas shewed him that he ought not to do justice in the land of his enemies, for it would comfort them and give them courage. Wherby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly, and or he went he thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, aswell for his honour as for to save his person, and was marvellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to overthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aswell to the sayd bulwarke as elswhere, beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the sayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef steward of the house of the lord great master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke. In the which businesse he behaved himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and travell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to have gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

THE Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and having but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to have raised the siege, and gone their way. And in deed some of them bare their cariages toward the shippes: and also certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to the ships. And it was written unto us from the campe how the Janissaries and other of the host would fight no more: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, save some of the captaines of the foresayd Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giving them knowledge of all that was sayd and done among us. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

In like sort then wrote the abovesayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gave to the enemies at divers times.

When the bashas and captaines of the hoste understood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knowen over all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then ever they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his adventure, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches evill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha shoulde not make them to mount any more to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came up by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, [II. i. 86.] some of our men advised to clense the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come upon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoovefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarsely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should have done if the earth had lien still: but their finall intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they have done: for the enemies seeing that the barbican was clensed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, covered their trenches with tables to save themselves: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this maner they being covered on all parts and without any danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an unhappy day for the poore towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to drive them from the sayde barbican with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it availed nothing: for the quantitie and multitude of people that travelled there was so great, that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might have bene remedy to have raised them from thence: but considering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might have beene done, and that should have bene good then and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and undoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot at us, and indeed they slew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should know with whom to meet. The traverses were made on ech side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd traverses and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the massife of Spaine made by the reverend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, & ended at the church of S. Salvador. The which traverses and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and traverses were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo never ceased going to every place to purvey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recovered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Nevertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repaires and traverses, there and elswere.

The enemies on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and undermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the undermines, weening to have cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would have pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auvergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine under the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to have overthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight upright, which was more disadvantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neverthelesse it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basiliske that beat right upon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one side, and toward Auvergne on the other side, and would have [II. i. 87.] cut the wall further then our traverses were for to come in unbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelve, & 16 foot in bredth: and so the enemies might goe no further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and unto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to have some assault. The reverend lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great assault was made, and since that time he moved not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous & most unquiet places. And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knights and men of succours, intentively ready and prepared to live and die, and to receive his enemies as they ought to bee received. And he abode three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, unto the end, fighting with his enemies every day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the prease then needed for the danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of Provence and Italy, and how they were driven away.

BY the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would give none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crased. And they put us in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaves nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for us, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of Provence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of succours of the same place, the priour of Navarre, that was prompt and intentive, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the woorst, and were driven from the sayd plaine, and from the breach of Provence.

How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the marvellous assaults that the Turks made.

UPon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceived: for a servaunt of his, named Blasie, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which commanded to take him and examine him by justice, and he confessed the shot of that letter & of other before, at the commandement of his master: and sayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks bashas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to them, warning them that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying and hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gave no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And divers other things the servant sayd of his master, of the which I have spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gave to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and assaults done in the sayd place, by continuall shot of seventeene great gunnes that beat the sayd plaine, the repaires and traverses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come joyning to the breach, and never ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires & traverses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, & our men were constrained to leave the sayd plaine, save a cantell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and rased the earth, & at the last they passed thorow unto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine.

The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and traverses as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of Italy, they purposed to make assault to the sayd [II. i. 88.] plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of us. And for ever to affeeble the repaires and for to abash us, the 28 day of November all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery, both from the brimmes of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine & eleven foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times or more against our repaires and traverses of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the spring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiously for to fight with us. But at their comming in, the artillery of the traverses, and the handgunnes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and overthrowen, and there abode above 2000 of the Turks slaine. The other that came after seeing their fellowes so evill welcommed, as people that were astonied and lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and hasted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for us, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to have died all, and lost the towne: howbeit, the pleasure of our Lord was by evident miracle to have it otherwise, and the enemies were chased and overcome. And it is to be noted that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deale that they had cast into the ditches, for to cover them from the shot of Auvergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (unwares to them) smote them going and comming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they understood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

AND that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse every day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to give no more assaults, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter covertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to give many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of more helpe and of gunshot, it was left and given up of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considered in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies have so great advantage, might well say, and judge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty, and deliverance of the same.

A Few dayes after the saide journey a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auvergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would have, he sayd that he had marvell of us why we would not yeeld our selves, seeing the pitious estate the towne was in: and he as a Christian man counselled us to yeeld our selves with some agreement: and that if we would looke thereto, that some should be found expedient to do somewhat for our safegard. And it is very like that he sayd not such words, nor spake so farforth in the matter, without commission from some of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himselfe. To the which Siotis was answered, that he should go away with an evill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great advantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receive and feast them, if they made any assault. These words heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe, and demanded to speake with a marchant Genouois of the towne, named Matthew de Ura, and he was answered that he which he demanded, was sicke, and might not come, but that he should deliver the letter, and it should be given to him. The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would give it himselfe, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the lord master. Upon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him packing, they shot after him a piece of artillery. The next [II. i. 89.] day after Ballantis Albanese that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no words were spoken, nor answere made, for the lord great master as wise and prudent considering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe lost, defended upon the paine of death sith that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speake nor answere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadors, they reported the words of the sayd Albanese, or ever the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words spread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would have undone that that the Siotis said: the which is no marvell whereas is much people, for with good will and most often they regard sooner to save the lives of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse, but all secretly: and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great crosse for to speake to ye lord great master. And in effect some lords spake therof to him, persuading him that it should be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed many things for his honor and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this answere, went their wayes, and then returned againe to the sayd lord, advising him more to thinke well on all things, and to the salvation of his towne and of his religion. And they sayd moreover, that they doubted that the people would rather have a peace then to die themselves, their wives and children. The lord seeing that such words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to have advise in these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication

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to the great master, and lords of the Councel, whereby they required and besought meekely the sayd reverend lord to have respect to them and their poore housholds, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to consider the pitious & sorowful estate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to save it: and at the lest way, if the lord would not make appointment, to give them leave (of his goodnesse) to have their wives and their children out of the Rodes to save them, for they would not have them slaine nor made slaves to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would not purvey therefore, they would purvey for it themselves. And there was written in the said request the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which words of the sayd supplication being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a course game, and thought on many things to make answere to the sayd citizens, for to content and appease them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genouoys had reported: and the better to make the sayd answere, and to know more plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord of S. Giles pre John, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being over their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to save it. The sayd lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming upon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaves and labourers were dead and hurt, and that scantly there were folke enow to remove a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was unpossible without folke any more to make or set up the repaires the which every day were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for store in the towne, was spent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to serve & furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great advantage of the enemies being so farre within the towne, without power to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be lost, and that there was no meanes to save it. The words of the sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reverend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and after seeing the entring which the enemies had so large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and overthwart; seeing also that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt, and the [II. i. 90.] gunpowder wasted, and that it was unpossible for them to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succors for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feats, understood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were most part advised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the savegard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of St. John, and part of his head, and divers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heavily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway stedfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Advise you, and thinke well on every thing, and of the end that may happen, and he proposed to them two points: that is to

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wit, Whether it is better for us to die all, or to save the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were divers opinions: neverthelesse, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for us, notwithstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist against our enemies, and meanes to save the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse us to forsake our faith, but only would have the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to save all the jewels abovesayde, that should be defiled and lost if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And also to keepe so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shamefull sinnes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to have it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

UPon these consultations and words almighty God that saveth them which trust in him, and that would not that so many evils and cruelties should come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in over great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to seeke to have the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to have done for his honour, nor by reason, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like sort he ought not to have let us goe as he did, seeing that we were his mortall enemies ever, and shall be still in the time comming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we have made in this siege. Howbeit, the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause unknowen of us. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to have a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set upon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answere with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turks to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre John, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cause of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes delivered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had received it, they bare & presented it to the reverend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soever they were, with all their goods & jewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he sware and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he useth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde afterward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate soever he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all unto the cats should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to give so great an answere, and with demand, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to give an answere, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defects of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalles of the towne would have appointment. And in likewise, at the [II. i. 91.] other counsell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to save the towne for respect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For every houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe unto the great Turke were ordained these two knights, sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse judge Ordinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid captaine Acmek led and conveied our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pavillion, that they might have the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reverend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well received, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

WHen our ambassadours had made reverence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall majestie to know what he requested, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had received his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yeeld him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiving any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would never depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but unto the cats they should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should give him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leave of him, and returned to the towne, and there was given to each of them a rich garment of branched velvet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pavillion, and intreating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. The said

Basha sware upon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beside them that died of sicknesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

64000. *Turks slaine at the siege of Rhodes.*

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

REturne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would have an answere quickly either yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsel, and his offer & treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare least he should repent him. And upon these determinations that they would have sent the sayd Peruse to beare the answere, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were advertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with covenaunts by him taken, which they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

[II. i. 92.]

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

WHen the reverend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was

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needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept still and secret. And moreover, that it was concluded to make an answere shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, least he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answere had bene given, it had bene overlong businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might have changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profite and advantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named sir Raimon Market, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pavillion, and had done him reverence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for y^t it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of divers nations, and because the time of answere was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would give him an answere.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

WHen the great Turke heard the answere of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Amek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselves well, or to doe their endevour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should have knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or five of them that gainesayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should give attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the breach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the abovesayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the posternes and breaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistaunce, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours. And in the night he sought out moe people for to keepe ye watch at the said breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus aban- [II. i. 93.]

doned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefore they did not their endevour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answere that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gainesaid the ordinance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enformed of divers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the adventure and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord to doe them so much favour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to have suretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answere. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) advised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gave his malediction or curse to his children and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to have audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guise in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor give him a letter, but he be advertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread upon it, saying many injurious and villanous words to the sayd judge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his

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businesse, and to make answere to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers and eares, and gave them a letter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such words or offers of silver were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by silver. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, saw himselfe in such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, & considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heavinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, at the last gave his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatise or offers to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thousand five hundreth and two and twentie.

An answere to such as will make question for the deliverance of the citie of Rhodes.

AND if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayde lord great master hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and covenaunts, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I answere: Notwithstanding that the great Turke was advertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeved not, nor gave credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto behooved time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there alreadie sixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many of his folke; and yet when hee had overcome and wonne the towne, they should fall each upon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to have the towne by composition and treatie, then otherwise. And it suffised him to drive his olde enemies out of the countreys of Levant, and set the subjects of his [II. i. 94.] countreys in rest and suretie. And we of the towne that knew our weaknesse, & that we might do no more, it seemed better to save so much small people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not have done, but tempt God, and died as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the evil behaviour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reverend great master had given his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he sent the said Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious answere and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to have some suretie of their persons, wives, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pavillion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd that the great master yeelded him the towne under the promise made by his Imperiall majestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to give them licence to goe to his majestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for suretie remoove his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should have no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised agayne upon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great master, that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them have of his, and that he would deliver the artillerie that was woont to be in the ships of ye Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remoove the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should bee well entreated, and should pay no tribute in five yeeres, and their children should not be touched, and who so would goe within the sayd space of five yeeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leave of him, & when they were departed, they spake againe with the sayd

Acmek Basha for to have a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without having displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was delivered to messire Passin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooved but from the trenches, and some of his people went a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should bee of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Janissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And so it was done; and beside this hee gave twelve dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reverend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gave him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed from the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or five and twentie thousand Janissaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone upon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would have withstood us sore, as fresh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone otherwise, and there had bene many strokes given: but I beleeve that the ende should have bene pitious for us, but God would not that the Turke should have victory upon us as hee might have had, seeing the great advauntage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be said and marveiled how it was possible alway [II. i. 95.] to have overcome our enemies in all assaults & skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to us unknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies so farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treasons, have caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the comming of the sayd Basha, his Janissaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time given to us, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neverthelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the silver vessell that the sicke folke were served with, and raised them out of their beds, and drove them away, some with great strokes and staves, and some were cast downe from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint John and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reverend lord great master went to the great Turkes pavillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel & graciously received. And he signified unto him by his interpreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing usuall and common; as to loose townes and lordships, and that hee should not take overmuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leave and departed.

FINIS.

Lenvoy of the Translator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodian feareful oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

A.D. 1527.

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles the 5. unto king Henry the 8. in the yere 1527. desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.

ON the 14. day of March, 1527. were conveied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, John Burgrave of Sylverberge, and John Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solyman the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reverence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, Exiit seminator seminare semen suum: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowen seed, which brought foorth evill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes have increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued even to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then living had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he [II. i. 96.] sayd) of all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had, what diversities of companies, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marveilous great number of people, hee could not be overthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not have enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an unitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and divers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leave & departed homeward.

He meaneth the Emperor & the French king.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don John the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to John king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of John Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, unladen in Portugale from Chio.

Serenissimo Principi, domino Joanni Dei gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorum citra & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ, navigationis, & commercii Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Serenissimo Principi;

domino Joanni eadem gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorum citra & ultra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ navigationis, & commercii Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo, salutem. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúsque justas omnes causas vestræ Serenitati commendandas suscipimus, quanto apertiori indiès nostrorum, qui in ejusdem vestræ Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactèque jus suum cuique præbere, ut ad eam nemo justitiæ consequendæ gratia frustrà unquam confugiat. Cúm itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Joannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidam Willielmus Heith ipsius Factor, & negotiorum gestor navim quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto [II. i. 97.] Antonio, præerátque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conduxerit, cum navísque præfecto convenerit, ut in insulam Chium ad quasdam diversi generis merces onerandas primò navigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodùm advecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conventionísque instrumento apertiùs constat, accidit, ut præfatus Diego vestræ Serenitatis subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, & jam in itinere parùm fidelitèr, & longè præter initas conventiones, gravissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, ubi in Portugalliæ portum divertisset, sententia huc navigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorúmque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam injuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestræ Serenitatis regno, & ab ejus subdito illata sit) ex æquitate, ac justitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendaríque confidimus, nostro quoque potissimùm intuitu, qui vestræ Serenitatis ipsiúsque subditorum causas, mercésque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum appulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde ipsam vehementer rogamus, ut Joannem Ratliffe præsentium latorem, & dicti Johannis Gresham novum constitutum procuratorem, hujus rei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictisque bonis recuperandis, impunéque asportandis remittendisque vectigalibus (quod nos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per navis præfectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint advectæ, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem juvare, & expedire, ut perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum juri, & indemnitati quàm maximè consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est futurum, & in re consimili, aut graviori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ fœliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

TO the high and mighty prince, John by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarve on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloved brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to John by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarve, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloved brother, sendeth greeting. So much ye more willingly and readily we undertake the recommending of all just causes unto your highnesse, because by the daily testimonie of our subjects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister justice unto every man, that all men

most willingly repaire unto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloved and trustie subject John Gresham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified unto us, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and covenaunted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, & then eftsoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of covenant & agreement more plainly appeareth : it so fel out, that ye aforesaid Diego your highnes subject having received the said goods, very trecherously & much contrary to his covenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subjects, putting in by the way into an haven of Portugale, & altering his purpose of comming into England, he remaineth still in that haven, & likewise detaineth our subjects goods. Which injury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes have had a speciall care of the causes & goods of your Highnes, & of your subjects whensoever they come into our kingdome, wherof we made proofe the last yeere. Wherefore we instantly request your Highnes, y^t^ you would so receive John Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of John Gresham, which cummeth into your dominions about this busines, being thus commended unto you in this busines, & recovering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, unlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subjects) seeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching ye whole matter, according to justice, & so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceive, that our subjects right and liberty hath especially beene maintained upon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your highnes shal find us in the like or a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by John Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who lived in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

[II. i. 98.]

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.

THe shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Ilandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonson, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings navie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Majesties Navie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And having beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, upon her arrivall at Blackwall, in the river of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoyse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to unlade the shippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd up in the docke, and never made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of John Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.

THe good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonson, paymaster of the kings Navie, made her voyage in the yere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Russia. Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Navie went then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one John Pichet, servant to old M. William Gonson, James Rumnie was Masters mate. The master cooper was John Williamson citizen of London, living in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was John Godfrey of Bristoll. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere unto us, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio

A.D. 1538.

untill we came through the straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out upon this voyage eleven moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest, being servant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, servant unto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of November 1533, and continued untill the 4 of July 1544. I find that he the said William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of John Starky Mercer, of William Ostrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said ligier booke, a note of the said Eyms, of all such goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliver Lesson, servant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade untill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed unto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of November 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

[II. i. 99.]

HEre under lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily served, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had given him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke De Republica Anglorum instauranda.

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum juvenilem ætatem, mentemque suam humanioribus studiis roborasset, Domino Henrico Knevetto à potentissimo rege Henrico ejus nominis octavo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem transmisso legato, unà cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à consiliis. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto navali certamine à Genua & Corsica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas classem solvente ac hostiliter proficiscente, ornatissimo illo Knevetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Isamo, illustribus viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, pariterque militantibus, mirifice vitam suam Chalonerus tutatus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel gravissimis procellis conquassata, naufragus cum se diù natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachiis manibusque languidis ac quasi enervatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi jam propinqua tum fuerat ejecta, non sine dentium aliquorum jactura ac fractura sese tandem recuperavit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a devout and true Christian. Therfore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Knevet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing over from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honorable Knevet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isham, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & served him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saved himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of November I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Gravesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Levant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes untill the 6. of January 1551. The 6 of Januarie, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had provided a skilfull pylot to cary me over the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night

The Barke Aucher goeth for Levant.

10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Dover, and there came to an anker, and there remained untill tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

[II. i. 100.] The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboord.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staied there five daies with contrary windes.

Mallorca.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month wee arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there untill good Fryday in Lent.

Messina.

The chiefe marchant that laded the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Salvago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Levant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should have my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would give none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliver the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine adventure. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would have compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine adventure, the which I denied, and sayd plainely I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe against Malta, but by the French kings means, he

The Turke prepareth an army to besiege Malta.

was perswaded to leave Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man privie, untill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neverthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests unto the rest of my men to come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde scanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, having a greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with mysson sayles to goe for Chio, with diverse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in ye night, but upon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming upon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, having a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreted me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demy-colvering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was so happy a shott, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote and to leave him,

The Barke Aucher at Micone.

by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne untill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast & solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes navie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So upon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to save my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selves, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaveth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order y^t none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants English men and other regarding more their gaines then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to have a time to employ the same there. But God provided so for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not set the ship foorth, I would make them to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelve gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners servant had

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the safegard of the Barke Aucher.

[II. i. 101.]

The companie doe murmure against their Captaine.

a parlament betweene themselves, and he upon the same came up to me with his sword drawen, swearing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to live and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and never yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine advise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboord, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seven gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would have followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or ever I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued untill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that live continually in the mountaines, they came downe to serve, to the number of foure or five thousand, they are good archers, every one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire,

The Turkes Gallies come to seeke the Barke Aucher.

Five thousand banished men in Candia.

and bootes that reach up to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoone as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things: and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying abord of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Levant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stoode me in good steede untill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be praysed. And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, threescore and tenne, for the most part were within five or sixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chanceller, who first discovered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Majesties chiefe ship-wright.

Master Richard Chancellour. Master Mathew Baker.

The voyage of M. John Locke to Jerusalem.

IN my voyage to Jerusalem, I imbarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Livorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell against the company, meaning to have forfeited, or at the least to have arrested the said shippe. And they grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose, that I being utterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intention should not be overthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Cavalla of Venice, wherin after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2. leagues from shore, and continued so untill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being very calme, [II. i. 102.] but the current of the straites very favourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwest untill we arrived at Legorne the third of June. And from thence riding over land unto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Jerusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

I John Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with divers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cavena of Venice, the 16 of July 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sayled towardes the coast of Istria, to the port of Rovigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Percevena of the shippe named Tamisari, for to receive the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for every man for that voyage, after the rate of five shillings starling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

The ship Fila Cavena departeth for Jerusalem.

Rovignio a port in Istria.

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint.

Sancta Eufemia.

Monte de Ancona.

The 20 day wee departed from Rovignio, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or else of Sclavonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from ech other, and more.

Il pomo.

Sant Andrea.

Lissa an Iland.

Lezina Iland.

The 21 we sayled still in sight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monasterie of Friers: we sayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of us, and we had also kenning of another Iland called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from another Iland called Lezina, which standeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes and hereagainst we were becalmed.

Catza.

Pelagosa.

Augusta.

The 22 we had sight of another small Iland called Catza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out sixe miles in to the sea, so that many ships by night are cast away upon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400 miles. There is also about twelve miles eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand: & we have hitherto kept our course from Rovignio East southeast. This Iland is under the Signiorie or governement of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is also under the governement of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and over against this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, upon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time.

Meleda.

Monte Sant Angelo.

The 23 we sayled all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towardes night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare it againe to Ragusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thousand Sechinos, and every Sechino is of venetian money eight livers and two soldes, besides other presents which they give to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians have a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Raguseos would give them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Jeronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subjection. This night wee were put backe by contrarie windes, and ankered at Melleda.

Ragusa paieth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.

Il Cromo.

The 24 being at an anker under Melleda, we would have gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of us the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene us and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that under the maine by East, another Iland called Isola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: these Ilands are

Zupanna.

Isola de Mezo.

Sant Andrea.

[II. i. 103.] from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or five miles over by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie save wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waxed calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would have spoken with us, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to have sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant *Castle novo.* sight of Castel novo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaves. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called *Boca de Cataro.* Boca de Cataro. The Venetians have a hold within the *The towne Cataro.* channell called Cataro, this channell goeth up to Budoa, *Budoa.* and further up into the countrey. About sunneset we were over against the hilles of Antiveri in Sclavonia, in *Antiveri.* the which hilles the Venetians have a towne called *Marchevetti.* Antiveri, and the Turkes have another against it called Marchevetti, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hils *The end of Sclavonia and the beginning of Albania.* endeth the Countrey of Sclavonia, and Albania beginneth. These hilles are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both *Puglia.* the maines, but we were neerer the coast of Puglia, for *Cape Chimera.* feare of Foystes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania *Cape Otranto.* and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diverse white Towers, which serve for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in *Il fano.* the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discovered Corfu. *Corfu.* Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelve mile every houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three *Palomide.* quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, somewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is *Cephalonia* under the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie *Morea.* miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceive their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and rivers, the Turkes foystes and gallies where at their arrivall, the Countrey people doe signifie unto their neighbours by so many lights, as there are foistes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland over. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to have gone to Zante, *Zante.* but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still turning up and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles over, and these two beare East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

John Locke, and five Hollanders goe on land.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with five Hollanders went on land, and hosted at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes have nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we saw the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monastery was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stoode. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yard under ground, a square stone somewhat longer than broad, upon which stone was found a writing of two severall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and under the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an urinall, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife having got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote upon his tombe this style M. T. Cicero. * Have. Then followeth in other letters, Et tu Terentia Antonia, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on every side like a grave, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, & the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

[II. i. 104.]

* Or, Ave.

The description of the tombe.

the teares of his friendes, that in those dayes they did use to gather and bury with them, as they did use in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the sayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested untill it drew towards evening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not sixe dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and well furnished with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and divers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, up hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durtie. It standeth very plesantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is never unfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defend it selfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the just compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or ever he be halfe way up. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians have alwayes their Podesta, or Governour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of housholders. The Iland by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they have alwayes five or sixe hundred horsemen readie at an houres warning. They say the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could never bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Iland, for their best sustenance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

The description of the Castle of Zante.

The Turke hath attempted the Iland of Zante.

The first of August we were warned aboord by the

The Castle of Torneste.

Twelve turks gallies at Modon and Coron, and Candia.

patron, and towards evening we set sayle, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they have now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at Zante of twelve of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

Modon. Coron.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the third watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the shore, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

Cavo Mattapan.

The third we had sight of Cavo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull untill morning.

The fourth we were still under the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to have bene a great inconvenience, for we had all our weapons, yea even our knives taken from us that night.

Candia.

The fift, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

Gozi.

Candia. Cape Spada. C. Salomon.

The sixt toward the breake of day we saw two small Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In those Ilands are nourished store of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greeks, and they live chiefly on milke and cheese. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are strong men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

The seventh we sayled all along the sayd Iland with little winde and unstable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about sunne set we passed Cavo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled Cavo de la gatte, and ankered afore Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cavo de le gatte twelve miles distant.

Ponta, Malota. *Baffo.* *Cavo Bianco.* [II. i. 105.] *Cavo de la gatte.*

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, save onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortresse, which is now decayed, and the wals part overthrowen, which a Turkish Rover with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Cavalette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grassehopper, for I can judge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they have had such quantitie y^t^ they destroy all their corne. They are so plagued with them, y^t^ almost every yeere they doe well nie loose halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them judge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the destruction of them, they have throughout the whole land a constituted order, that every Farmor or husbandman (which are even as slaves bought and sold to their lord) shall every yeere pay according to his territorie, a

Limisso.

Cavalette, is a certaine vermine in the Island of Cyprus.

measure full of the seede or egges of these forenamed Cavalette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and having the house full, they beate them to pouder, and cast them into the sea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find ye nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nests are much like to the keies of a hasel-nut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like unto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I have written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were to long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leave it unwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or service, not one did ever kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I ever see any graven images, but painted or portrayed. Also they have store of lampes alight, almost for every image one. Their women are alwayes seperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any lacke of us, as sometimes he did: when as tarying upon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our selves to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the foresaile and the missen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some sixe miles from Jaffa, but it prooved contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anker seven miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned, not having seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went up a little hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they sawe the hill of Jerusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his judgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Jaffa. This coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

A great currant.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we set saile, but the currant having more force then the winde, we were driven backe, insomuch, that the ship being under saile, we cast the sounding lead, & (notwithstanding the wind) it remained before the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde.

A Cat fallen into the sea and recovered.

It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiauntly above water, notwithstanding the great waves, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile

[II. i. 106.] from the shippe, and all this while the shippe lay on staies. I hardly beleeve they would have made such haste and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haste because it was the patrons cat. This I have written onely to note the estimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they esteeme their cattes, as in England we esteeme a good Spaniell. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelve fathome.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreover we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, whereupon they agreed to sende the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounded every mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seven or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene overshot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and never a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were diverse in the shippe that had beene there before. Then sayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the shore, by chance he saw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of understanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to understand ech

They met with two Moores on land.

other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the sande, to give them to understand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country else doth) that it was the use of Christians to go to Jerusalem, shewed them to be yet by west of Jaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

The 21 we set sayle againe, and kept our course Northeast, but because we would not goe along the shore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the two towers of Jaffa, and about five of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes. This rocke is now almost worne away. It is from Jaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the prayse of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Frier of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with us, so that he stood so much upon his dignitie, that he forgot his simplicitie, and neglected his devotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to have called him yer they did beginne, because he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

The two towers of Jaffa.

Scolio di Santo Petro.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Jerusalem. This day it was notified unto mee by one of the shippe that had beene a slave in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scrivanello,

A messenger departeth for Jerusalem.

Mahomet is clothed in greene.

who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the shippe still looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The Guardian of Jerusalem commeth to Jaffa, with the Cady, and Subassi.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, ye Subassi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at us by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we assayed to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer us. Then againe toward night the bote went a shore, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like unto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water under the sayde cloude ascend, as it were like a smoke or myste, the which this Cion drew up to it. The Marriners reported to us that it had this propertie, that if it should happen to have lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wreth sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoever else it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. These marriners did use a certaine conjuration to breake the sayd tayle, or cut it in two, which as they say doth prevaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe not, but it was gone. Hereof let them judge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very stormy, insomuch that neither cheste, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driven to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other,

A cloud called of the Italians Cion most dangerous.

A conjuration.

[II. i. 107.]

and so sit downe upon the hatches to eate, for stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waves from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in most calmes there go greatest seas, whether the winde blow or not.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selves for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Jerusalem.

What I did, and what places of devotion I visited in Jerusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Jaffa, untill my returne to the said port, may briefly be seene in my Testimoniall, under the hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

UNiversis & singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac aliis quibuscunque, qualiter honorabilis vir Johannes Lok civis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personaliter se contulit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Jesu Christi sepulchrum, e quo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Calvariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem ubi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, & ubi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eosdem in linguis igneis descendit, Olivetique montem ubi mirabiliter coelos ascendit, intemeratæ virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Josaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoque, Bethlehem civitatem David in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraque loca alia tam in Hierusalem civitate sancta terre Judææ, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, devotissimè visitavit, pariterque adoravit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorum regularis observantiæ, provinciæ divi Anthonii Sacri conventus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terræ Sanctæ, apostolica authoritate comissarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori nostri officii nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sæpè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sexto mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

The pilgrimes returne from Jerusalem.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Ciprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a guste of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very litle winde, and that not very favourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed asterne from Jaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners said they had seene the like a foote long and more) the which fish had on every side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkasse of the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue Pesce columbini, for in deede, the wings being spred it is like to a flying dove, they say it will flie farre, and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight,

Pesce columbini.

she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discovered was a headland called Cavo de la Griega, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth unto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes.

Cavo de la Griega.

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Jaffa 250. Italian miles.

[II. i. 108.]

Salini.
Arnacho di Salini.
Casalia.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and levell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in until the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conveyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine untill the ende of July or the middest of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the use of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Iland are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horse-

Sixe horsemen to watch the salt pit. men to the end it be not stolne by night. Also under the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but every one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they have in Venice commeth from these Salines, and they have it so plentifull, that they are not able, never a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in July, August, and September, and not fully these three monethes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they never take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is sixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaves to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

Famagusta. The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They have also on the haven side of it a Castle, and the haven is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they have in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortie and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petie

Captaines, Governour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate five and twentie, upon the walles every night doe watch fifteene men in watch houses, for every watch house five men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no soldier serve there above 5. yeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may serve of all nations except Greekes. They have every pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their horsemen have onely sixe soldes Venetian a day, and provender for their horses, but they have also certaine lande therewith to plow and sowe for the maintenance of their horses, but truely I marvell how they live being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede onely upon chopt strawe and barley, for hey they have none, and yet they be faire, fat and serviceable. The Venetians send every two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished.

Mozenigo.

Solde of Venice.

Castellani.

The 30 in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane overthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Iland. Moreover when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde, some of silver, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward evening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Jaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and

Saint Katherens Chappel in old Famagusta.

Divers coines under ground

was buried in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seventie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great revenues in this Island, and by means of that mariage the Venetians chalenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

[II. i. 109.]

Cornari, a familie of Venice maried to king Jaques.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot or Jarre of stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seven Jarres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage converted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought upon with drawen worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelve gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Jarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very unwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marish ground adjoyning unto it. They have also a certaine yeerely sicknesse raigning in the same towne, above all the rest of the Island: yet neverthelesse, they have it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they have about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I have met divers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their living is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of provision within their libertie bee solde out of the Citie.

No vitailes must be sold out of the city of Famagusta.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested untill the sixt day. This towne is a pretie

Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side divers monuments, that there hath bene great overthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging under ground, either coines, caves, and sepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and overthrow of buildings: for as they say, it was disinhabited sixe and thirtie yeres, before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruinated and overthrowen by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in revenge of his sisters ravishment comming to Jerusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water.

Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seven Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Island, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath every Cavallier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound every eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for every tree a Bizantin, which is twelve soldes Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth every yeere to saint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The streetes of the citie are not paved, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Jaspis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelve spannes long,

Nicosia.

A fountaine that watereth al the gardens in the citie.

A Bizantin is 6d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicosia.

sixe spannes broad, and seven spannes high, which they say was found under ground. It is as faire a stone as ever I have seene.

The seventh day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the Friers feasted us according to their abilitie. These Friers are such as have bene Priests, and their wives dying they must become Friers of this place, and never after eate flesh, for if they do, they are deprived from saying masse: neither, after they have taken upon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish Friers are very continent and chast, and surely I have seldome seen (which I have well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Upon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were overthrowen, so that never since it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now covered with silver, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood on it (as they say) and there is in the midst of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the silver, you must (if you will) beleeve it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it up and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

Monte de la Croce.

[II. i. 110.]

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

Limisso.

The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the patrone sent for us; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to overtake the ship tenne miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their provision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi: for all the countrey thereabout adjoining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton wooll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a fowle that is as big as a Swanne, and it liveth upon carion. The skinne is full of soft doune, like to a fine furre, which they use to occupie when they have evill stomacks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eate as much at one meale as shall serve him fortie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they have any dead beast, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seaze upon it, and doe so ingraft their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason whereof the people come and kill them: sometimes they kill them with dogs, and somtimes with such weapons as they have. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but under her great feathers she is onely doune, her necke also long and full of doune. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders, a heape of fethers like a Tassell, her thighs unto her knees are covered with doune, her legs strong and great, and dareth with her talents assault a man. They have also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like unto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceive nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season.

Carrobi.

Vulture.

Great plenty of very fat birds.

They take great quantitie of them, and they use to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. Jarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famagusta do keep the statutes of ye Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicosia observe the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

The Famagustans observe the French statutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with us, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the evil stirrage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered under Cavo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

Cavo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we sawe, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

Another Cion.

A ship called el Bonna.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land until the 4. of November. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

A great tempest.

The 4. of November, we had first sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

Candia, Gozi.

Antonie Gelber departeth this life.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chavina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would have made toward the shore, but the wind put us to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recovered the way which we had lost, and sailed out of sight of Candia.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had sight of Cavo Matapan, and by noone of Cavo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, likewise we had sight of Modon, under the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and joineth on the North side to the land. It hath a litle castle built into the sea, with a peere for litle ships and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the chanell, the Island of Sapientia, with other litle Islands all disinhabited. The chanell lieth Southwest and Northeast betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken from them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke would have slaine the patrone because he ankered here.

[II. i. 111.]

Cavo Matapan.

Cavo Gallo.

Modon.

Sapientia.

Coron.

Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they have) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, under the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of

Prodeno.

Zante and Cephalonia. Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Castle Torneste under the Turke. The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land under the Turke. This night we ankred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and rested there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailes and other necessaries.

Cavo S. Maria on the coast of Albania. Corfu Island. The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cavo de santa Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selves.

The description of the force of Corfu. The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I have seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bowe shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is unassaultable, for the second warde it hath strong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can devise. For the third warde and uttermost, it hath very strong walles with rampires of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the uttermost warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seven hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. *The Island of Corfu is very plentifull.* This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and olives great store. This Island is parted from Albania with a chanell, in some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is under the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horsemen of Corfu are Albaneses; the Island is not above 80. or 90. miles in compasse.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and set saile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta unto us, to give us warning of three Foistes comming after us, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, untill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Island, having almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an uprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put under hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All this night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent us forward.

Cassopo.

A dangerous tumult in the ship.

The 24. in the morning wee found our selves before an Island called Saseno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind prosperous.

Saseno. Valona.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiveri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa, and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, having Sclavonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of us, and the winde Southwest.

[II. i. 112.]

Meleda.

The 26 in the morning we set sayle, and passed the channell between Sclavonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile over at the most. This Iland is under the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles over, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built upon the sea side, having on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is under the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foystes. All that night we remained there.

Curzola a fruitfull Iland.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed in before the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Iland of Lesina is under the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adjoyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

In the Iland of Lesina, are taken store of Sardinas.

The gulfe of Quernero.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rovignio which is also in Istria and under the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rovignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rovignio 18 miles by West.

Rovignio.

Parenzo.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

S. Nicolo an Iland.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by uninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, & is full of Olive trees, after masse wee returned and went aboord. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, under the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selves againe, and that night wee sayled towardes Venice.

Caorle standing at the entry of the marshes of Venice.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marshes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driven thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

Our arrivall at Venice.

The second two houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arrived (God be praysed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land untill we had presented to the Providor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of November, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Jenkinson, present at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, 6000 Esperes, otherwise called light horsemen very brave, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow velvet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson velvet, every one having under his banner twelve thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions upon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Janizaries, called the slaves of the Grand Signior, all a foote, every one having his harquebush, who be his gard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled upon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this sort: the entering in of the forehead is like a skull made of white velvet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and upon the forepart of the said skull, just in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt upright like a trunke of a foote [II. i. 113.] long of silver, garnished most richly with Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunke a great bush of fethers, which waveth up and downe most bravely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and upon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skinnes, and murrions upon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of their staffe hard by ye head of the speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seven pages of honour in cloth of silver, upon seven white horses, which horses were covered with cloth of silver, all embrodered and garnished with precious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, every one having his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, using in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull majestie, having onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted upon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered most richly with the most precious stones, and upon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen woven together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed sixe goodly yong ladies, mounted upon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of silver, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had upon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, having great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, every of them having two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched ye great Basha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson, and upon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Janizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson velvet, being armed as the great Turks owne Janizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaves about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very brave, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand

Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated upon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly river, which is a branch of that famous river Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed over the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes journey from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to give battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horsemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vitailes for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were given at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

First the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horses, with divers sorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a little clocke of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

[II. i. 114.] The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priviledge given by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master Anthony Jenkinson at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553.

SUltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Justicers, Officers, and subjects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities under our dominion and jurisdiction: We will and commaund you, that when you shall see Anthony Jenkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arrive in our ports and havens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoever, that you suffer him to lade or unlade his merchandise wheresoever it shall seeme good unto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoever, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoever they be, save onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoever: and in so doing that he may traffike, bargaine, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priviledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians use, and enjoy, and more if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or province soever they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoever they be, the sayd Anthony Jenkinson, or his factor, or his servaunts, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoever, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any maner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, above, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expresly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you advertise us thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreover, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foistes or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Jenkinson, or his factor, his ship or ships, with his servaunts and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whosoever shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will avoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Jesus, 1553. signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A discourse of the trade to Chio, in the yeere 1569. made by Gaspar Campion, unto master Michael Locke, and unto master William Winter, as by his letters unto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

1569.

WOrshipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake unto you about the procurement of a safe conduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare unto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall understand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong unto the Genowaies. There were 24. of them that governed the island which were called Mauneses. But in continuaunce of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, unlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to sustaine themselves, but onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yeerely. Alwayes provided, that they should keep their lawes both spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland [II. i. 115.] was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priviledge, which they injoyed for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many English men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serve the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time divers other captaines belonging to Genoa have bene in

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies under the Emperor.

the service of king Philip against the Turke. Moreover, whensoever the Turke made out any army, he perceived that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome unto his force, as one Juanette Doria a Genouois, and divers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to seise upon all the goods of the 24 Mauneses, and to turne them with their wives and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, because the Iland should not be unpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for us to obtaine our safeconduct then ever it was before. For if the townesmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselves, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customes) would be the chiefest procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse then ten in the hundred thorowout the Turks whole dominion. Insomuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burgesses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do by any other nation whatsoever: for we do use to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselves would be a meanes unto their governour, by their petition to bring this trade to passe: giving him to understand that of

Juanette Doria.

The Mauneses put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The custome thorowout all Turkie is ten in every hundreth.

English men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I have traded in the countrey above this 30 yeres, and have bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, so that you may assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare unto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England five shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also cotten wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, silke of divers countreyes, cordovan skinnes tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it selfe are silke rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelve great ships of Genoa, besides five or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneses and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they have bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, & also our ships, we never had lesse then three kintals of galles for a carsie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they sell them unto us for three pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the hundred. Also we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carsie, and solde the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the same to us

Great store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.

for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carsie, and could not sell them above 20 shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces and a halfe for a carsie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serve for cupboords, we had three for a carsie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the piece. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to us for the third part more gaines then we our selves in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we never could sell them above foure nobles the barrell, where they sell them alwayes for 50 shillings & 3 pound the barrell. What [II. i. 116.] great pity is this, that we should lose so good a trade, and may have it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their most trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carsies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir John Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I have sayd to be true.

Divers places where we may have sweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they have bene solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are divers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelve miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may utter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may have oiles, and be better used then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very evill intreated many wayes, as to you is not unknowen. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and have such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to us a safeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will undertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me have your answere herein assoone as conveniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your servant Gaspar Campion.

To the worshipfull M. William Winter.

IT may please your worship to understand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowen in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Saviour of Bristow, with divers other ships which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelve moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. John Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reason that wee have not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ships doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities hither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selves were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the above named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of convenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waxen strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subjects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare undertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreover, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I have bene in those parts these thirty yeeres, and have bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ships commeth thither, they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carsies, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then sixe ships of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must observe this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by ex-

Gaspar Campion married in Chio 24 yeeres.

change to Candia, for there both custome & exchange are reasonable: and not do as the Math. Gonson & other ships did in time past, who made sale of their [II. i. 117.] wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and five in the hundreth, and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carying away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subject to these dangers. Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for every thousand of hoops you shall have a but of Malmesey cleare of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will cary foure hundreth thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an usual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can testifie. Furthermore, it is not unknowen to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot sell them under 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may have good oile, and better cheape in divers places within the streights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worships to command.

Store of hoops laden at Castilla de la mare for Candia.

Yours at your pleasure Jasper Campion.

The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a city in Cyprus 1571. In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults given to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by William Malim.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Majesties most honourable privy Councell &c. William Malim wisheth long health with increase of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingraffed in noble personages hearts, much approved and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliver over their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Upon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to have bene erected in time past of noble personages (having had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the Pyramides made at Memphis, or neere the famous river of Nilus, by the great expenses of the kings of Egypt: the tower called Pharia, made in the Iland of Pharos by king Ptolomee: the walles of Babylon, made or at the least reedified by queene Semiramis: Dianas church at Ephesus builded by all the noble persons of Asia: Mausolus toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of Caria: Colossus Solis placed at Rhodes, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of Cares Lindius scholar to Lysippus: and the image of Jupiter, made of Yvory by the hands of the skilfull workman Phydias. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselves from oblivion deserved both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seven woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first invented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to have bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same: men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwise perchance as unreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to live for ever by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines Scipio and Hannibal had bene long before this present [II. i. 118.] quite forgotten, except Titus Livius, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And Alexander Magnus himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not Q. Curtius, or some other like by his learned stile revived the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning Aristotle to have bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch Alexander: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master Aristotle, then to king Philip his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not unto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. Crassus sayth in Tullies first booke, De Oratore: that a Lawyers house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can justly witnesse, that for these five yeeres last past, since my returne from my travell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your undeserved goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, Cambridge, and Oxford (of the which University your lordship is Chanceller) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their sutes. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you have beene from time to time not onely a great favourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I have before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselves, if by all meanes possible they should not heerafter (as at this present to their smal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and travell in shewing of themselves thankefull, to reverence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies certeinly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held up by such noble proppes, and had not some sure ankerholds in their distresse to leane unto. How ready dayly your travell is, and hath long beene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world knowing already the same. But whosoever they be, that in all their life time have an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon Strabo affirmeth this most truely to be spoken of them: Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation undoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiveth of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad upon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that favour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as Tully writeth in his booke De Amicitia, to be loved & honored oft of those persons, which never saw them. Whereof I never had better proofe (I take God & mine one conscience to witnesse, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends assoone as I returned) then at my last being at Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft resorting (as occasion served) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely unto Monsieur Antonio Petrimol, lieger there for the French king, Sig. M. Victor Bragadino, for the segniory of Venice, Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano, for the state of Scio, or Chios, and Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti, for the duke of Florence) heard them often report and speake very honorably of your lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of divers of their friends & countrymen, which upon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men justly favour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part have reverenced and honoured

Master Malim at Constantinople 1564.

the same evermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to have had some just occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will never suffer me fully to discharge. For unto whom should I sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done abroad, then unto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my travell, and mainteined since my returne here at home? For the which cause I have enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships favour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first mooved [II. i. 119.] thereunto by the right worshipfull M. D. Wilson Master of her Majesties Requests, your honours assured trusty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for divers respects ought to reverence: who remembring that I had bene at Cyprus, was willing that my pen should travell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately have happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our native countrey. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusall should seeme to want any jot of my good will. In offering up the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be knowen for divers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, covered under the wing of your lordships protection. Certeinly it mooveth me much to remember the losse of those three notable Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: namely Rhodes besieged on S. John Baptists day, and taken on Johns day the Evangelist, being the 27 of December 1522. Scio or Chios being

Rhodes lost.

Scio lost.

lost since my being there, taken of Piali Basha with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of all not only Famagusta the chiefe holde & fortresse in Cyprus to have bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe governors & captaines of them being hewen in sunder by the commandement of that tyrant Mustafa Basha) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which evill successe (comming to us as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensive to understand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo, and Sig. M. Giovanni Antonio Querini: of both the which I in my travaile was very courteously used, the former of them being then (as now also he was in this overthrow) governour of Baffo in Cyprus, the other captaine of one of the castels at Corcyra in Greece, now called Corfu. But things past are past amendment, and they could never die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turks have received since this their fury, in token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort every Christian heart. Moreover this uniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behaviour I partly know, and am able to judge of, having bene in Turky amongst them more then eight moneths together. Whose unfaithfulnesse also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselves, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaves, I having set downe also a short description of the Iland of Cyprus, for the better understanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely most humbly beseech your honour now favourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to

Cyprus lost.

come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse towards me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull travels, perswading themselves to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and overdaintie sifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I assuredly trust of your honours favourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (unto whom I have wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for ever) I, craving pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leave. From Lambhith the 23 of March. Ann. 1572.

Your honours most humble and faithfull
servant for ever, William Malim.

A briefe description of the Iland of Cyprus: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they have so long enjoyed it, but also the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

THe Iland of Cyprus is invironed with divers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called Pamphilium: Southward, with the sea Ægyptium: on the East part, with the sea Syrium: and Northward, with the sea called Cilicium. The which Iland in time past had divers names: called once Acamantis, as Sabellicus witnesseth. [II. i. 120.] Philonides maketh mention, that it was called sometime Cerasis. Xenogoras writeth, that it was named Aspelia, Amathusa, & Macaria. There were in times past fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which Famagusta is the chiefest & strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also Nicosia, which was woont, by the traffike of Marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limisso, Melipotamo, & Episcopia. Timosthenes affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and Arthemidorus writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named Dinaretta and Acamanta. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of divers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans use, and much frequented of Marchants of Syria, unto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as Plinie writeth, joyned sometime with Syria, as Sicilia hath beene also with Italy. It was a long time subject unto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of Ægypt. The selfesame Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king Richard the first, in his voyage to Hierusalem in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as Polydore writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arrivall there, invaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and having left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to Ptolemayda: who afterward exchanged the same with Guy of Lusignan, that was the last christened king of Hierusalem, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of England were long time after called kings of Hierusalem. And last of all, the Venetians have enjoyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, John king of the sayd Iland, sonne to Janus of Lusignan, had by Helen his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of Paleologus, one daughter only called Charlotta, and a bastard called James: the which James was afterward consecrated Bishop of Nicosia. This Charlotta was married first to the king of Portingall, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, Lewes Duke of Savoy (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to Lewes the second of that name (unto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife Charlotta did appertaine) had the possession of the same. James the bastard assoone as his father was dead, of a Bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of Savoy hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arrived shortly after in Cyprus, and recovering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie foorthwith over to the Soldan of Ægypt. Who making himselfe his subject, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed over into Cyprus, besieged Duke Lewes in the castle of Nicosia, and at length compelled him to depart, leaving his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleaving to the Venetians having made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one Catherina the daughter of Marco Cornaro, which Catherin the Senate of Venice adopted unto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leaving this his wife with child, who lived not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themselves the next heires to Catherina by the law of adoption, tooke unto them the possession of this kingdome, and have kept and enjoyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called Sultan Selim in the right of the Soldan of Ægypt, whom his grandfather (called also Sultan Selim) conquered, pretendeth a right title unto it, and now, as you may understand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the everliving God, if it be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence.

A.D. 1571.

To the Reader.

I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so divers opinions and contrary judgements: againe Tully affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne judgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein besides be thought to be wanting: I have learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfesame matter out of the Italian language into our countrey speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne unto my selfe) have accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me [II. i. 121.] to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better judge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exampler. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull travels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I have reaped sufficient fruit of my travell. Unto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

[In Turchas

In Turchas precatio.

SUmme Deus, succurre tuis, miseresce tuorum,
Et subeat gentis te nova cura tuæ.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quoúsque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox indè Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa fœdifragus partes grassatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam strage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit sceleri, mollitùe furorem,
Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abit.
Qualis, quæ nunquam nisi plena tuménsque cruore
Sanguisuga obsessam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et cædem admissam cædis altius amor.
Sævit inops animi, nec vel se temperat ipse,
Vel manus indomitum nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
Nec sine mactari semper ovile tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redundet.
Excutiántque novum Cypria regna jugum.
Et quod Christicolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
Id faustum nobis omnibus esse velis.
Tu pugna illorum pugnas, & bella secundes.
Captivósque tibi subde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Unus sic Christus fiet, & una fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor Martiningo, unto the renowmed Prince the Duke of Venice.

THe sixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde unto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arrivall of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Governours and Captaines not withdrawing themselves from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no sally out of the City to skirmish but very seldome, especially to understand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilest we made this diligent provision within the Citie, the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, fit to batter the fortresse withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many woollpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, divers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpose.

** In Italy and other places the date of the yere of ye Lord is alwayes changed the first of January, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned upon: although wee heere in England, especially the temporall lawyers for certaine causes are not woont to alter the same untill the Annunciation of our Ladie.*

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallies or thereabout in his company, who [II. i. 122.] brought thither that, which of our enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leaving behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported souldiours, munition, fresh victuals, and other necessaries, besides a great number of * Caramusalins, or Brigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad vessels termed of them * Palandrie, which continually passed to and fro betweene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian army. And about the middest of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of the Citie of Nicosia, which they had woone a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raising their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches necessary, incamped themselves in gardens, and toward the West part of Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

** Carumusalini be vessels like unto ye French Gabards, sailing daily upon the river of Bordeaux, which saile w^t a misen or triangle saile.*

** Maone be vessels like unto ye great hulks, which come hither from Denmarke, some of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and broad, which saile some of them with seven misens a piece.*

** Palandrie be great flat vessels made like Feriboats to transport horse.*

The five and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised up mounts to plant their artillery upon, and caused trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approching still very neere the Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, fortie thousand of their Pioners continually labouring there the most part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was covered with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their privy Posternes, for the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flanckers made, also Traverses called Butterisses made upon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turves two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione personally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiers was made in one storehouse, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo

Nicosia, otherwise called Licosia.

Sig. Bragadino was Proveditore, that is, Governour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Christian armie.

Tiepolo captaine of * Baffo had charge, who refused no paine, where he thought his travell might prevaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally, next unto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the * Arsenall.

** Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a sumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.*

** Arsenall in Constantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.*

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Master of the Ordinance, who was slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble Bragadino Proveditore before named presently delivered over to me. Three other captaines were appointed over the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for every one of them, chosen out of the armie, to use and execute the same as occasion should serve. The best pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth unto that side of the Towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made privy fences to cover the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of every side against them, aswell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at divers times. They also rendered to us the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, received great dammage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there threescore of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no more come forth of their holde, committing themselves to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

The Turkes in processe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterscharfe, and having furnished their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, having threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillary within their custody, amongst the which there were foure Basiliskes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso unto the Arsenall, and layed five batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with five pieces of Ordinance mounted upon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Cortaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleven pieces: another against the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or cavaliers, which were above with one fort of eleven other pieces: another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Basilisks. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or cavalier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, [II. i. 123.] and against our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, aswell our souldiours, as the Grecians, assoone as the battery began, withdrawing themselves, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe over the Ordinance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage divided the charge thereof unto sixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the provision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to every gate of the Citie for to attend upon the service of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended upon the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended upon the Commander of Campo Santo, and upon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, unto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended upon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, unto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended upon the Brey and Cortaine toward the Bulwarke. Upon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Malvezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and given to all the souldiers, aswell Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheese, and Bakon: all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread then two souses a day. They were payed at the end of every thirty dayes with the great travell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giovanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our souldiours. And wee made a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed fifteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we foreseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece every day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian souses or Soldi amount but to one peny English.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards us from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giving us great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased marvellously every mans courage. The Turks with great travell and slaughter of both sides, had woonne at the last the counterscharfe from us, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other side of the fift battery to fill up the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterscharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was caried away of us within the city, all our company labouring continually aswell by night as day, untill our enemies had made certaine loope-holes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebussie, stopped our former course of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expresse danger. But M. Giovanni Marmori, a fortifier, had devised a certaine kinde of joyned boords, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the Harquebuzers, so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done especiall good service in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies having cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it up againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterscharfe, and casting before them the earth by little and little, they made one traverse even unto the wall on two sides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselves the better of our flanckers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of us but by chance, they began foorthwith to cast and digge out undermines to undermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arsenall: so that being able no longer to serve our turne injoy those fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very sore, because it fired their woolpacks, & also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the souldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gave to every souldier one duckat, ye which could gaine or recover any of the former woolpackes, [II. i. 124.] making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our businesse served with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, saving those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceive better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceassed at any time through the unspeakable travell of the Lord Baglione (who had the oversight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, dividing the companies for the batteries, joyning and planting in all places a garrison of the * Albanois souldiours, who aswell on foot as on horsebacke, shewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

** Albanois souldiers, souldiers of Albania, otherwise called Epirus, who commonly serve the Venetians both on horsebacke and foot, very skilfull & painfull.*

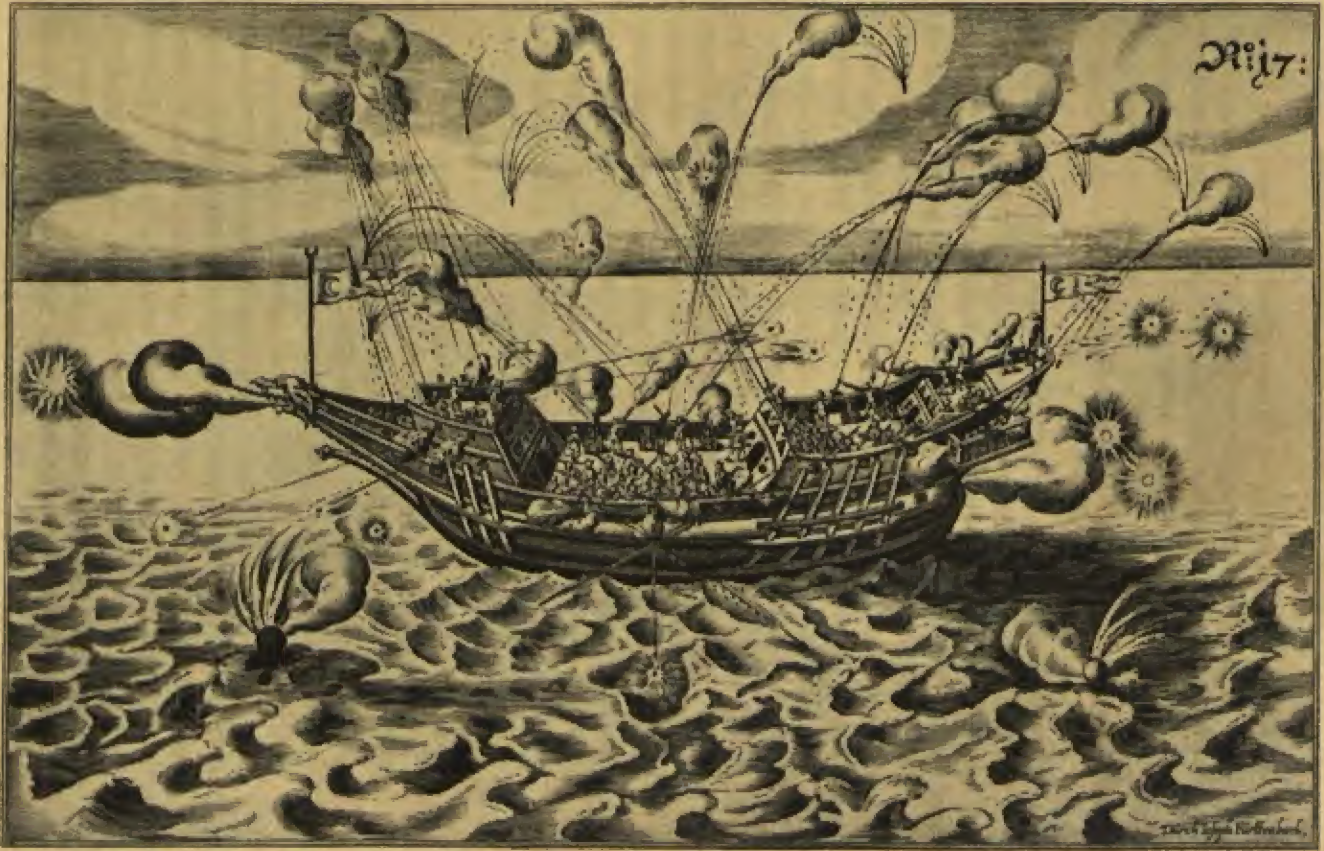
The first assault.

THe one and twentieth day of June they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelat Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to upholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes skipping upon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, even to the toppe of the same. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and although they refreshed themselves with new supplies five or sixe times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted upon the Butteries destroyed many of our enemies, when they gave ye assault, the which endured five houres together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betweene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wilde-fire, the which being unadvisedly and negligently handled, burnt up many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerdbearers, were very sore hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewen in sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my travell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Castellano or Capitaine of one of the Castles.

The night following arrived in Cyprus a Pinnasse from Candia, which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of us all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Crivellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged up any mines, with Hogsheads, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed having already brought almost all that which they had) because they having dispatched their Canveis about necessary uses, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, even to their very sheets, to make and stuffe up their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make up againe their vaimures, the which were throwen downe with the fury of the artillery, which never stinted, so that we made up againe still that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldome: all the souldiers standing alwayes upon the walles, visited continually of the

In extremities men have no regard to spare trifles.



A TURKISH CARRAMUZZAL

Governors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, having no other time to take their rest, because the enemie was at hand, giving us continually alarmes, not suffering us long to breath.

Provident & carefull governours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.

The second assault.

THe nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault us, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their Generall was altogether present, which assault was received, and stayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any advantage of covert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Major of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captaine Gio. d'Istria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to us. Five onely of our [II. i. 125.] part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing up there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present stout women, who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies understanding how great hinderance they had received at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then ever they had before accustomed to lay

A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

That certaine women inhabating this Iland be viragos, or mankind, I saw sufficient triall at my last being there, in a city called Saline.

battery to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then ever they did, made seven other forts more, under the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of fourescore, they battered the holde with so great rage, that on the eighth day of July, with the same night also were numbred five thousand Canon shot, and after that sort they overthrew to the ground the vaimures, that scarsely with great travell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their Ordinance, and by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes caused us to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in such sort, that there being no more standing left for our Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began to waxe narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boords as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might have more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio also made one mine under the said Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

It is accounted a good warlike shift, to leave that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and use to our owne commodity.

The third assault.

TO the said Brey the ninth day of July they gave the third assault, to the Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arsenall: the which assault having continued more then sixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to mannage their Pikes in good order, by reason of the narrownesse of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had prescribed unto them, and could not, cast themselves at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turkes: so that fire being given to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and above one hundred of us. There was slaine Roberto Malvezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grievously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall was slaine Captaine David Noce master of the Campe, & I my selfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon shot. This assault continued five houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in every place, with their women also, and yoong striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recover the same: because there was no apt place remaining to stay upon. The left flancker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limisso was over against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open, having made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gave their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench above the Brey, and by the flanckers above they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspition unto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous times not only much comforteth the common souldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit & commendation wt all men.

The fourth assault.

WHerefore they came the foureteenth day of July to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes even before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken upon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who assoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, sallying swiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giving fire to the mine of the flancker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time woon an Ensigne of our enemies, wrasting it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gave fire to the mine of the Cortaine, the which thing not [II. i. 126.] falling out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and advance higher their traverses in the ditches, for their better assurance against they should give the assault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere unto the counterskarfe, where they lodged in their pavillions, so that we could not descrie them. They shot seven pieces of artillery upon the wall of the counterscharfe so covertly, that they were not seene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes covered with rawe and greene hides, under which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue foorth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we still repaired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe skinnes, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, shreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselves together into companies in every street (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) resorted dayly to a certaine place appointed, to labour, gathering and providing for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for all assaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Having had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, never heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which easily burned, and smelt very evill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly so great a fire, as was not possible for us to quench the same, although we threw upon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts presently brake in sunder.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth easily, and savoreth unpleasantly, of the which there is great store in Sicilia: sometime it is used for a torch.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reason of the extreame heat and stinch, to withdraw our selves further inward, and they descending towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut up, because it could be no longer kept open, and suddenly (a thing marvellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made up againe, they planted one piece over against the gate, the which of us with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried up. By this time we were driven to an exigent, all our provision within the Citie stooping very lowe, saving onely hope, the noble courage of the Governours and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as unpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but upon an unreasonable price, our company having eaten up their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceived that our enemies had digged and cast up three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then ever they did before, bringing into the ditch, over against the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall above the Counterscharfe over against the Turrion of the Arsenall,

No necessarie thing to bee done was left unattempted on either part.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope seldome forsaketh.

Saguntina fames.

and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like unto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

In July the heat is so extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to travell, but by night onley.

A letter or supplication exhibited by the Cypriottes unto Sig. Bragadino.

Within the Citie were remaining but five hundreth Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those fervent and burning heates, which are in those parts. And the greater and better part also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolve themselves (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proveditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, having no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they having spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their lives for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull service towardes the noble and royall state of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Governours, that were present, and put in trust, having a carefull eye unto some honourable conditions, to have now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long travelled wives, and the safegard of their poore children, which otherwise were shortly very like to be a pray to their bloudthirsting and ravening enemies. To the which letter or supplication speedy answere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no meanes abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceived in their hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnesse to certifie the duke and governours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of July: in the which space our men, according as they

The answere of the former letter.

[II. i. 127.]

were woont to doe, renued and made up againe the vaimures ruined before by the Ordinance, and having no other stuffe left to advaunce them with, made sackes of Kersie, unto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to us, having throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the governour Randacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall overthrew all the rest of the Turrion, having smoldered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flanckers onely still remaining.

It standeth with reason, in hope of saving the greater, to let the lesser go.

The fift assault.

THe enemies travelled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to sally foorth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from three of the clocke in the after noone until night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done before in other conflictes.

The sixt and last assault.

THe next morning following, at the breake of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued more then sixe houres, with very little hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of us continually on the Sea side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceived things brought to a narrower straite then they were wont to be at, wee having left in all the whole Citie but seven barrels of pouder, the governours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde up themselves and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the first of August in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one

Necessitie oft times presseth us in the end to that, which our will continually spurneth against.

being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to give two hostages a piece, untill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colsi a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Aga of the Giannizzers, the which were met, even unto the gate of the Citie, of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

Giannezeri be the gard of the great Turke, so that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their lives, armour, and goods, five peeces of Ordinance, three of the best horses, and safe passage from thence unto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enjoy peaceably their owne goods and possessions, living still Christians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requests and articles were agreed upon, granted, and subscribed unto by the hand of Mustafa. Foorthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the haven, so that our souldiers immediatly began to imbarke themselves, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

Just Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: sodainly to promise, and never to perform the same.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter unto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come unto him to deliver up the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leave in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whilest hee should have just cause thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking untill that time, practised with us all familiarly, and without any suspition of sinister or double dealing, they having shewed us much courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by worde of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he should come over to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soever he came, as occasion should serve thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would suffer any [II. i. 128.] violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie souldiours, the Governours and Noble men with their swordes, and the souldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went unto the pavillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteously received, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and discoursing with them of divers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the last upon a sudden picked a quarell unto them, especially burdening that noble Bragadino with an untrueth, laying to his charge yͭ he had caused certaine of his slaves in the time that the truce continued betweene them, to be put to death. The

The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with sudden terrors.

Mustafa, cosin germaine to ye thiefe, which hong on the left side of our Saviour at his Passion.

which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being unarmed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pavillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pavillion, being presently cut and hewen in sunder in his presence, and last of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twise or thrise to stretch foorth his necke, as though hee should have bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vilely upon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemed the holy name of our Saviour, demaunding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no answere at all was given of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches untill such time as his furie was past, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slave. Three Grecians which were under his pavillion were left untouched. All the souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaves, all things being taken from them, and stripped into their shirtes.

The second day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of August, Mustafa entred the first time into the Citie, and caused the valiant and wise governour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countreymen were thus miserably slaine and made slaves, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of five dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in covert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and concealers, I offred, and gave my selfe slave to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him five hundred * Zechins for my ransome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes sabboth day) this woorthy and pacient gentleman Bragadino was led still in the presence of that unfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made unto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one upon his backe, the other in his hand slave-like, to every sundry battrie, being enforced also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought unto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay upon, was winched up in that chaire, and fastened unto the maineyard of a galley, and hoisted up with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiours and slaves (which were in the haven already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormenters tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him unto the pillorie, whereas he was most cruelly flaied quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he never lost or abated any jot of his stedfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule unto almightie God, gave up the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with strawe, was commaunded foorthwith to be hanged upon the bowsprit of a *Foist, and to be caried alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might see, and understand who he was.

** Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, every one of the which is in value sixe shillings eight pence of our mony, & somewhat better: & equal altogether to a Turkish Byraltom.*

His death answerable to his former life.

** A Foist is as it were a Brigandine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much used of the Turkish Cursaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rovers.*

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember whilest that I was in the Fortresse: that also which by true relation of others I could understand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilest I was slave, I will likewise briefly utter unto you. The enemies armie was in number [II. i. 129.] two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and qualities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them also which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand in number. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria over into Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were in their armie neere unto Mustafa, were these following: the Bassa of Aleppo, the Bassa of Natolia, Musafer Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat * Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the * Begliarbei of Greece, the Bassa of Scivassi and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the * Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat governour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diverie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of fourescore thousand persons besides, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

** The gate of the great Turke, is as much to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language Stanboli.*

Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who commonly are wont to follow the army in hope of the spoile.

Aleppo, a famous citie neere unto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greeke, ἡλιόπολις, *the city of the Sunne.*

** Bey in ye Turkish language, signifieth knight with us.*

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left governour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and evill appoynted for service. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was delivered out of their cruel hands, I having paied within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was slave) five hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria unto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this summe of money to him, hee would not so set me at libertie, but fed mee up still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee unto his governement, which abutted upon a piece of the famous river of Euphrates, and afterward dismisse me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiving, determined with my selfe to give him the slip, and to flie; so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small Fisher boate, of the which a poore Grecian was Owner and master, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a small saile made of two shirts, I passed over from Cyprus unto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in covert in the house of certaine Christians, untill the five and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French shippe called Santa Vittor, which came into these partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was tilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in worse pickle then they were at that present, not enjoying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and slaves, and almost alwayes carying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable government of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might

** Begliarbei signifieth lord Admirall.*

** Sangiaccho, is that person wt the Turkes, that governeth a province or countrey.*

God suffereth much to be done to his servants, but never forsaketh them.

Necessitie oft times sharpeneth mens wits, & causeth boldnes.

The nature of every commoditie is sooner understood by lacking, then by continuall enjoying of the same.

shortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answere moreover, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, saving onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and East part of the Island, there was small seede sowen therein, but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and lesse store of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence arrived in * Candia, I for my part being clothed in sackecloth, whereas soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieved. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriottes ship (thankes be to almightie God) arrived in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

** Candia, of the old writers called Creta in latin,* Εκατόμπολις *in Greek, because it had once a* 100. *Cities in it, now there remaining but onely* 4. *thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Scythia.*

[II. i. 130.]

The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

THe lord Estor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asta Vicegovernor.
The capitaine David Noce Master of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serjeant Major.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Troncavilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Charles Ragonasco of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Siraco.
The captaine Roberto Malvezzo.
The captaine Cæsar of Adversa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine James of Fabiano.

The captaine Sebastian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Brescia, the successour to the captaine Cæsar of Adversa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, successor unto Sebastian del Sole.
The captaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine John Battista of Rivarole.
The captaine John Francesco of Venice.

The names of Christians made slaves.

THe Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Julius Cæsar Ghelfo a Souldiour of Bressa.
The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Crivellatore.
The lord Herocles Malatesta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte James of Corbara.
The captaine John of Istria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine John of Ascoli.
The captaine Antonie of the same towne.
The captaine Sebastian of the same towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Marcheso of Fermo.
The captaine John Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Brescia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco.
The captaine Simon Bagnese, successour to the captaine David Noce.
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor unto Conte Sigismond.
The captaine Joseph of Lanciano, successour unto captaine Francesco Troncavilla.

The captaine Morgante, successor to captain Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, successour unto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerdbearer, successour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Ottavio of Rimini, successour to the captaine Francesco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, successour to captaine Jacomo.
The captaine Francesco of Venice, successour unto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine John Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

John Marmori, slaine.
The knight Maggio, slave.

Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

MUstafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Natolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.
The Bassa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.
The Begliarbei of Greece.
[II. i. 131.] The Bassa of Scivassi and Marasco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, slaine.
Mustafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, slaine.
The Framburaro of Diverie, slaine.

The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe an Englishman in delivering 266. Christians out of the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Januarie 1577.

AMong our merchants here in England, it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and having wind & tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563. and bended her journey toward Sivill a citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke. Which the owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to devour them; putting them in mind also, that if it were Gods pleasure to give them into their enemies hands, it was not they y^t ought to shew one displeasant looke or countenance thereagainst; but to take it patiently, & not to prescribe a day and time for their deliverance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselves under his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countreymen, who in the hardest extremities have alwayes most prevailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath

John Foxe taken 1563.

bene the valiantnesse of our countreymen, and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly unto God: who being all risen up againe perceived their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon every man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and every man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot so sore upon the gallies, that there were twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twise as fast against the Christians, & so long, that the ship was very sore stricken & bruised under water. Which the Turkes perceiving, made the more haste to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their lives. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselves men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stoode to it so

The valour & death of their Boatswaine.

lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant above the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so overpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none [II. i. 132.] of them intended to have bene, but rather to have died: except onely the masters mate, who shrunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor having respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoyce, or triumph. Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not having any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might have met with such a bootie, as might have given them the overthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serve in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their eares, and torne from their backes, and they set to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil judge their fare good, or their bodies unloden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a stedfast hope that he will deliver them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

The Englishmen caried prisoners unto an Haven nere Alexandria.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a haven towne, and under the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare every yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captives & such prisoners as serve in the gallies, are put for all that time, untill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (through reason of their ill usage and worse fare, miserably starved) saving one John Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more devises to helpe their state and living, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, til at the last, God sent him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leave to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sixe more had upon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the sayd road, in such maner, as this John Fox

A.D. 1577.

did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their mastes, sailes, and other such furnitures, as unto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which John Fox having bene thirteene or foureteene yeres under their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himself thereof, tooke a good heart unto him, in hope that God would not be alwayes scourging his children, and never ceassed to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Unticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeeres, and never practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: untill that nowe this John Foxe using much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this John Fox at length opening unto this Unticaro the devise which he would faine put in practise, made privie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seven weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God [II. i. 133.] to farther them thereto: who making five more privie to this their devise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same John Fox, and Peter Unticaro, and the other sixe appointed to meete *The last of December.* all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and devise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their devise. Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Unticaro, charging them that every man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

Januarie. On the next day at night, this said John Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Unticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their devise, sent Peter Unticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serve his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come unto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noyse, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth unto him: who perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my handes: wherewith he lift up his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head clave a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Unticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently foorth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaives hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

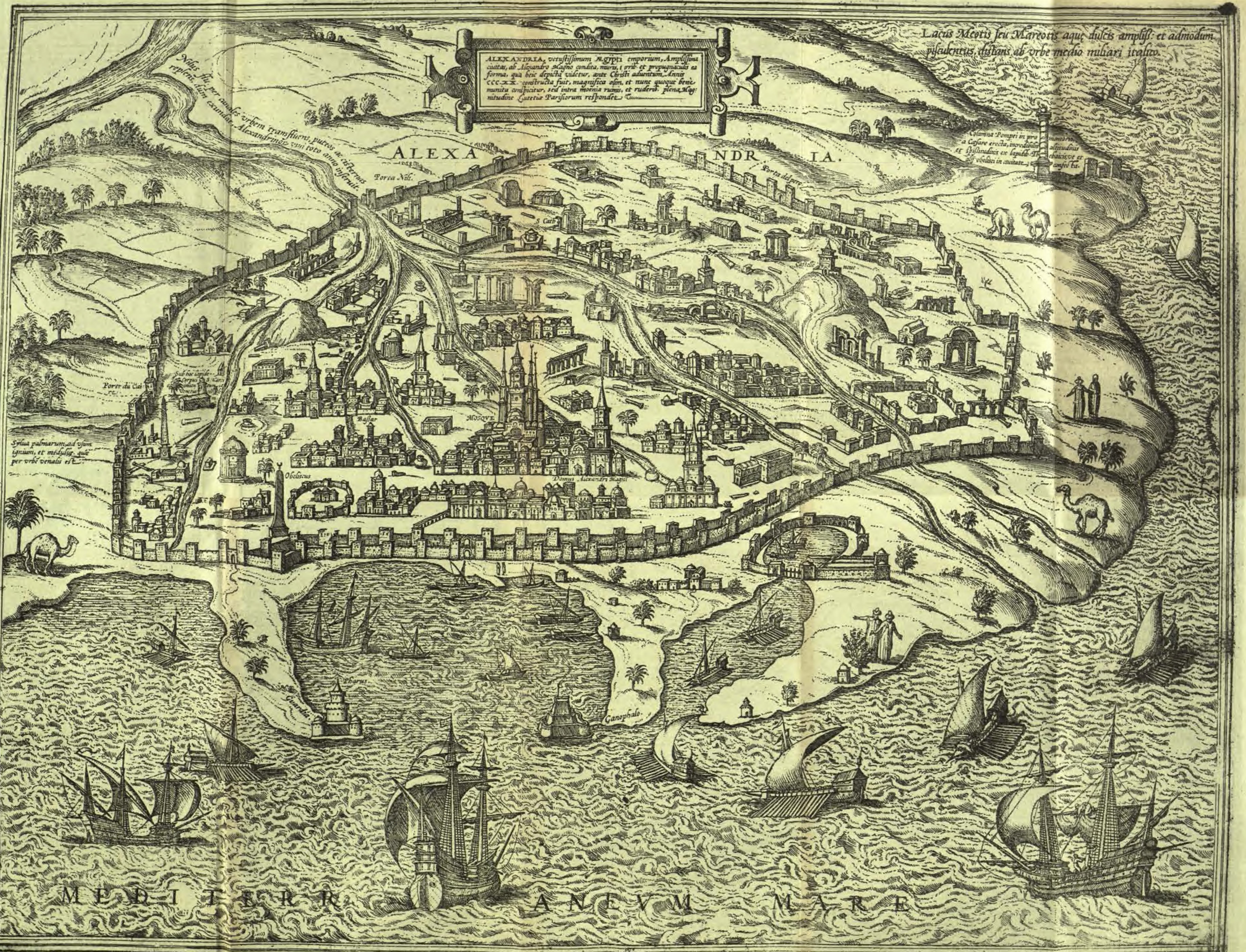
Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proved contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to every man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaved themselves in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then John Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortresse & prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Unticaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which John Fox would not once touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul save the fattest Oxen, to offer unto the Lord, and they to serve their owne turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods justice. He that they put their trust in, to deliver them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemie, and comming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong unto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom John Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: unto whom John Fox, and his company, were faine to come by [II. i. 134.] ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Unticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diverse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let us not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe


ALEXANDRIA, vetuſtiſſimum Ægypti emporium, Ampliſſima
ciuitas, ab Alexandro Magno condita, muris, turrib. et propugnaculis ea
forma, qua heic depicta videtur, ante Chriſti aduentum Annis
CCC.XX. conſtructa fuit, magnifica olim, et nunc quoque benè
munita conſpicitur, sed intra mœnia ruinis, et ruderib. plena, Mag-
nitudine Lutetiæ Pariſiorum reſpondet.
Lacus Meotis ſeu Mareotis aquę dulcis ampliſs: et admodum
piſculentus, diſtans ab vrbe medio miliari italico.
Nilus fluu. per canales vrbem tranſfluens, puteos ac ciſternas
replens, dum exundat, Alexandrinos toto anno inſeruit.
ALEXANDRIA.
Porta Nili.
Porta del pere
S. Cath.
Castello
Columna Pompei in pro montorio
a Cæſare erecta, incredibilis altitudinis
et ſpiſſitudinis ex lapide Thebaico, vt et
alij obelisci in ciuitate conſpecta.
MOSQVE
Porte du Caire
Sub hoc lapide Corpus S. Cat
Sylua palmarum, ad vſum
ignium, et medullæ, quæ
per vrbē venalis eſt.
Bassar
MOSQVE
Obeliscus
Domus Alexandri Magni
Pharus
Guardia
Canophalo
MEDITERRANEVM MARE

of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so upon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Jericho should fall downe, being neither undermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisedome, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons jawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Oven, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemie from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoyssing up the sayles lustily, yeelding themselves to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade: now have the two Castles full power upon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be avoided? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is even in the middest, and betweene them both. What man can devise to save it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five & forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, even when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heaven with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like unto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselves to dresse up the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake never a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their God behaved himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely living God: for the seas were swift under his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull unto almighty God for their deliverie, and most humbly to fall downe upon their knees, beseeching him to aide them unto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sith hee had most mightily delivered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when every man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one [II. i. 135.] another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so divers, one while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a new maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might have beene a cause to them (if they had beene the Israelites) to have murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had delivered them out of Ægypt, was such a loving and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soever they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore. Having (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel upon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

Extremity of famine.

So it fell out, that upon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot

John Fox his sword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious jewell, and hung it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and devided it, every man having a part thereof. The Turkes receiving so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seven gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should have bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sunder, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox tooke his journey unto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede unto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gave him his letters unto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gave him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went unto the Court, and shewed all his travell unto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

A.D. 1577.

The copie of the certificate for John Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Covent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that upon the 29 of January last past, 1577, there came in to the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master John Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, upon our earnest request to the same John Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang up in the chiefe place of our Covent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and have therefore good credite, that so much as is above expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, have ratified and subscribed these presents. Geven in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are above written.

I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.

I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.

I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as above said.

I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

[The Bishop

[II. i. 136.]

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of John Fox.

BE it knowen unto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof John Fox Englishman, a Gunner, after he had served captive in the Turkes gallies, by the space of fourteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Januarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arrived first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same John Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Upon Easter eve he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his living: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captivitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receive, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende unto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.
Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludovicus Register to our Soveraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, have set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere above written.
Mauricius Clement the governour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of John Fox in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Having consideration, that John Fox Englishman hath served us, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they have brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captives: we licence him to practise, and give him the office of a Gunner, and have ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serve in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serve in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise provide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our provision, present and to come, and to have regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Juan del Gado.

And under that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade unto diverse places in the Levant seas, and to the chiefest partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir Edward Osburne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

THis trade into the Levant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this present volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very usuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward also, though not so commonly, untill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher under the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage unto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Levant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample privilege granted [II. i. 137.] to M. Anthony Jenkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was utterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had never bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the discreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Majesties customes, the furthering of navigation, the venting of diverse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to use some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

The voyage of John Wight, and Joseph Clements to Constantinople.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent John Wight and Joseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Joseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to have free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

The first voyage of M. William Harborne to Constantinople.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable travell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of July 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Joseph Clements his guide and a servant, he travailed to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his servant after the Turkish fashion (having first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next unto Turky) by good means he obteined favour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee received into his companie and carovan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and travelling through Moldavia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiavodes with certaine courtesies, he arrived at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaved himselfe so wisely and discreetely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priviledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters unto her Majestie in maner following.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first privileges.

IN greatnes and glory most renowmed Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Jesus, most wise governor of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happinesse & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all sorts seeke unto and submit themselves) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer unto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth us) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we give you to understand, that a certaine man hath come unto us in the name of your most excellent Regall Majestie, commending unto us from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to give leave and libertie to him and unto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

‖ *These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.*

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene ever open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Majesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of loving affection towards us, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subjects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will never faile to aide & succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of our friendship, favour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is given to understand that your most excellent Regall Majestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore have sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, judges, and travellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germany, with divers other our neighbours about us, have libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Majesties kingdome shall have safe conduct and leave to repayre

[II. i. 138.]

‖ *He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.*

hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their own Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to use and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Majestie, it shall be meet, according to our benevolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Majesty, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like benevolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards us, to open the gate thereof unto us, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subjects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Majestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards us, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof unto us.

The Turke demandeth like privileges for his subjects in the Queenes dominions.

Given at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet || 987.

|| *With us the yeere* 1579.

The answere of her Majestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & unici cœli terræque Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idololatrias invictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, invictissimoque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperiique

orientis, Monarchæ supra omnes soli & supremo, salutem, & multos cum rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Augustissime & invictissime Cæsar, accepimus invictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martii currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmque clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ civitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro se & sociis ejus duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subjectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeque reversionis veniæ potestatisque humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab invictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neque id solùm, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaque augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei sociisque suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, uti videtur, solùm opinione, quam de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratè tamque benevolè accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo ut unquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proque ea quam nobis insevit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cujus auspiciis regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitque nullorum unquam ut principum, ullis in nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, ut apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaque animum nostrum inpræsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emetimur, benè sentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficii hujus in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ : longè uberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident, ut possimus & à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eaque suis ipsorum precibus, sine ulla intercessione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subjectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atque invictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atque adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita unquam aut donata fuit, celsitudinem [II. i. 139.] vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad universos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatáque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò ejusdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cujus tam singularis in nos beneficii meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minùs pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & aliorum principum ditiones egent, tam humanis usibus commodæ támque necessariæ, nulla gens ut sit, quæ eis carere queat, proptereaque longissimis, difficillimisque itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem distrahunt aliis, quo ex labore suo quisque victum & quæstum quæritat, adeo ut in earum acquisitione utilitas, in emptione autem ab aliis onus sit. Utilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcúnque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscetur, par, æquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiáque nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quám est ulla â confœderatorum vestrorum ullis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis ullo unquam tempore concessa & donata. Qua in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ invictissima Cæsarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciétque ut acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstitáque securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscúnque ad dominia sua, terra, maríque proficiscentes, indéque revertentes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcúnque subditorum suorum injuria, efficiemus, ut quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáque nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium ut principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, summæque necessitudinis conjunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendámque quo liberius tantis summi Dei beneficiis fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiáque Celsitudinis vestræ advehant tam affluenter támque cumulate, ut utríque incommodo prædicto necessitatis & oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit prætereà singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentémque nostram summæ benevolentiæ significatio ac fides, ut eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captivi triremibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúsque, ut quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, sivè arma in eam ferendo, sivè iniquiùs præter fas & jus gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide & obsequio inservientes, causam uberiorem præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui solus, & supra omnia & omnes est acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, suíque honoris contra Gentum & aliorum falsos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, ut vestram invictissimam Cæsaream Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ sola & summè jure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenovici, prope civitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri vicesimo primo.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that live among the Christians, and falsly professe the Name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and above all, and most sovereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most invincible Emperour, wee have received the letters of your mightie highnesse written to us from Constantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, whereby we understand how gratiously, and how favorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subject of ours, resident in the Imperial citie of your highnes presented unto your Majestie for the obteining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subjects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreis and territories subject to your government, and from thence againe to returne home with good leave and libertie, were accepted of your most invincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craved by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that opinion which your highnesse conceived of us and our amitie : which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subjects, wee take so thankefully, and in so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that we will [II. i. 140.] never give occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed upon an ungratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in us this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspition of ingratitude, and hath taught us not to suffer our selves to bee overmatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde unto your highnesse, by well conceiving, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an everlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subjects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our thankefulnesse, when time convenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was given to a fewe of our Subjects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subject to your Majestie, both by land & sea with marchandizes, as ever was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subjects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our subjects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the use of man those commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so y^t there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult travels: and when they have them, they sell them much deerer to others, because every man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse.

But this profite will be increased to the subjects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subjects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subjects of your highnesse with us for the use of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from us and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was ever given or granted to your subjects by the aforesaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most invincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall give order upon these our letters, that wee may have knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subjects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and injuries of your people, we on the other side wil give order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed upon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with us, by that meanes to enjoy these so great blessings of God, which we have, and they can in no case want) our subjects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconveniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreover the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to us and our nation, doeth cause us also to intreat and use mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subjects, who are deteined as slaves and captives in your Gallies, for whom we crave, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behaving of themselves contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be delivered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their service towardes us, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to us of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is above all things, and all men, and is a most severe revenger of all idolatrie, and is jelous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most invincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deservedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Given at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the five and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour one thousand, five hundreth, seventie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

[II. i. 141.] The charter of the privileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Majestie in respect of traffique, dated in June 1580.

Immensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabilive elementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimique universitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, unicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra dividere potens, clementiæ, gratiæque divinæ umbra, regnorum provinciarumve, & urbium civitatumve distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus divinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Jerusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Jemen & Zovan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Jabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Hale-

piæ, Caramariæ & Diabekirvan, & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri divitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Africæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæque Europæ, Budæ, & Temeswar, & regnorum transalpinorum, & his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarve sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus, manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cujus mercatorum exitus sit fœlicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, & justitiæ plenam, fulgidissimámve portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi est refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas misit suas, quibus sua majestas significavit, quod tempore præterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, & suam obedientiam erga eam demonstravissent, & ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poscerent, venia & potestas fuisset data: & quòd in locis & hospitiis eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cæsareum fuisset datum: & quòd hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus suæ majestatis demonstravissemus, universis suis subditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum serenissimis benevolentiam & obedientiam, servitiáve sua demonstrantibus erga nostram portam excelsam regibus & principibus confœderatis (ut sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & fœdus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam custodiendam, pacem & fœdus conjunximus. Illius igitur homines, & universi mercatores,

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas pacificè & securè veniant, & suam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, & secundum suos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, sua majestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos jamdudum captos fuisse, & in captivitate detineri, & quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, & quòd sicut aliis principibus nobiscum confœderatis privilegia & mandata Cæsarea super fœdus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic præfatæ quoque Reginæ privilegium & mandata Cæsarea ut daremus, nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudini placeret. Quare secundùm nostram benevolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata suæ majestatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc nostrum privilegium justitiis plenum dedimus majestati suæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis nostris, & Kaziis, id est, judicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum firmiter mandamus, ut donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articulíque (ut convenit) custodiuntur & servantur, nostræ quóque Cæsareæ celsitudinis mandata sunt:

Articuli hujus privilegii.

1 Ut præfatæ Reginæ homines, & subditi ejus quibusvis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & suppellectilibus per mare in magnis & parvis navibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, securè & pacificè ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, sed securè & sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in suis statibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, si præfati homines & mercatores in suis rectis viis & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiversatione dimittantur liberentúrque.

3 Item, si naves eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & sine impedimento veniant, & discedant in sua loca.

4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naves eorum essent in periculo & auxilio opus esset illis, naves nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naves hominésque statim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecuniis emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emant. [II. i. 142.]

6 Item, si infortunium maris naves eorum in terram projecerit, Begi & judices, & cæteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum quæ remanserint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si præfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, sive per terram, sive per mare mercandi gratiâ ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & navium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúsque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno esset obstrictus, invenirique non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fidejussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, & sua bona cuicúnque legaverit, illi dentur bona illius, & si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuicúnque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fidejussionibus & rebus aliquid negocii habuerint, ad judicem veniant, & in librum inscribi faciant negotium, & si voluerint, literas quóque accepiant à judice, propterea quòd si aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & secundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem néque in librum inscriberentur, néque literas haberent, judex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundùm justitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis diceret, quod isti Christiani nostræ fidei Muzulmanicæ male dixerint, & eam vituperiis affecerint, in hoc negocio etiam & aliis, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret,

& fugiens non possit inveniri, nullus nisi esset fidejussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquod mancipium Anglicum inveniretur, & consul eorum peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & si inventum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, sive sit uxoratus, sive sit sine uxore, non solvat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in aliis omnibus locis, ubicúnque voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorum consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotiis occupatus abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, ut secundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum hujus privilegii, piratæ, aut alii aliqui liberi gubernatores navium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundùm justitiam examinetur: & si Anglus inventus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostræ Cæsareæ Celsitudinis naves armatæ exiverint ad mare, & ibi invenerint naves Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiscum confœderatis regibus, & principibus privilegium, & articulos privilegiis dedimus, & concessimus, simili modo his quóque Anglis privilegium & articulos privilegiis dedimus & concessimus,

& contra legem divinam, & hoc privilegium, nemo unquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naves magnæ, & parvæ in itinere & loco ubi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potiùs auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones & fures vi raperent naves illorum, naviúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & severissimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegii, & Zanziacbegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, & per mare navigantes servi Capitaneorum, & Judices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores navium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes isti præfati, secundùm tenorem hujus privilegii, tenorémve articulorum ejus, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in privilegio descriptum fœdus, & pax illius Majestatis ex parte sanctè servabitur, & custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Cæsarea custodiri, & observari mandamus.

Datum Constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetæ Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Junii, anno autem Jesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or privilege of the most mightie and Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subjects.

[II. i. 143.]

WE most sacred Musulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the everlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the unspeakable helpe of the most mighty & most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reverence of speech, The prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to give scepters to

the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the divine mercy and grace, the distributer of many kingdoms, provinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Jerusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Jemen and Jovan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Jabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekirvan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we wish happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy servant William Hareborne unto our stately and most magnificent Porch replenished with justice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Majestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subjects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leave and libertie might also be granted unto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be given, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all her subjects in generall, this our favour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee have entred into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederats, shewing their devotion, and obedience or services towards our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) so also we have contracted an inviolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee give licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come unto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to use their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Majestie signified unto us, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captivitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted unto other Princes our confederats, priviledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inviolable league with them, so it would please our Imperial Majesty to graunt and confirme the like priviledges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed disposition, the requests of her Majestie were accepted of us, and we have granted unto her Majestie this privilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our servants, and our Reyz, that is to say, our Judges, and all our customers in all places, havens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and observed on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subjects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and ladings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and observe the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

[II. i. 144.] 2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the course of their journeis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be delivered and inlarged, without any excuse or cavillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arive in any of our ports and havens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driven on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Judges, and other our Subjects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recovered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trafique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall have quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or governours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soever by the same hee shall give his goods, the partie shall have them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or governour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee given, hee shall have the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places under the jurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controversie, let them go to the Judge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Judge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoever thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controversie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons have taken letters of the Judge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall execute the Law according to justice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians have spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and have slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slave shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or governour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slave be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or unmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos,

Tunis, Tripolis in ye west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselves Consuls or governours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controversie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or governours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controversie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this privilege, any pirats or other free governours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to justice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receive the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored [II. i. 145.] to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaund their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall use them friendly, and doe them no wrong, even as wee have given and granted articles, and privileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also wee have given the like to the English: and contrary to this our divine lawe and privilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they

come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeves and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeves and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most severely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaves and servants of Captaines using the sea, and our Judges, customers and governours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this privilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and observe this league and holy peace, expressed in this privilege, we also for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and observed.

Given at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of June, And in the yeere of Jesus 1580.

Her Majesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Levant.

Elizabeth by the divine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and Emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe above all others whosoever, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the love and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to be confirmed: so to us there may bee nothing more grievous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subjects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misadventure be abused, where the doings of the Subjects are imputed to the want of good government. But such matters of importance and so well approved we may not omit: such is to us the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare aswell in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithful performing of the same.

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Levant.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most injurious and grievous wrong which of late came unto our understanding, that should be done unto certaine of your subjects by certaine of our Subjects, as yet not apprehended: but with all severitie upon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully given unto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred towardes so wicked and evil disposed persons, we might not onely most justly be reproved in the judgement of all such as truely favour Justice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered, which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Majestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of evill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gratious favour from us, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subjects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be prejudiced in their traveyling by land or by water, promising unto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subjects by great wrong and violence have bene spoyled, shall wholy againe be restored, if either by the lives or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this [II. i. 146.] evill example) wee will have speciall care that none under the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or injuries.

Neither they which have committed these evil parts had any power under your highnesse safeconduct graunted unto our subjects, but from some other safeconduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the government of Marseils: but under the colour thereof they have done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth utterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoever it be, wee will surely measure their evill proceedings with most sharpe and just correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this unfortunate hap had never chanced, and that the singuler affection of our Subjects towardes your Imperiall Majestie vowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserved and defended, we thereunto do make our humble suite unto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towardes us and our people granted, doe most humbly pray unto the Almightie creatour of heaven and earth, ever to maintaine and keepe your most renowmed Majestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

[The letters

The letters patents, or privileges graunted by her Majestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subjects, and to all other people asw ell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance, jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, travailed, and caused travaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and trafique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subjects of us, or our progenitours; and also have by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and trafique of Marchandise to bee used, and continued by our Subjects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or necessitie under the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or

Subjects, and also good and profitable vent and utterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the advancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of the Common weale, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie, and welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne, and unto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of every of them, that they, and every of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelve, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, adventurers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselves, their servants, Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seven yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, trafique, and use feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and every of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, [II. i. 147.] statute, usage, diversitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and adventurers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelve (as afore is said) to trafique and use the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and every such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, have and enjoy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique, during the residue of the said terme of seven yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, servants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or adventurers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade in any place or places for the same convenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good government of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in use, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in ure of the said trade, we do therfore especially ordeine, constitute, and provide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be governour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be parteners, adventurers, or trafiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seven yeeres, if hee so long live: And that if the said Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then living, then the sayd Richard Staper shall likewise be governour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long live) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or adventurers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a governour of the said Company.

Provided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or urgent occasion to remoove or displace any person that shall be governour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for us, our heires and successours, to remoove, and displace every such governour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should have enjoyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for us, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Governour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Governour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, have graunted, and by these patents for us, our heires and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successors from time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall have the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, use and privilege of trading, and trafiquing, and using feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and every of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated or appointed by us, our heires or successors, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall have the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and trafiquing aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & administrators, and also al such as shal so be nominated or appointed to be partners or adventurers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is abovesaid, and every of them, their servants, factors and deputies, shal have ful and free authoritie, libertie, [II. i. 148.] facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and every the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen to arrive or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, rivers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the said trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expenses, any law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And that it shalbe lawful for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and seamen to bee used and employed in the said trade and voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the armes of England with the red crosse over the same, as heretofore they have used the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royal favor, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subjects during the said terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogative royall (which wee will not have argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for us, our heires, and successours, all our subjects (of what degree or qualitie soever they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or adventure by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, or other places abovesayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the said Governour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour alwayes to be one, upon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoever they be of those our Subjects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or adventure, to or from any the dominions, or places abovesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of us, our heires & successors, and the other halfe to the use of the said

Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to us, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and convenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these patents for us our heires and successors, doe condescend and grant to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires & successors during the said terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and such as shalbe named or appointed as afore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, ye said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subjects to be partners & adventurers in the said trade to the number of 12. or under as afore is said, that then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and upon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the survivors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, & additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauses, prohibitions, provisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seven yeres then remaining unexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated and appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of [II. i. 149.] 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the sayde trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their saide trade or Company, shall give notice unto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of us, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, powder, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and upon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, powder, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their servants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage upon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice given to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or els shall not do their endevour to the uttermost of their reasonable power, to have the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be utterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, upon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be given unto the said Company, or to the Governour thereof, by us, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be adventurers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade & adventure indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other adventurers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe observe the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by us, our heires or successors, shall, and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condescended and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seven yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and convenient unto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the surviver of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the surviver of them, to be made to us, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the surviver of them, and to such other persons, as so shal be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, under the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like covenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these, in some part, for and during the full [II. i. 150.]

terme of seven yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singuler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, servants, assignes, and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The first voyage or journey, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, &c. In the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

I Departed from London the first day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and up the river Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And upon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I delivered the letter I had to Master Jenise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demaund. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the State-house, which is very faire, and beautifull : then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that ever I sawe in my life : for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both above and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooves : also there were two pigeon houses joyning to them, having in them store of Turtle dooves, and pigeons. In the same garden also were sixe or seven fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seven or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of divers fashions : as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Orenges, figges, raisons, wallnuts, grapes, besides apples, peares, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee have in England.

The description of Augusta in Germanie.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and devise hath the water brought up as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange devises of all, it passeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoose, where are buts for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for divers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, upon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as ever I sawe any pond in my life, and it is reserved onely for the States of the Citie. And upon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and have their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither upon Whitsunday, the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed over, and

Venice.

of the danger thereof, it is so wel knowen already to the world : the heigth of them is marveilous, and I was the space of sixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too short for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seventh or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, saving thirtie, or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more than I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes and Vestments of the Church, I leave, but the trueth is, they bee very sumptuous, many of them set all over with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Jesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

[II. i. 151.] *The number of Jewes in Venice.*

The number of Jewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and have also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Jewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offspring use to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Sinagogue upon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day : and I found them in their service or prayers, very devoute : they receive the five bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest : as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne over their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, having no image, nor using any maner of idolatrie : their error is, that they beleeve not in Christ, nor yet receive the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things : and also it is very strong and populous : it standeth upon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory : there is one chosen that ever beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but servant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle : it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse upon a festival day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come unto him, and crave some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I can not pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite : and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man having a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliver his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter unto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliver it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the privie Counsell of Venice, who usually are arayed in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

The excesse of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Every Shoomakers or Taylors wife will have a gowne of silke, and one to carie up her traine, wearing their shooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

His embarking at Venice for Jerusalem.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, upon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of June, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleeve from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde wee set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not above fiftie Italian miles: and upon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceived it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to devise howe to escape the danger, and to loose litle of our way: and while both he, and all of us were in our dumps, God sent us a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelve a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seven leagues past Zante. And upon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts, and stormes, untill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out upon me, because I was an English man, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selves also, as I doe my selfe, and then use your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did understand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for us to have such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede all good Christians, for there are in the [II. i. 152.] ship some that hold very unchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salve Regina, and Ave Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Jesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was told the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at evening prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to every one to kisse, & I perceiving it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and every one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare mee better good will then the rest, and travelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day of August we arrived in Cyprus, at a towne called Missagh: the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting *Cyprus. Missagh.*

upon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them have faire mattraces to lie upon.

Joppa. Upon thursday the eight of August we came to Joppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Basha, who sate upon the top of a hill to see us sent away. *The Basha of Joppa.* Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selves with our owne provision, and that which we bought to carie with us was taken from us. I had a paire of stirrops, which I bought at Venice to serve me in my journey, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me up before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horsed upon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called Deserta fœlix, who made us good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

Rama. That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Joppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell every man a chekin, which is seven shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at Rama had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were upon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge travellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the provision, without stooles or benches to sit upon. Our victuals were brought us out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to have gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Jerusalem. We had not ridde five English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed us, and would not suffer us to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost us for all our gard above twentie shillings a man betwixt Joppa and Jerusalem. These Arabians troubled us oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for us was striken downe, and had his head broken because he would not give them as much as they asked: and they that should have rescued both him and us, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

Troopes of theevish Arabians.

Being come within sight of Jerusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and give God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring us to that holy place where he himselfe had beene: and there we leave our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

His arrivall in the sight of Jerusalem.

The governor of the house met us a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade us all welcome, and brought us to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all covered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay, & dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the meat well served in, with cleane linnen.

[II. i. 153.]

We lay at the monasterie two dayes, friday and saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with us: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The monuments in and about Jerusalem.

The mountaine where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Jeremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Jerome, and of Eusebius.

Also a litle from this monasterie is a place under the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Judea, which are about eight miles from Jerusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Jerusalem is the place where John Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Jerusalem is a place called Inventio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Jerusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sate in judgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told us. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Jerusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Calvaria is a great church, and within the doore therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and five great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of taverne doores in London, they sit that are appointed to receive our money with a carpet under them upon a banke of stone, & their legs a crosse like tailors: having paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the grave where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble over it, and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that every man scrapes his name and marke upon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure persons, right over the sepulchre is a devise or lanterne for light, and over that a great louer, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lampes. Behinde the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Upon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

S. Helens chapell.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go up to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with silver, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the crevis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Upon the other side of the mount of Calvarie is the place where Abraham would have sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paved with stones of divers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Olive tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Jerusalem in the vally of Josaphat is a church under the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the staires be very broad, and upon the staires going downe are two sepulchres: upon the left hand lieth Josaphat, and upon the right hand lieth Joachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Josaphat we came to mount Olivet, where Christ praied unto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they [II. i. 154.] tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Christ. A litle higher upon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Upon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept over Jerusalem, and where he ascended into heaven.

His departure from Jerusalem.

Now having seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Jerusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Joppa the 22 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our selves in a good ship of Venice called the new Nave Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seventh we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recovered againe, I praise God.

Salina. Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seventeene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth upon it.

Missagh a town in Cyprus. Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord us, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to us.

The next morning they came to us againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at ye least, whereupon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelve men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very brave apparell, and five or sixe other gentlemen richly apparelled also. They having the Turks safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it upon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

Candie. That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleevelesse arrant, and troubled us very much, but our captaines pasport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

Zante. The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of November we arrived at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boates to bring us to Venice.

The 9 of November I arrived again at Venice in good health, where I staied nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staied there but one day.

The 27 of November I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staied till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the governors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Utreight, from Utreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arrived upon Twelfe eve in safetie, and gave thanks to God, having finished my journey to Jerusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and five dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta unto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis, pauperumque Jesu Christi custos, universis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiraliis, & quibuscunque triremium vel aliorum navigiorum patronis, ac civitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterísque officialibus, & quibuscunque personis cujusvis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis [II. i. 155.] fuerint, ubilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamur, come nel mese di Maggio prossime passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, dove havendo mandato per soccorrere a un galionetto de Christiani che havea dato traverso in quelle parti, essendo arrivati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trovarono una nave Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giovanni Keale, & David Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che nave fosse, han visto, che se metteva in ordine per defendersi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che un marinaro rivoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giovani Keale & David Filly, habbi tirato un tiro di artiglieria verso una de dette galere, & che non se amangnava la vela de la Majestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giovanni Keale & David Filly patrono, furimensata detta nave nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto officio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro

signor Gregorio papa xiii. A la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han donque humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giovanni Keale & David Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osborn senatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Inglesi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scrivano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & salvo condutto, accioche potranno andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benvista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commoda a nostra relligione & a questi forrestieri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione però infra scritte. videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta nave o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contrabando, & che constara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & dominii, & poi partirsene & seguire suo viaggio per dove volessero in levante o altrove, come tutti altri vaselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benvista.

Item, che potera portare polvere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisée commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & alteri. Et in conclusione, havenda visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua sanctita habbia trovato bono il salvo condutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vaselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctitá, & massime per che havera de andare & passare per diversi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altrove, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conversatore nostro, accio piu securamente & sensa obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta nave o con altre, a loro benvista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra jurisditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giovani Keale & David Filly a nome quo supra con la nave & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, navigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, sensa alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giovanni Keale a nome quo supra con le nave, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & favore, cosa degnadi voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima, de recompensarvila con uguale & maggior servitio, quando dall'occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si voglia relligiosi & frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia conditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti ricevitori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, & a tutti nostri vassalli & alla giurisditione di nostra relligione sogetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giovanni Keale a nome ut supra, nave, marinari, & mercantia, sensa permittere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia manera impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue & negotii loro sian da voi agioutati & continuamente favoriti. In cujus rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra præsentibus est impressa. Datæ Melitæ in conventu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Julii. 1582.

The same in English.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. John at Jerusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Jesus Christ, to all & every prince ecclesiastical & secular,

archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoever patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and governors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and [II. i. 156.] persons whatsoever, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soever they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where having commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driven over into that part, being arrived upon this Iland on the West part they found one English ship under the charge of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again unto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reverend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, have humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would give our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming unto us just, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we have granted the same to them : yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That every time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proofe and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with us, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoever marchandize they shal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of lattin, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canvas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine milstones, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, having seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behave themselves like faithfull and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selves to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people have occasion to passe by divers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we have vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and every of your subjects effectually that by what part soever of your jurisdiction, unto the which the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie by name abovesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall have accesse, saile, &

passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you give leave, and cause leave to be given that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our love & contentation the said worshipfull John Keele, with the ship and mariners have no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you give all helpe and favour, a thing worthy of your justice, and to us most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater service, when upon occasion it shalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoever religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoever condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receivers and procurators, in all and whatsoever our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subject to the jurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull John Keele in the name as abovesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witnesse whereof, our seale of government is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Given at Malta in our Convent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commission under her great seale, to her servant master William Hareborne, to be her majesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

[II. i. 157.]

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris unici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falsò Christi nomen profitentes invicta & potentissima propugnatrix, universis, & singulis præsentes has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm augustissimus, & invictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentissimus, imperiique Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiscum percusserit, juravéritque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inviolatè servare destinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illustrandámque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperii sui partibus, cum tam ampla privilegiorum concessione, quàm aliis bonis principibus, sociis, & fœderatis nostris largitus est, quorum privilegiorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos benevolos honoratissima mente fovere, promererique: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiúmque nostrum, fide, observantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è custodibus corporis nostri unius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus, per præsentes: dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, & authoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædictum amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, privilegiorum concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrísque negotiantibus, pro Majestatis nostræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, ut sint in suis commerciis, quamdiu, quotiésque cum Mansulmanicis versantur, dictorum privilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequía tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum justitiam exequatur. Potestatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque & locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperii dominationi subjectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes in quibus voluerit portubus, & civitatibus, in aliis vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionésque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publicè, & privatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandíque, omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, & commercii exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cujus rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione jussimus muniri. Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ, 20. die Mensis Novembris, Anno Jesu Christi 1582. regni verò nostri, vicesimo quarto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and governour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, invincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the

most renowmed, and most invincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the most mighty governour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with us, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in us, doe purpose solemnly, and inviolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowmed Emperour hath graunted unto our subjects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of privileges, as is given to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which privileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserve the benevolent affections of good Princes toward us: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and having good [II. i. 158.] confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisedome, and disposition of our welbeloved servaunt William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards us, and our service, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and undoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giving and granting unto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for us, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the privileges, and to commaund, and enjoyne by the authoritie of our Majestie, all and singular our Subjects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subjects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd privileges, applying themselves in all things, and through all things, to such dueties and services as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receive justice, and punishment accordingly. We further give unto him power and authoritie over all and singuler our Subjects, dealing, and using traffique in any place or part whatsoever, subject to the governement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Haven or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoever their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Governours, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subjects, and every one of them, shall both publikely and privately use and behave themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoever, which shall seeme requisite and convenient for the honest and orderly government of our said subjects, and of the maner of their traffique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoever shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by us. In witnesse whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and our seale thereunto to be appensed. Given at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of November, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo invictissimóque principi, &c. Cùm ad postulatum nostrum Cæsarea vestra Majestas, anno salvatoris nostri Jesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, conjunctum cum liberalissima privilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate tutissimè liberriméque ad universas & singulas Musulmanici imperii vestri partes terra marique proficisci, in iisque commercii exercendi gratia,

negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab iis qui sub Cæsarea vestra Majestate in magistratu sunt ubique locorum protegendi defendendíque sine ulla vel corporum, vel bonorum læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamúsque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine ulla violatione sartam tectámque conservabimus: faciemúsque ut subditi nostri privilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita utantur, ut Cæsaream vestram Majestatem magnificentissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis hujus virtus in usu potiùs quàm verbis, Majestatis utriúsque nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam utimur unum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæsaream vestram Majestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum ut ejus opera uteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra civitate Constantinopoli, quàm aliis imperii vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto privilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex usu subditorum utriúsque nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis, authoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, ut quibuscunque poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatario in Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis placito exequendo, adjutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandavimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honestè liberaturus erga Majestatem utriusque nostrum neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, ut in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Majestatis Musulmannorum interpres egregiam navarit operam ut hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summoperè ut in nostram gratiam eum in

Mustafa interpres.

[II. i. 159.] Mustafaracarum ordinem Cæsarea vestra Majestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditíque nostri Imperatoriæ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officiis huic vestræ Majestatis favori & benevolentiæ (si ulla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heaven and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that live among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole above all, and most soveraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Majestie in the yeere of our Saviour Jesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with us, whereunto was united a most large & bountiful grant of certaine privileges, by benefite whereof our subjects may with all securitie most safely and freely travell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie under your Imperiall Majestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiving the benefite of so great a privilege, as much as in us lieth doe approove and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inviolable, and will cause our subjects so to use the grant of the privileges given unto them, as your Imperiall Majestie shall never have occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the judgement of both our majesties, seemeth rather to consist in the use thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send unto your Imperiall majestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks unto your majestie, and also that we might use his good indevour for the establishing of such order in our subjects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the privileges is granted by your princely majesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefite of both our subjects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Majesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie under your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Majesties pleasure, for unto him wee have committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Majesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subjects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall majestie doeth permit. Moreover, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall majesties Interpretor, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene us, wee earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Majestie would vouchsafe to advance him unto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subjectes shall finde your Imperiall Hignesses favour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Majesties favour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie

M. Wil. Hareborne sent ambassador to the Turke.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Beg.

God the maker of the world preserve and keepe your Imperiall Majestie, &c.

A Letter of the Queenes Majestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and delivered unto him aboord his gallie in the Arsenal.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiralio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentiæ vestræ arbitramur, privilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, ut illis liceat in omnibus imperii Musulmanici provinciis tutò & securè manere ac negotiari: non [II. i. 160.] aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus unum, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantinopolis civitatem pro agente misimus: qui ex privilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentiæ vestræ Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere ut tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & injuria, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari: uti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra fecerit, si portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui vestræ jurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & navium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, ut Guilielmus iste, iliíque Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè &

humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliáve loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet favore iis omnibus officiis prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorii die vicessimo mensis Novembris, Anno Jesu Christi salvatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indevoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and given to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 ANile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaves, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serve to that use, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes serving to that use to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren used in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found upon sight.

7 Also with the materials used in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate upon Nilus the river, and thence this is brought to Venice and to divers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endevour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endevour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endevour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our divers labour.

14 To endevor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to give him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

[II. i. 161.]

Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since every good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be divers, so are they to bee done by divers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indevour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and give an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 FIrst, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receive Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subject to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Navie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so have divers provinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in divers places.

1 But if England have the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall have vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in every degree equal with ours of England, unlesse the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in severall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indevour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne: [II. i. 162.]

1 TO know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking ; as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie uneven.

The evill sorting of threed of good or bad wooll, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be woven.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes above measure upon the Teintors : all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be used.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours ; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold : which be faire, which not ; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces used in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serve your Countrey, for by this meanes you have an enterie into the thing that I wish you to travell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 FOrasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoove out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they have conceived of their owne cunning, and partly to moove them for shame to endevour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the universall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall devise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought up in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to devise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his

acquaintance, and otherwise to leave no meane unsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soever. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the use of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall [II. i. 163.] the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent use, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c : for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this

realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest use, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world : so as our milles

may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also have we some reasonable store of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about, might deserve immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this devise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the devise is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

Leo Africanus lib. 8.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of

any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great use, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall have, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selves according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad [II. i. 164.] or narowe, long or short, white or blacke. 11 But with this proviso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for us to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to have as great care as he may for the universall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receive certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in divers other places, that this realme may have that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receive the same from another, and not buy the same

at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endevoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

IF you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indevour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to

our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indevour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the universall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in divers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great use in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be used in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire revive the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on work. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne [II. i. 165.] in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they have plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they use there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may understand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a

This may be learned at Alger.

A.D. 1582.

Pilgrim purposing to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like love in this our age were in our people that now become great travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans having that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene savage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we injoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we use more the first inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things have bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eights Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his travell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeeres there have bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria divers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence ; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit us to have good wines of them. And many other things have bene brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in have by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them ; and many people have received great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a journey to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to divers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich setled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to have some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endevour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giving you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to have a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you have any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starve for reliefe, then ever any subject did in this realme by building of Almeshouses, and by giving of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour unto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Majesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

THe 14 of November 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recover the Kowes in the Isle of Wight. Where the 14 of January following we tooke in the worshipfull M. William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Cavo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Cavo Santa Maria. The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cavo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Cavo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would have evill intreated us for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might have bene as bolde there as in other places of Christen-

[II. i. 166.]

January the foureteenth.

C. Vincente.

C. Santa Maria.

Tariffa.

Velez Malaga.

C. de Gates.

C. de Palos.

Denia.

Formentera.

Cabrera.

February the first.

Mallorca.

The shippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro.

The Ambassadour betrayed.

February the sixth.

dome, but it proved farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether we might have a sheepe or such like to refresh our selves, who tolde us yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboord once or twise, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made us faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is under the governement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I suppose, he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that upon their words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten upon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooved contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, untill such time as they were beset with men, and the Majorcans never shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to

The English men are surprised.

be trecherous to us, if they thinke they have any advantage. For upon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboord to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Majorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers upon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew unto us. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men unto us every day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine John Gray) for it was sayd by us there, that he was Captaine of one of her Majesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Velvet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelve lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one having

The Spaniards come to the sea side to speake with the captaine.

a Boarespeare or a Caliver, the Captaine John Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gave him great salutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answere was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our [II. i. 167.] Ambassador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpose was to have gotten more of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should have our men againe the next day: with such prety delusions they fed us still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Majesties name, and in our Captaine John Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had given him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceive nothing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded (for that

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine John Gray went also with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they received of those men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should have our men againe, for they meant us no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he received no answere of any of them. In all this time they had privily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards us. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken up, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces, and also many men on the shoare, with divers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or five brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be above the eight part of a mile over. Thus perceiving their meaning which was most plaine: wee agreed to take up our anker and goe out, and leave our men there, having none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde us that it was very true, that they would lay holde of us if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but having little winde, we towed the shippe forward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then

The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

The ship Susan prepareth to defend herselfe.

five hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and every man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part having a very faire piece mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they traversed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lint-stocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to give fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners traversed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd unto him: Have you warres with us? If you have, it is more then we know; but by your provision it seemeth so: if you have, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held up a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired us to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marseilians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceived that they could lay no holde on us, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would have seene

The effect of the Viceroys letter to the Captaine of the Susan.

our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he might boldly come into any port [II. i. 168.] within his Iland, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing usuall to have any such shippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the sayd letter. Then our Ambassadour wrote unto him another letter to answere that, and gave him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde us that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, having their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden provision. The 12 of February we saw an Iland of Africa side called Galata, where they use to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subject to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa side called Cysimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present governed by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is under the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arrived at Zante which is also in Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and

The effect of the Ambassadors answere.

Galata.

Sardinia.

Fauagniana.

Cisimbri.

Pantalaria.

Sicilia.

C. Passaro.

Porto de Conte in Cephalonia.

Zante.

Prodeno.

Sapientia.
Modon.
C. Matapan.
Cerigo.
C. Malio.
Menelaus.
Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia,
Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Psara. Sarafo.
Sigra, a port in Metelin.
Porto Delfin.
The city of Chio.
A By.
Ermin, or Customer.

the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine over against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Cavo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cavo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Psara and Sarafo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. The port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelve of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the governour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and understood of our arrivall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer, and also the French Consull, with divers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for he did offer to attend upon us, and towe us if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadours businesse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe untill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging unto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seven Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies to bring us up further: [II. i. 169.] and when the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twenty pieces, who was received with more then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great Bassa with sixe clothes, foure cannes of silver double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to

Baberno.

Tenedo.

Maure.

Galipoli.

Marmora.

Araclia.

Silauria.

Ponte grande.

Ponte picola.

Ponte S. Stephano.

The arrivall of the Susan at Constantinople.

The Ambassadour giveth a present to the great Bassa.

the third who maried the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to every one of these he gave foure clothes. Now, before the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gave a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare woodden pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes under his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other servingmen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe somewhat smaller towardes the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like unto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Janisaries. These Bassas entertained us as followeth: First, they brought us into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench covered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come neere us. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselves in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour onely excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there

A man halfe naked goeth before ye great Bassa.

The Ambassadours entertainment with the Bassas.

were presents to cary in, but these neither kissed his hand nor taried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: before I entred I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillers on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their Pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserved onely for their Paschall. The ground is covered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapistry. They have also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded upon rich and stately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and five of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) every Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, over, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with jewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, covered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turks tombe. These chappels have their floores covered, and their walles hanged with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the covering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then five hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels have their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for every man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome

Santa Sophia.

A discription of their church.

The ship commeth to the custome house.

The Ambassador presenteth the Admirall Uchali.

house. The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Uchali, he would not receive us into his house, but into his gallie, to deliver our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two silver pots gilt & graven. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and under his feet, and where he sate was all covered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of us taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seven pieces of brasse in her prowe, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at every banke or oare seven men to rowe.

The Susan goeth from the Custome house. The Admirall departeth to the sea.

[II. i. 170.]

The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leave of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gave him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gave him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his calivers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way.

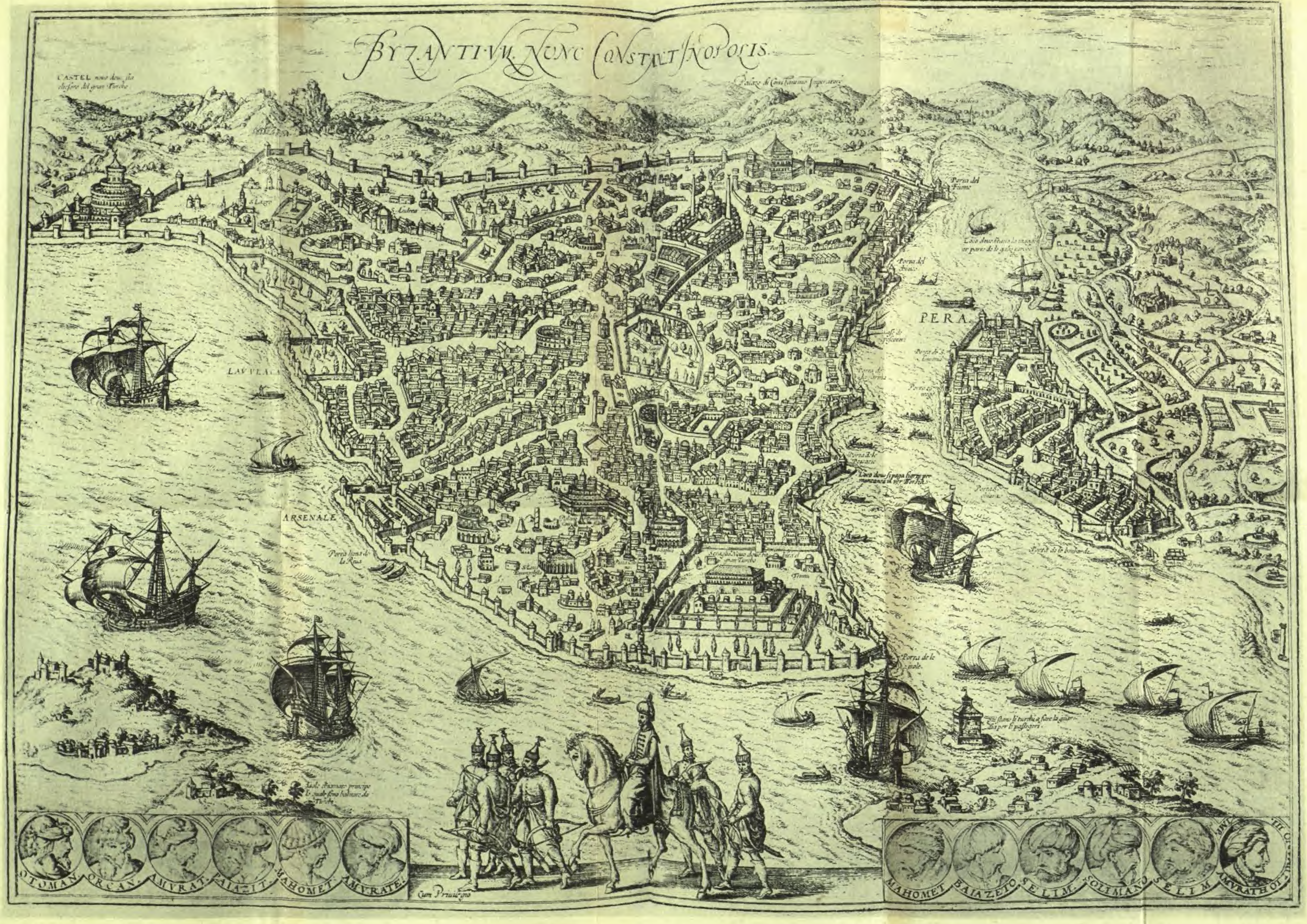
The Ambassadours repaire to the great Turks court.

The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainement with the order thereof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for us by two or three Bassaes and divers chauses on horsebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with us other chauses to accompany us to the Court.

When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other provision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court over: it was divided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe usually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like unto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren use to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Assoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie severall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Mutton boiled and rosted, Rice diversly dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also rosted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me unknowen. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serve us with it had a great bagge tied over their showlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge under his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a devise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by us, with

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambassadours men.

the chauses aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by us untill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking up the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and ravening Mastifs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus even on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauses and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Janisers to beare from us our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Privy chamber, as we call it: there all things stoode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men have on their heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in this they have a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staves, & most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes


BYZANTIVM NUNC CONSTANTINOPOLIS.
CASTEL nuovo dove sta el tesoro del gran Turcho
Palazo di Constantino Imperatore
S. Andrea
LAVVLAKA
ARSENALE
Porta del Fiume
Porta del Fenar
Loco dove stanno la maggior parte de le galie carcate
PERA.
Case de pescatori
Porta de S. Antonio
Porta de le Zonda
Porta de le Peschiarie
Loco dove si paga lo tributo per mercantia al gran Turcho
Porta di le bombarde
Seraglio Nuovo dove habita el gran Turcho
Porta de le Isole
Porta de la Riua
stano li turchi a fare la guardia per li passegeri
Isole doue stanno principe le quale sono habitate da Turchi
Cum Privilegio
OTOMAN
ORCAN
AMVRAT
BAIAZIT
MAHOMET
AMVRATE
MAHOMET
BAIAZETO
SELIM
SOLIMANO
SELIM
AMVRATH

presence. At the Privy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleeves, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by untill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Privy chamber sate likewise on cloth of golde. Many officers [II. i. 171.] or Janisaries there were with staves, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoever might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambassadours entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelve fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppinjayes of silver, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling: over it was a forrest with trees of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver. And the clocke was round beset with jewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in every bagge, as it was tolde us, one thousand ducats, which amounteth

The Turke is presented with a rich present.

A.D. 1583.

to three hundred and thirty thousand * , and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of silver, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay untill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas: but he turned him continually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seven youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd fooles.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Majestie.

SErenissima, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Majestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimámque commendationem. Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestræ Majestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omni-

potens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus vester tanta reverentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi & homines vestræ sacræ Majestatis ad ditiones omnes Cæsareas venire, & sua negocia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, ut in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Majestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele studium & nunc eodem confirmando navavi, & in futurum quoque usque in ultimum vitæ spiritum in negotiis potentissimi & invictissimi Cæsaris, & vestræ sacræ Regiæ Majestatis egregiam navabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & utilitatem utriúsque Reipublicæ secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Majestatem fœlicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octavo Maii.

A letter of the English Ambassadour to M. Harvie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

HAving to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adjacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Majesties subjects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Majesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Harvie Millers, to execute the same worshipfull office, as shall be required for her Majesties better service, the commodity of her subjects, and my contentation: having and injoying for merit of your travell in the premisses the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to [II. i. 172.]

repaire thither with expedition, and attend upon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we heerewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of privilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoever doeth or may enjoy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Majesty our most gracious Mistresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Majesties subjects, for your maintenance in all just causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as above sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission given by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassadour, to Richard Forster, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, &c.

I William Harborne, her Majesties Ambassadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Levant doe in her Majesties name confirme and appoint Richard Forster Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, and all other ports whatsoever in the provinces of Syria, Palestina, and Jurie, to execute the office of Consull over all our Nation her Majesties subjects, of what estate or quality soever: giving him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Majesties subjects as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and just causes whatsoever: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, even in such order as I my selfe might doe by vertue of her Majesties Commission given me the 26 of November 1582, the copie whereof I have annexed to this present under her Majesties Seale delivered me to that use. Straightly charging and commanding all her Majesties subjects in those parts, as they will avoid her Highnesse displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and have due respect unto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisit to her Majesties good service, and commoditie of her dominions. In witnesse whereof I have confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansion house by Pera over against Constantinople, the 20 of June 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to M. Richard Forster, appointed the first English Consull at Tripolis in Syria.

Cousin Forster, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arrivall in Tripolis of Syria. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may have their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparelled in the best maner. The next, second, or third day, after your comming, give it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your travell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what maner you are to present your selfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who every of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of John Blanke, late Vice-consull of Tripolis for the French, delivered you heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can save any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to give you there also another Janizarie according as the French hath; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you bee not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heeretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will have an envious eye on you: whome if they perceive wise and well advised, they will feare to offer you any injurie. But if they shall perceive any insufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtile, malicious, and dissembling people, wherefore you must alwayes have their doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if [II. i. 173.] you call for Gods divine assistance, as doth become every faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserved, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shalbe satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subjects shippes, vessels, or whatsoever other, but quietly depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priviledge & such commandements as you have had hence, in the best order you may. In all and every your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to provide things needfull, to save what may be: for he that buyeth every thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdome to foresee the buying of all things in their native soile, in due time, and at the first hand every yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, you are to cause to be employed fifty or threescore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arrivall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

Right honorable, we have received your honors letters dated in Constantinople the 5 of November, and accordingly delivered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command us in her Majesties name, that he would vouchsafe to give order to all his Captaines & Rajes that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they have order not to passe by the Christian coast, but upon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter given by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Majesty, he would give us five or six safe-conducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me answere he would neither give me any safe conduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Janisers and the Levents, who made me answere, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they have the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other provoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it us, we will convey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleeved against us. The premisses considered, your honor is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his favorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Janisers, & Levents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoever to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is advertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta have made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do

[II. i. 174.] them harme. Wherefore if your honor do not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors servants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will never be recovered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honor in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honor should give me) to certifie her Majesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leave off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subjects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leave, I desist from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

Domine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem utilem concessa perperàm reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quàm utilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita providere debes, ut non eveniant hujusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum convertatur

in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris invidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ adversari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Ut deinceps similes errores non eveniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Majestatis negocia, uti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam unicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum ut debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

NOi Assan Basha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della jurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero salvo condutto a Thomas Shingleton mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamente in questa citta de Algier & altri lochi de la nostra jurisditione cosi di ponente comi di Levante: & cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d' altri lochi de nostra jurisditione, Rais de Vasselli & capitani de Levante, & altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trovando il sopradetto Thomas Shingleton Inglese nelli mari di Genua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto havete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone Soltan Murates Ottomano, lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in

Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de Jenaro, 1583.

The same in English.

WE Assan Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the jurisdiction of Algier, give and grant free safeconduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soever they be, & with his marchandize of what countrey soever, he may go and come, and trade & traffique freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our jurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the captaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our jurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & captaines of the Levant, & other captaines of vessels aswell great as small, whosoever they be, we do command them, that finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, [II. i. 175.] and men of what nation soever they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, under paine and peril of loosing of their lives and goods: and as you make account of the favour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Januarie, 1583.

[A letter

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of July, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captives there detained.

MUy alto y poderoso Rey,

Sea servida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Senor tiene hecho articulos de privilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y bolver, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Juan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le muestrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido hechado al fondo en la mar un des nuestros navios que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el resto est an detenidos por esclavos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y privilegios. Que es occasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentissima magestad del Gran Sennor es servida nos favorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea servida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su ajuda y favor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y bolver para aca aquellos pobres hombres ansi hechos esclavos, como dicho es. Y ansi mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del gran Sennor a paz y a salvo, por no contrariar a los dichos nuestros privilegios, Llevando cada una de nuestras dichas naos por se conoscer un salvo condutto de su alta & potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan senallada merced y favor que en esso reciberemos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de servir la por ello, segun que el dicho Sennor Juan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informerà vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y accrescente con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciuidad de Londres a los veynte dias de Julio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al servito de vuestra Alteza por y en nombre
de todos los tratantes en Turquia, Io el
Mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie king,

May it please your highnesse to understand, that the most high and most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of privileges with the most excellent majestie of our Queene of England, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty majesty, as appeareth more at large by ye said articles, whereof we have sent the copy unto M. Joh. Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same unto your highnes. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaves: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and privileges: which is the occasion that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor to favour us with the sayd

An English ship sunke by two gallies of Alger.

privileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist us in the same, graunting us by your authoritie, your ayde and favour, according as our hope is, that these poore men so detained in captivitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to give order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from hencefoorth they would suffer us to use our traffique with sixe ships yerely into Turkie unto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, [II. i. 176.] that they do not withstand those our said privileges, every one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie majestie to be knowen by. And for that your so singular favour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receive, we on our part with all bounden duetie unto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd master John Tipton (to whom wee referre our selves touching all other circumstances) shall more at large enforme your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almighty God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of July, 1584.

At the service of your highnesse, for and in
the name of our whole company trading
into Turkie, I Maior of London, Edward
Osburne.

Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

The money of Alger.

The money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Asiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most used, for all things be sold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe & more, as that in Constantinople; for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for more, as men need them to cary up into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40.s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The custome. The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Justice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights. The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices &c. which is here 120.li. subtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180.li. subtil of ours here.

The measure. The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The surest lodging for a christian. The surest lodging for a Christian there is in a Jewes house: for if he have any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good, so the Jew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. John Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Jewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the castles, presently the Ermyn sends aboord to have one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the * Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians have a Consul themselves. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will give you a chamber for your selves apart, if you will so have it.

This is another officer.

Other smal customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Consullage you pay two in the hundred.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

[II. i. 177.] The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109.li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103.li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150.li. of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

Cairo three daies journey from Alexandria by land.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies journey, but you must take a Janissarie with you: & to go up thither by water it is 8. dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. roials are woorth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & have leave to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the Consul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Silver is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Caravans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therfore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the christians go up to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

MAster Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you have shewed the Bassas, receive againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliver one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the privilege which you cary with you, and see them jointly registred in the Cadies booke, delivering the copy of the said privilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliverie at all times to us or our assignes. And require them in her majesties and the grand Signors name, that they will have our ships passing too and fro under licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I have not received any advise thereof, since your departure, so must I leave you to God and my former direction. The ship patronised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooved to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Jewes in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receive there. And having ended these affaires and registred our privilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recovered, make over the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or otherwise hither to John Bate in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your privilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my Mansion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of June 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Majesties ambassador M. Will. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subjects to and from his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Algier, Tunis & Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambassador to the Queenes majestie of England hath signified unto us, that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas have the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteses, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which abovesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captives, and forfeit the [II. i. 178.]
shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand upon their guard, when they shall see any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but

require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broken because you have shot at us, and so make prize of them contrary to our privileges, and against reason: for the preventing of which inconvenience the said ambassador hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that upon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoever, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement given, without any disturbance or let by any means upon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therfore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may have right, according to our privilege given them, & finding any that absenteth himself, & wil not obey this our commandement, presently certify us to our porch, that we may give order for his punishment, and with reverence give faithfull credite to this our commandement, which having read, thou shalt againe returne it unto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of June, 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her majesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbarie.

MAster Tipton, I have received among others, yours of the 10. of November 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of June 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the privilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, & therfore be lawfully taken, you are deceived, for of those taken in them, hath the grand Signior now delivered us free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, wheresoever they be, & that hereafter no violence shalbe shewed, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league against us, of whom they most doubted, who not suffring our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods & captive the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: & since ours have not done contrary to the articles of the same privilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed us, as both by the originall now sent us, & also by the copy now sent you from London you may perceive, they according to right are as abovesaid to be set free, and their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our injuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her majesties subjects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooved & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors never had of friendship w^t^ so mighty a prince as is her majesty, he wil not but maintaine ye faith promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say y^t^ the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean man, nor tooke no place, that is not material to us, our letters are after another sort much more effectuall. For our case & theirs be found far different, in y^t^ they be not onely now out of favour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as suger, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast almonds, &c. all which may be here wel spared, & we contrarily so wel esteemed, as he never denied us any thing since our comming demanded, which neither their ambassador, nor the Venetian could have here, & therfore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglerbeg, who is advised by his friends from hence, of this our credite w^t his master, he wil so respect his commandements, as to accomplish ye tenor therof according to our desire. And where you say y^t the Janizers rule all there, I know right wel y^t if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be unpunished of ye grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselves there, yet they be not so brutish, but they wel consider that their master ye grand Signior may not be gainsaid or mocked of any. For upon his word dependeth the life or death even of the chiefest, as I have seene since my comming hither. So whatsoever these Janizaries say, they will be better advised in their deedes then to withstand their Viceroy, if he himselfe wil use his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their evill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywise, [II. i. 179.] the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subject to her majestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her majesties name, to the uttermost to use your good and faithful endevour, as becommeth a true subject, & in all things that may concerne her majesties good service, assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, travel, & what els shall be thought requisite for your good discharge of your dutie. And to ye end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion sir Edward Osborne & the company have of you, and I no lesse perswaded of youre wisedom, upright dealing, & good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand

Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our privilege, to redresse all injuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of ye Beglerbies upon your complaint, I thereof advertised, shal doe it here, and to the uttermost maintaine you in al rightful causes whatsoever, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your advise, I wil and do give our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoise out their skiffe and go aboord to shew them their safeconduct, & to present the captain with a garment, & you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her majesties behalfe I desire) will not onely performe the same your just request, & according to right, restore to libertie our men since the privilege taken, but also cause those y^t tooke & sunke our ships to answere the value, which I have set downe truly, and rather with the least in the Inventorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her majesties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captives, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisedom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel perceive it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her majestie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means shall be abundantly served with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accomplish his masters commandement, & our earnest

The Inventorie of our ships and goods sunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

request in so smal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusall: for thereby he shall increase his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her majestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, have so great hearts as never cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the proverbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the more of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner have procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffise. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

Series vel registrum valoris navium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienses ereptorum, una cum captivorum hominum nominibus, Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.

1 SAlomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, revertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cæsareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore David Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mandato Cæsareo: hujus præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ

Regineæ majestatis literas Cæsari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus una cum superiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forster, onerata cum uvis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ spoliatæ & ereptæ naves, merces, & homines.

[II. i. 180.]

1 JUdith de London, rectore Jacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Jesus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem hujus & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barten, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viventium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chauseum Mahumetem miserunt Algiram.

1 Ante fœdus initum in nave Peter de Bristow.	John Winter. Robert Barton.
2 In nave Swallow de London.	Rich. Crawford. Anthony Elvers. Wil. Rainolds.
Post fœdus initum in nave Britona.	James Yoong.
1 In nave Rabnet de Hampton.	Thomas Lisney.
2 In nave Salomon.	John Tracie. Wil. Griffith. Wil. Cocke.

1 In nave Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard James, Oliver Dallimore, and Richard Maunsell.

2 In nave Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haslewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cavendish, Moises Robinson, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragster, Rich. Davison, Rich. Palmer.

3 In nave Elizabeth Stokes. David Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Davis, John Quinte, Ambrose Harison, John Peterson, Tristram Vois, Roger Ribbe.

4 In nave Nicholas, Thomas Forster rector navis & ejus nautæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swalow.

I Received your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my servant very thankfully, aswel for the fervent faith that by his report I heare you have in our lord Jesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with us and all other good Christians so truly beleeving, shalbe saved, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subject to her Majestie, naturally loving your countrey & countreymen, declared in your favourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I rejoice to understand, so wil I impart the same to your singuler commendation, both to our mistresse her Majestie, & her most honorable counsellers the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God & her majesty, as also by the smal regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine unto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most unworthy answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatning him, not observing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her majesty, &

me her ambassador, your true christian mind & English heart, intentively bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Joseph, to folow his example in true pietie, in such sort that notwithstanding your body be subject to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free from those vices, next under God addict to ye good service of your liege Lady & soveraigne princes, her most excellent majesty, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest ye same in this & the like faithful service to your singuler commendation, wherby both my selfe & others in that place having found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may have occasion to use me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfully performe: so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the divine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of June 1586.

Your loving and good friend her Majesties
Ambassador with the Grand Signor,
Will. Hareborne.

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

[II. i. 181.]

1 FIrst that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Janisers of Patrasso have alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be removed and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements have beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoever

shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliverie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselves will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoever, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, justices and Cadies, Janizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will under the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obvent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be given, and their sundry values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, severely prohibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoever.

4 That the Nadir and Customer of the port, having permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consuls pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoever.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be severely punished to the example of others, for often

and unjustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay unto ours thirtie for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoever doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Jewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, have not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recovery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselves out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiment, whatsoever may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

WHen this commandement shall come unto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath given us to understand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that having paied once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Petrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered us, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreover the sayd Consull certified us how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will have of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to us at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that you looke to [II. i. 182.] this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our commandement in this matter be observed in such sort, as they having once in the port paied full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them injurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from hencefoorth see that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter have no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and give credit to this my commaundement, which having read deliver againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for Chio.

VObis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Majestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significavit nobis, quod ex navibus Anglicis una navis venisset ad portum Chio, & illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, & contra privilegium detinuistis, & non sivistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator significavit nobis: & petivit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, ut naves Anglicæ veniant & redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Privilegium datum & concessum est ex parte

A.D. 1584.

Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: & hujus privilegii copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum privilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si navis venerit ad portum vestrum, & si res & merces ex nave exemerint, & vendiderint, & tricessimam secundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra privilegium & articulos ejus aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non sinatis eos, ut rectà Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum & privilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro & insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A commandement for Baliabadram.

SErenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatoriis in porta nostra fulgida significavit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naves & homines eorum, contra privilegium impedirentur & molestarentur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus sit, ut mercatores, homines & naves eorum contra privilegium impediantur aut molestentur, nullo unquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, ut literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod convenit, videasque ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus & navibus eorum, & in navibus existentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & privilegium, injuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, ut convenit, defendas, ut naves, mercatores, & homines, nostri velut proprii subditi, liberi ab omni vi & injuria permaneant, & negotiis suis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Janisseri illos impedirent, significatum est: ut illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Juxta tenorem mandati hujus illos commonefacias, ut nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita ut nunquam hujusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postponito, & insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for Egypt.

SCito quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significavit, quod cum ex Ægypto Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamvis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo & tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Cæsareum vili existimans, non cessavit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Reginæ Angliæ privilegium nostrum est datum. Juxta illud privilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neve manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulavit ejus legatus. Quare mando, ut contra privilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis injuriam non inferat, neve Consulatum agat. Judici Ægypti literæ nostræ sunt datæ : hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque, ut juxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra privilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic scito, & insigni meo fidem adhibeto.

[II. i. 183.] A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Judge of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England certified us howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing up his fondego and chamber, tooke under his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be restored againe according to justice unto the Englishmen : wherefore we commaund you that having received this our commandement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed five yeeres, if

you have not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented unto us, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant under his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting unto the English marchants : doe in this matter according to justice, and credite this our seale.

A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majesty of England by supplication certified us, how that notwithstanding our privilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to governe their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and injuries whatsoever : yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were under his banner, and that he should governe them, and oversee their businesse, and having got a new privilege, mentioning therein the English men to be under his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many injuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein ; whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might have justice for these injuries : wherefore we command thee that having received this our commandement, you examine diligently that his privilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid privilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and give credite to the seale.

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

TO the Sanjakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Sanjacbies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of us our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I have commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselves will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, having taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee injuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie us of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and give credite to our seale. And having read this our commandement, give it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

WHen my letters shal come unto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had given our commandement that the summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be given to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified unto us in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse [II. i. 184.] pertaineth to the Englishmen, who have in their handes our privilege, according to which privilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this privilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to every one his goods. And I command that when my commandement shall come unto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certified, and that they have the privilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to justice, and take heede diligently in this businesse : if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant, under the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recover it.

[The voyage

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Jesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances observed. Written by Thomas Sanders.

This voyage was set foorth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Jesus, she was builded at Farmne a river by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and John Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Jerado a Frenchman, of the province of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs servant unto the said master Staper. The owners were bound unto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne unto London. But here ought every man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master having some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saved himselfe:

Man doth purpose, and God doth dispose.

these were the beginnings of our sorrowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arrived at Newhaven, where our saide last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of November we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driven backe againe into Portesmouth, where we renued our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driven to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made foorthward againe, & by force of weather we were driven to Falmouth, where we remained untill the first day of January: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arrived safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

The Jesus arrived in Tripolis.

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they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiving that they might have farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

Another ship of Bristow came to Tripolis.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselves there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the saide Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes untill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and delivered him money bound up in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then falshoode, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, untill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that every Chikino is woorth seven shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and delivered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had delivered him? Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they protested and swore on both parts. But in the end the sayd Romane Sonnings did sweare deepely with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that hee might shewe his workes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and never come into England againe, if he did not deliver unto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to passe, that God sheweth his miracles upon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted unto a Turke of that towne, in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge untill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arrivall into Christendome, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and never returned unto him againe.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to deceive a Turkish marchant of 450 crowns.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a seaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the province of Marseilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and having her sayles all aboorde, our sayde Factors did take their leave of the king, who very courteously bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was unpossible, for that the winde was contrary and overblowed. And he required us upon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our indevour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of us, with three men in her, commaunding the saide Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose comming, the king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliver them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Janizaries would have the oyle ashoare againe.

These Janizaries are souldiers there under the great Turke, and their power is above the Kings. And so the saide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterside, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foresaid Pàtrone Norado. The companie inquisitive to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what have you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answere for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

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Nowe the Turke unto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him to be aboorde of our shippe) presently went unto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboord of us, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that hee would come presently in his owne boate, but assoone as they were gone, he willed us to warpe foorth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaves hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next unto us, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he said that it was the Janizaries who would have the oyle a shoare againe, and willed us to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indevour to sinke us, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike us, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captives lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke us, or else cause us to come in againe, he should have a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old servitour in Flanders, and he said, that upon the performance of that promise, hee would undertake either to sinke us, or to cause us to come in againe, and therto he would gage his life, and at the first shotte he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake us under the water, and the third shotte he shotte us through our foremast with a Colvering shot, and thus he having rent both our rudder and maste, and shot us under water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his service done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with five of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot unto us in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently above an hundred Turks aboord of us, and they searched us, and stript our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian caitifes likewise that came a boord of us made spoyle of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate having a Geneva Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I having the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant us to use our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to use theirs, and he graunted us: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliver up the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliver it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he delivered me the Bible the second time. And then I having it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil have the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be revenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time unto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus unto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt have an hundred bastonadoes. And foorthwith he delivered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from us, but perished both bodie and goods within seventeene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captives, to fetch us all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captives, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a jarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliver me the jarre of oyle, and when thou commest to the Banio thou shalt have it againe, but I never had it of him any more. [II. i. 187.]

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receive the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would have pitied our cause, hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt us: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

The Englishmen araigned.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in judgement upon us. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Masters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were under him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my selfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gave judgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged over the Northeast bulwarke: from whence he conveyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Master Andrew Dier, and used fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged over the walles of the Westermost bulwarke.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) upon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey favouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde, for thy sake, I pardon the Master. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Master from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde us what had happened, and we all rejoyced at the good hap of Master Skegs, that hee was saved, and our Master for his sake.

But afterward our joy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had advised him, that unlesse the Master died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captive any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Master againe, and gave him another judgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you have heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the uttermost penie for the custome thereof.

Master Dier condemned to be hanged over a bulwarke.

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to have saved his life. Then saide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong: and he did so. Then saide they unto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned slave perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foresaid summe of money.

Then the king condemned all us, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you have heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned slaves perpetually unto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the use of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe upon our knees, giving God thankes for this sorrowfull visitation, and giving our selves wholy to the Almightie power of God, unto whom all secrets are knowen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke upon us.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed upon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegate Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like upon the unfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

Every five men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slaverie, and unto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for every five men had allowance but five aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very simple cape to cover us, wee were also forceably and most violently shaven, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and sixe more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis unto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked above the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the maste, and his Mate afore the maste, and eche of them a bulls pissell dried in their handes, and when their divelish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause: And [II. i. 188.]

they allowed us but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to have neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about us, nor at any other time in the night, upon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and every night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riveted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes five, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaves, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slaverie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slaverie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would have constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to have joyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captives twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelve miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes builded a church.

Nowe the king had 18. captives, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne:

The Christians sent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and upon the way as wee rode upon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct us the way? he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other? and hee said, East Northeast, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding upon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallow for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good service: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably used: therefore of two evils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee used as before I had seene others: for understanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at adventure, and as God would have it, I came right to the place where they were, even about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gave our camels provender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to marveile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Juniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it up by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seven of the clocke that night folowing: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captives run away from Tripolis.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seventeene captives more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare up roome, and to sheare right afore the winde over against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing up and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to have stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiving their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselves behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past up halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, whereunto arrived an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonket, who having a very unhappy boy in that shippe, and understanding that whosoever would turne Turke should be well enterteined of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to

The judgement of God upon blasphemers.

[II. i. 189.]

The Greene Dragon.

Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and James Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to have them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying: We are your fathers slaves, and as slaves wee will serve him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was John Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said unto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being sixe score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foresaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and James Smith: and after their departure from us, they sent us a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed unto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently used, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said unto him: By Mahomet thou shalt presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would have had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwise.

The kings sonne had a captive that was sonne to one of the Queenes Majesties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe over a litle, and so to shewe the maner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivitie.

The first motion for those Englishmens deliverie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling in Tavistoke in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully delivered. But when my father had received my letter, and understood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Majestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her Subjects, presently tooke order for our deliverance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our delivery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commission, and sent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Justice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for joy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said unto us, welcome my good countreymen, and lovingly interteined us, and at our departure from him, he gave us two shillings, and said, Serve God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as ever you were; We all gave him thankes and so departed.

The next day in the morning very early, the King having intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demaunded of the saide Master Barton his message: the Justice answered, that the great Turke his Sovereigne had sent them unto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Jesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelve moneths since, and nowe my saide Sovereigne hath here sent his especiall commission by us unto you, for the deliverance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliverance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you have taken and kept in captivitie. And further the same Justice saide, I am authorized by my said soveraigne [II. i. 190.] the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof: and so did the Justices deliver unto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which commission the king with all obedience received: and after the perusing of the same, he foorthwith commanded all the English captives to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captives during your lives: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soveraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make delivery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee delivered us all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliver them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her,

The Englishmen released.

but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Jew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most trafique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and punishments that happened to the King and his people.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth upon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaide. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captives, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaves: that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the saide moneth of June, one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelve Christians more which were the kings captives. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king road foorth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe under him starke dead, and I with sixe more were commaunded to burie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliverie,

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arrivall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our vessell, before wee coulde have Platego (that is, leave to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselves as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of us that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selves in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the Kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender up all his fathers treasure, goods, captives, and concubines, unto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and James Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesayd. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and privily the saide Englishmen conveyed unto the saide Christian captives, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Constantinople (upon the faithfull promise of the sayde Christian captives (these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crossia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captives, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde James Smith, and

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

our Pursser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, [II. i. 191.] were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arrivall in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saved the Christian captives, and would have killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were slaine in that fight. Then the Venetians saved them, and they, with all the residue of the said captives, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the use of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traveiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight shipped themselves at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arrived the Assension, and the George Bonaventure of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whose Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded al the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke us eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arrivall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almightie God, during our lives, and as duetie bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Majestie had over us, her poore Subjects, in seeking and procuring of our

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

deliverance aforesaide: and also for her honourable privie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traveiled herein: for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almightie, unto which place he vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death upon the Crosse, there to live perpetually world without ende, Amen.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the Jesus, and the English captives detained in Tripolie in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi & unici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christíque nomen falsò profitentium idololatrias, invictissima & potentissima defensatrix: augustissimo, invictissimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperiique Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli & supremo salutem, & multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Augustissime & potentissime Imperator, biennio jam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Majestatem scripsimus, ut dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, aliisque Musulmanici imperii ditionibus, sublimi vestra authoritate reciperetur: simul etiam Angli subditi nostri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis provinciis exerceant, non minùs liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti,

Germani, cæterique vestri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam navantes, ut mutuis commerciis conjungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ privilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis invictissima vestra Majestas literis & diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, ut hæc instituta commerciorum ratio maximas utilitates, & commoda utrinque, tam in imperii vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri provincias secum adferat.

Id ut planè fiat, cùm nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab ejus loci incolis voluntatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter divexati, Cæsaream vestram Majestatem benevolè rogamus, ut per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, & postremò earum provinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, ut nostri liberè in illis locis, sine vi aut injuria deinceps versari, & negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoriæ vestræ Majestati ullo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus unicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutissimè incolumem & florentem servet. Datæ in palatio nostro Londini, [II. i. 192.] quinto die Mensis Septembris: anno JESU CHRISTI Servatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicessimo sexto.

The same in English.

Elizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of CHRIST dwelling among the Christians, most invincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and invincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East

Empire the onely and highest Monarch above all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe passed, wee wrote unto your Imperiall Majestie, that our welbeloved servant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be received under your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, under the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our Subjects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Provinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which traveile through divers of the East parts: endevouring that by mutuall trafique, the East may be joyned and knit to the West.

Which privileges, when as your most puissant Majestie, by your letters and under your dispensation most liberally and favourably granted to our Subjects of England, wee could no lesse doe, but in that respect give you as great thankes, as our heart could conceive, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subject to your Empire, as to the Provinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subjects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) evill intreated and grievously vexed, wee doe friendly and lovingly desire your Imperiall Majestie, that you will understand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward give commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Provinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or injurie, traveile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endevour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise understand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Majestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Given in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Jesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Justice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

Honourable, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Judge of the West Tripolis, wee wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Porch, for the most excellent Queenes Majestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriving in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, & having answered in like maner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, unknowen to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stollen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the evill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, [II. i. 193.] and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleven died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Majestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and given by our Majestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoever else taken away bee wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come unto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked unto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse unknowen to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against lawe, custome of Countreys, and their privilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie us at our most famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of Jesus 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Jesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaves, Anno 1585.

Molto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha stato significato per diverse lettere di quanto ha passato circa di una nave nostra chiamata Jesus, sopra il quale in agiuto di Ricciardo Skegs, uno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, veniva un certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che doveva, volendo importar seco un altro Francese debitore a certi vostri sensa pagarcene, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come simplice credendo al detto Francese, senza avedercene de la sua ria malitia, non retornava, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto tristo Francese approviamo como cosa benfatta. Ma al contrario, dove lei ha confiscato la detta nave e mercantia en essa, & fatto sciavi li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li privilegii dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d'Ingilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto apieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, & Mahumed Beg, droguemano di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, & invictissimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglii, nave col fornimento,

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei & per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi à questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, specialmente per esser detti oglii comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Magestà, per provisione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li privilegii, che lei mostrerà il nostro, consta: per observatione de gli quali noi stiamo di fermo en questa excelsa Porta. Et cosi responderete nel altro mondo al solo Iddio, & quà al Gran Signor questo massimo peccato commesso da lei al incontra di tanti poveracchi, che per questa crudeltà sono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da esso en duro cattiverio. Al contrario, piacendo lei evitar questo incommodo & restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li nostri patroni, amichevolmente, (como convien à par vostro di mostrarsi prudente governatore, & fidel servitor al patrono) adimpirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter resultarvi à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a ladvenire li nostri in quella vostra provincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vostra Signoria magnifica amichevolmente recolti & recevuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il Signor Iddio lei [II. i. 194.] conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta rechiesta, per cavar noi di piu futura fatica in questo negocio, & lei di disgratia) ogni vera felicitá, & supremo honore. Data in palazzo nostro che fu da Rapamat appresso Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambassiatore de la Majesta Serenissima
d'Ingilterra, amico de vostra Signoria
magnifica, piacendo lei.

The same in English.

Right honourable Lord, it hath bene signified unto us by divers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Jesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behaviour, according to his deserts, seeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of justice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giving credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his evil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the said lewde Frenchman we approove as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaves of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the privileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by us on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Majestie of England our Mystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the saide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted unto us his royall commandement of restitution, which we send unto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Justices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Majestie my Mystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatsoever, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restored unto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunted unto us, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Majestie, for the provision of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee protest by these our leters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconveniences which may ensue upon this occasion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league sworne by both our Princes, as by the privileges, which this our servant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answere in another world unto God alone, and in this world unto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captivitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to avoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the favour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our just demaund (as it behoveth you to shew your selfe a prudent Governour, and faithfull servant unto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may use in that government of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and received of your honourable Lordship, and we will not faile in the dueties of a speciall friend, whensoever you shal have occasion to use us, as we desire. Almighty God grant unto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our just request, whereby wee may be delivered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Given in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the
15. of Januarie 1585.

[The voyage

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa over land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldavia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

The 9. of June we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we [II. i. 195.] passed that day the Ulie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the river of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same river before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that *Hamburg.* night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so over the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and travailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders upon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenborg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee *Brunswig.* lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

Halberstat. The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subject to the bishop of that towne.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a towne called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne. *Eisleben.*

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg upon the river of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire. *CopperMines.*

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Jena upon the same river, and the same night wee lay at Cone upon that river. *Jena.*

The first of July we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Grevandal; The second to dinner to Neustat. *Great wood of firre trees.*

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the river of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim. *Bamberg.*

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield. *Nurenberg.*

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the river of Danubius at Tonewertd, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, upon the river of Lech. *Augspurg.*

The 9. we lay at Landsberg upon the said river, in the duke of Bavars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Svanego, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers have bene committed.

The borders of Italy. The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chursa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne up by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Tarviso, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

Venice. The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were continually shut up together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selves upon the Frigate of Cattaro, an haven neere Ragusa. The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta nova.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rovigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marveilous goodly haven, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traveiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen. *Ragusa.*

The 11. being provided of a Janizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Servia. So traveiling in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants. *Servia.* [II. i. 196.] *Chiernisa.*

The 16. we dined in a Cavarsara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague. *Or, Fochia.*

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslizea.

The 20. we came to Novibazar. *Novibazar.*

The 21. we parted from thence, travailing stil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in ye fields.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea. *Or, Nissa.*

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leave the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as evill inhabited as the other, or worse.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Janizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with us from Novibazar; and also wee had in company, ever since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with us till we came very neere Constantinople. *Sophia.*

The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth upon the river of Stanuch. *Philippopoli.*

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much. *Andrinopolis.*

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cavarzaras, that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliveri. The 8. we came to Siliveri, which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

Constantinople. The 9. of September wee arrived at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious havens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then living, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marveilous goodly place, with divers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof joyne upon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water over against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the river of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefest feastes.

Pompeys piller. The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there upon a rocke we sawe a piller of white Marble that was set up by Pompeius: and from thence we passed to the other side of the water, upon the shore of Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.

The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes journey distant from Varna upon the Blacke Sea.

Prouaz.
Varna.

The 9. we came to Saxi upon the river of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said river which in that place is about a mile over, and then we entred into the countrey of * Bogdania: they are Christians but subjects to the Turke.

Or, Moldavia.

The 12. we came to Palsin upon the river Prut.

Palsin upon the river of Prut.

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayvoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee received great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused us to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conveyed without coste.

Yas.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

The 19. we came to Zotschen, which is the last towne of Bogdania upon the river of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia.

Sotschen.

The 20. we passed the river of Nyester and came to Camyenetz in the countrey of Podolia, subject to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene.

[II. i. 197.]
Nyester a river.
Camyenetz.

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we stayed five dayes.

Leopolis, or Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz.
Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of November in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Jaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska.

Jaroslaw.

Lanczut.

The second to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fift to Kuhena.

Cracovia.

The 6. to Cracovia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracovia standeth on the river of Vistula.

Leade Mines.

The 9. wee departed from Cracovia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, where the leade Mines are.

Bendzin.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland.

Bitom.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and divers other Countreys adjoyning unto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracovia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silesia.

Oppelen.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen upon the river of Odera.

Schurgasse.
Brigk.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee coulde not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in divers Townes.

Breslaw.

The 14. we passed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated upon the river of Odera.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee passed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz upon the river of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we should have passed the river of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said river, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch; and at night to Bretsch.

The 22. wee passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Universitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well governed as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes journey on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon. *Magdeburg.*

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, that night we lay at Winson. *Lunenburg.*

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke. *Hamborg.*

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the river went on foote to Boxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed over land to Emden.

[II. i. 198.] Thence having passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Gravesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Jacomo Manuchio.

Know thou which art Voyvoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England having two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Jacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one servant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our servants by whom they shall passe, that having received this our commandement, you have diligent care and regard that they may have provided for them in this their journey (for their money) all such necessary provision as shalbe necessary for themselves and their horses, in such sort as they may have no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come unto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company ; But have great regard that they convey not out of our countrey any of our serviceable horses. Obey our commandement, and give credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Forster gentleman travailing to Constantinople.

RObertus Comes Leicestriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterii & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ a Secretioribus consiliis, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus ejusdem Regiæ majestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & provinciarum unitarum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Forster nobilis Anglus necessariis de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reversurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & aliis, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum per eorum ditiones & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento injusto, & provideri sibi de necessariis justum precium reddenti, ac aliter convenienter & humaniter tractari, ut occasiones ejus eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Majestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestræ paratos invenietis, ut vestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores unto Mecca in Arabia.

ALexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seven miles in circuite, and is environed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very

strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truely said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded upon another, because under the foundations of the saide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part underneath remaineth [II. i. 199.] at this day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greatly ruinated. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subject to an evill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse underneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth evidently testifie, which is more subtile and holesome then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the river Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head wherof extendeth into the said river, and from thence they conveigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth unto the cesternes of Alexandria, which being full serve the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thicknesse, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance save a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Janizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an

Iland, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Jewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the sixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputeth for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath upon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not unfitly given unto it, for that in all mens judgement in times past there hath not beene water there, because in the midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discovered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Jaspar and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ech side a castle, whereof that upon the Peninsula is called Faraone, upon the toppe whereof every night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Janizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this haven of Alexandria is one of the chiefest havens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of every Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, marchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are five Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the

Fontecho signifieth an house of trafique, as the Stilyard.

Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are under the French Consull. It is also to be understood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and every evening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their devotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Of the Coast of Alexandria.

ON the side towardes Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is utterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. Fortie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate upon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for governement whereof is appointed a Sanjacbey, without any other guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the sea-side and the river banke is another litle castle like unto the abovesayde, and because the Moores beleeve, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renued in this place of Rossetto, namely,

Bichier.

Rosetto.

[II. i. 200.]

A.D. c. 1580.

that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint John of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiots, who having great abundance of wine adventure abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles five and thirtie miles there is another castle like unto the abovesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the rivers side is Damiata an auncient citie environed with walles contayning five miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the governement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes under an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Judea. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of Cairo.

CAiro containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receive more; and therefore they have begunne to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is governed by a Basha, which ministreth justice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Also there are two and twentie Sanjackes, whose office is onely to oversee and guarde the kingdome for every good respect. There are also seven thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Janizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth every yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, under the custodie of three hundred horsemen and two hundred Janizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Mesquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are five principall. The first is called Morastano, that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent five hundred ducats of golde every day left unto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king having conquered Cairo, for the space of five dayes continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for his sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is abovesaid. The second famous monument of Cairo is called Neffisa, of one Neffisa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooved by lust, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde she bestowed this almes for the love of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reverence her, and finally have canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zavia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamsciafii, where is buried Sciafii the second Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall University of the whole kingdome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of January by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could never be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they have and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an evident and manifest signe of their utter ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Every person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is distant from the river Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, save that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on every side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conveigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the river Nilus overfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a

1566.

[II. i. 201.]

The description of Cairo.

great ditch, which extendeth into the river, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious stones, and jewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard favoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eate the tallow. They use also certaine litle furnaces made of purpose, under the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or five hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, untill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

WIthout the Citie, sixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere unto the river diverse Piramides, among which are three marveilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserveth it. And these dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, silver, and other mettall, but under the other piramides the bodies are not taken up so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to these piramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discovered so farre as the necke joyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, saving that it wanteth a little tippe of the nose. The necke of this head contayneth in circuit about sixe and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The river Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Croccodiles from Cairo upward, but lower then Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an inchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreover of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males have their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at unwares upon any man, woman or childe, whom they can overcome, they spare not their lives. In the yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and sixtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians travelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Janni to rescue certaine slaves, were guided by a Chaus, and journeyed alongst the banke of the said river. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tana, whom being busie in his double devotion one of these Crocodiles ceazed by the shoulders, and drew him under water, so that he was never after seene. And for this cause they have made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the river there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that it causeth the women as also other creatures to bring [II. i. 202.]

foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Five miles southwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, wherein they are deceived: for the sayde trees growe two dayes journey from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but salvage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the same within litle chests from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoever) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselves affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saved her selfe with the childe, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be renued and reedified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Harquebuz-shotte from Matarea is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere unto the olde Cairo are yet twelve storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes served to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Joseph the sonne of Jacob, for consideration of the seven deare yeeres. Also passing higher up by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee seene a fayre Citie overflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth under water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharao was resident. Moreover three dayes journey higher up are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and an halfe long, and the space from one eare to the other conteineth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and graven in excellent proportion, so that they are shapes of marvellous hugenesse, and these they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao. *Olde Thebes.*

Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Jacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being envied at by the Jewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd unto him by one of these Miscreants: sith thou beleevest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will give thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (sayd he) deliver thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Jewe brought him a cuppe of the most venemous and deadly poyson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke having perceived, said: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and having so sayde he dranke it quite up; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gave it unto the Jewe, saying unto him, I in the name of my Christ have drunke thy poyson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias, drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Jewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and having drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, save that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained ever after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt : who seeing the despight of the Jewes, unto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines commeth into the castle from Nilus above mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was alive, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

[II. i. 203.]

Of the preparation of the Carovan to goe to Mecca.

AS touching the Carovan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be understoode, that the Mahumetans observe a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moveable ceremonie, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe unto Mecca resort unto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carovan is readie to depart on the voyage : and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some mooved by devotion, and some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues unto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carovan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein : whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortie thousand, and the persons which followe the Carovan everie yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Moreover every three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carovan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giveth every voiage eighteene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and five ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carovan, and also to doe almes unto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other servingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serve him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carovan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Janizaries riding upon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Janizaries not so, for their provision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Janizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and having before a great piece of wrought silver on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carovan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carovan. Moreover the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carovan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they governe them as the mariners, by the starre. These also use to sende before foure or five men carrying pieces of dry wood which give light, because they should not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are cast downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes upon the soles of their feete, as serve them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carovan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carovan in order, and to cause them to depart on their

Pieces of dry wood in stead of torches.

journey when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the forewarde, sometimes to come behinde with the rereward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carovan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which serve to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carovan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that every one bringeth something to gaine by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feast before the Carovan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort unto the castle of Cairo before the Basha, which giveth unto every man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are served according to their degree. Moreover he delivereth unto him ye Chisva Talnabi, which signifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to cover from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he delivereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid [II i. 204.] house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it is a thing of great value. Besides, he delivereth unto him a covering of greene velvet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde, and this is to cover the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and besides that covering there are brought many others of golde and silke, for the ornament of the sayde tombe. Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carovan taketh his leave with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay up the sayd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towardes the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting upon the said vestures thousands of beautifull flowers of divers colours, & sweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the same, which ever after they keepe as reliques with great reverence. Afterward having left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine having pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior over the gate, & the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more: in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carovan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted upon Camels, adorned with so many tryfles, tassels, and knots, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carovan, with castles and other infinite devises of fireworke, the Janizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and joy, that on every side the earth resoundeth, and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or sixe times, and after at the breake of the day upon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the Carovan travelleth, and when it resteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes journey or thereabout, & the same great dayes journeies. For the custome of the Carovan is to travell much and rest little, and ordinarily they journey in this maner: They travell from two a clocke in the morning untill the sunne rising, then having rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, & then also rest againe, as is abovesaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they observe untill the end of the voiage, never changing the same, except in some places, whereof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest sometimes a day and an halfe, and this they observe to refresh themselves, otherwise both man and beast would die.

In what order the Carovan travelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carovan observeth in marching is this. It goeth divided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaves, & ech knave carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, ye bastonado may be given to such as deserve the same. These knaves cast offendours downe, turning up the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giving them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they travell in the night. Also there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants upon their heads, & these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carovan. These Santones when the Carovan arriveth at any good lodging, suddenly after they have escried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestow their benevolence upon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carovan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieves. Next unto the [II. i. 205.] foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawen the sayd sixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next unto these commeth the chiefe physicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, having with him many medicines, oyntments, salves, and other like refreshings for the sicke, having also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which have no horse nor beast. Next unto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carieth a litle chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abovesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of massie golde, and the chest during their voyage is covered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all covered with cloth of golde, adorned with jewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing upon instruments. After this folow fifteene other most faire Camels, every one carying one of the abovesayd vestures, being covered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and provision of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carovan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the captaine, and five and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marveilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carovan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which have litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe five and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And because the Carovan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they have on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Janissaries parted into three companies goe upon their left hand well armed and mounted upon Camels bound one to another, for upon that side is all the danger of thieves, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carovan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, never keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted upon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with violes in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, upon whom they attend, till such time as he entreth his pavillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by the way.

BEcause in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carovan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carovan resteth altogether in the field : therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which five, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they have eight men or tenne at the most in every Castle, with foure or five Smerigli, which serve to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carovan comming thither, may have wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident five and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes journey. The walles of Acba are founded upon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dashed by the waves of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence above a dayes journey. These five Castles abovesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselves agaynst an hundred men. The Carovan departing from Birca untill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Cassap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to say, the river of Jethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would have killed him, because hee had slaine the Ægyptian, [II. i. 206.] which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stoode the citie of Midian ; and there are yet the pondes, neere unto the which Moses sate downe. And from that place forward they finde more store of water by the way, and in more places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an usuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse, in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants upon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may give him and his Carovan free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carovan, and bind themselves to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carovan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding the Carovan is by them oftentimes damnified, and those which are robbed have no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carovan continuing her accustomed journeys, and having passed the abovesayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Jehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching issueth out to meete them the governour of the land, with all his people to receive the Carovan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staie one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreover, in this place are great store of dates, and flesh great store and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes have commoditie to refresh themselves, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth devotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching the building in these places, it is to bee judged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but because it was in times past inhabited more with thieves then true men, it was therefore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage unto Mecca, and passing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof some injurie done unto his Carovan, which hee understanding of, dissembled till his returned from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for revenge of the injurie done unto the Carovan. The Carovan having rested and being refreshed as is abovesayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the first place they arrive at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforesayd) grow those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carovan arriveth at this place, a mile from the citie is a large and great field environed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruell battell given by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselves agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was overcome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God having compassion upon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and overcame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carovan lodgeth every yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard upon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carovan passeth, never ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is sounded by the angels in signe of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they used not circumcision, so they returned unto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the

Christians. To whom the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downeward, leave them, because all they are misbeleevers; and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned upward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carovan arriveth at Bedrihonem, in which place every man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leaving off their apparell, having each one a cloth about their privities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one upon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do so, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe so make a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for [II. i. 207.] any man or woman to kill either flea or lowse with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, untill they have accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons abovesayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine stickes made of purpose in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carovan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho issueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middest the pavillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pavillion, where the king of Mecca depriveth himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the above-named captaine, giving him full licence and authoritie to commaund, governe, and minister justice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie used toward him by the Serifo giveth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine jewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together upon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefest, and taking with them the garment and gate abovesayd, they goe directly to the Mosquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe coverture upon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serve in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it unto the pilgrimes at foure or five serafines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get never so litle a piece thereof, to conserve ever after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same under the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his sinnes are forgiven. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they give unto the Serifo. After having made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth unto his pavillion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

THe Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no issue male, save this stocke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of revenues royall, every yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all such as are of the prophets kinred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least have their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they have any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleevers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of God Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

THe Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is invironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasaunt gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite five miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, jocund, and lovely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are given to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein having washed themselves, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clensed from all sinne whatsoever, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the city is ye great Mosquita, [II. i. 208.] with the house of Abraham standing in the very middest thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet lived. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abovesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which divide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not provided of tents, resort hither, and for more devotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one upon another, so that their house of praier becommeth worse sometimes then a den of thieves.

Of the house of Abraham.

THe house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And upon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heaven, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wheresoever this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Moreover, they say that when this stone fell from heaven, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, otherwise they cary their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set upon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els save a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, having entred with the difficultie abovesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and covered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which serve to underproppe the Terratza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an evill smell. Without the gate five pases is the abovesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the lord shewed unto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we have sayd how the Mahumetans have two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carovan travelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carovan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither five or sixe dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may have time before the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carovan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe unto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come unto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquita, which environeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reverently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech Jara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche upon their right hand, whereon they ascend five steps, upon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other five steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like unto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere unto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seven times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his servant Abraham; This done, they goe to kisse that blacke stone abovesayd. After they go unto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they wash themselves from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking also of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill savour, and in this wise washed and watered, every one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies every one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which have a mind to overgoe their fellowes, and to go into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carovan remaineth there. [II. i. 209.]

What the Carovan doeth after having rested at Mecca.

THe Carovan having abode within the citie of Mecca five dayes, the night before the evening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Jabel Arafata. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The haven, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and environed round about with the goodliest plaine that ever with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort, that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth

The mountain of pardons.

verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place under the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Upon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and above all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselves, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Evah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were seperated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great joy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house upon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

Of the three Carovans.

THe same day that the Carovan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carovans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes journey round about, so that at one time there is to be seen above 200000. persons, and more then 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselves into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor seene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers unto God, and in the evening all they which have horses mount thereon, and approch as nigh unto the mountaine as they can, and those which have no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giving ever unto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approched as is abovesayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth five steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a short sermon of the tenour folowing.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

THe summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in briefe. He sheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath given to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloved friend and prophet Mahomet, having delivered them from the servitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gave unto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and likewise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giver of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers unto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiencie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for povertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which it became sorrowfull, [II. i. 210.] weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God having pitie and compassion upon this poore Mountaine, saide unto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints have ascended up into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolved from their sinnes, unlesse they first come to doe thee reverence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I have commanded unto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said, he exhorteth them unto the love of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely, the first for the Serifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry saying; Amni Ja Alla, Amni Ja Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus having had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came unto Mina, whereof wee have made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abovesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that every one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looseth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons until they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward, for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers every one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the abovesaid place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set in divers places, where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the divel made unto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had never bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God having commanded Abraham his faithfull servant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the divel exclaiming said: Oh doting old man, sith God in thine old age hath marveilously given thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giving credite unto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loved. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the divel seeing his words could not prevaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, have regard unto thy selfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered ye childe. Because (saith the divel) thy doting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemie) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke up stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the divel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the divel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the little stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the divell, when hee withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abovesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to proove how it would cut, and making triall divided the stone into two parts. The five dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carovan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other five dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida upon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

THerefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes journey: and because in those places it is ill traveiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the evening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunnerising they are arrived halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes upon the poore pilgrims: likewise departing the next evening, the morning after, they come unto Grida. This citie is founded upon the Red Sea banke, environed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to sea-ward it stands unwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, neere unto which are 6. or 7. Turks upon [II. i. 211.] the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons upon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall joyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like unto a bulwarke, where they have planted 25 pieces of the best ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the sea upon the farthest olde tower are other five good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Sanjaccho with 150 Turks wel provided with ordinance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and suspition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arrive every yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth unto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carovan which hath almost rested enough.

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red sea.

Forty or fifty rich ships arrive yerely at Grida.

Of their going to Medina.

THe Carovan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came unto Bedrihonem abovesayd, where they leave their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they have no need, with the pilgrims which have seene Medina aforetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carovan, and resting untill the carovan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come unto a great plaine called by them Jabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reverence. And being ascended up the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alaccha Jarah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Janabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Allaccha Jahabit Allah : which words in the Arabian tongue signifie : Prayer and health be unto thee, oh prophet of God : prayer and health be upon thee, oh beloved of God. And having pronounced this salutation, they proceed on their journey, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina : and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the governour under the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receive the Carovan, having pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

MEdina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not above two miles, having therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a fouresquare Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built upon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were under a pavement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Mosquita, being covered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone upon the top: and within the pavement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending up untill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleaving to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreover, over the body they have built a tombe of speckled stone a ‖ brace and an halfe high, and over the same another of Legmame fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without, that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres covered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants upon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, saving to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; unto whom it is lawfull to enter but twise in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other services. All the other eunuchs attend without to the service of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where every one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for devotion, as many do.

‖ *Or, a fathom.*

[II. i. 212.]

Of things without the City.

Without the city and on every side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much

A.D. c. 1580.

honest living, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, save that it is fairely built, and hath large revenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on every side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented unto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere unto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reverenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he sate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone fouresquare, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride upon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and every one of them hath a tombe built upon foure pillers, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

[The offering

The offering of the vestures unto the sepulchres.

THe Carovan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the evening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, untill he come to the Mosquita, where having praied, he presenteth unto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiving hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and dividing the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliver unto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great devotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their devotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Jambor. A good dayes journey thence is a steepe mountaine, over which is no passage, saving by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming unto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, divided it in sunder, and passing thorow saved his life on the other side. Moreover, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reverence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carovan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threescore horses come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell unto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receive him, with a sumptuous and costly banket made at the cost of the Basha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Basha, who receiving him with great joy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Basha, who having kissed it, commandeth to lay it up againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arrived at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. [II. i. 213.] But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselves, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carovan of Cairo.

The voyage and travell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are conteined the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and silver, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other jewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke.

Cæsar Fredericke to the Reader.

Cæsar Fredericke travelled eighteene yeeres in the East Indies.

I Having (gentle Reader) for the space of eighteene yeeres continually coasted and travelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I have had both good and ill successe in my travels: and having seene & understood many things woorthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were never as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had given me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the marvellous things I have seene in my travels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that governe those countreys, their religion and faith that they have, the rites and customes which they use, and live by, of the divers successe that happened unto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and jewels, giving also profitable advertisement to all those that have a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously rejoyce at this my travell, I have caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it unto you (gentle & loving Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it shall be with great delight receíved. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.

The authours going from Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

IN the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandise, governed by M. Jacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arrived in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my journey to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

Of the city called Bir.

BIr is a small city very scarse of all maner of victuals, and nere unto the walles of the city runneth the river of Euphrates. In this city the marchants divide themselves into companies, according to their merchandise that they have, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the river Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serve but for one voyage. They are made according to the sholdnesse of the river, because that the river is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the river. These boats serve but for one voyage downe the river unto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them up the river backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they sel them at Feluchia for seven or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they have marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they have not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carovan and company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia over against Babylon, if the river have good store of water, they shall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the river, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is

The river Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

Mosul.

[II. i. 214.]

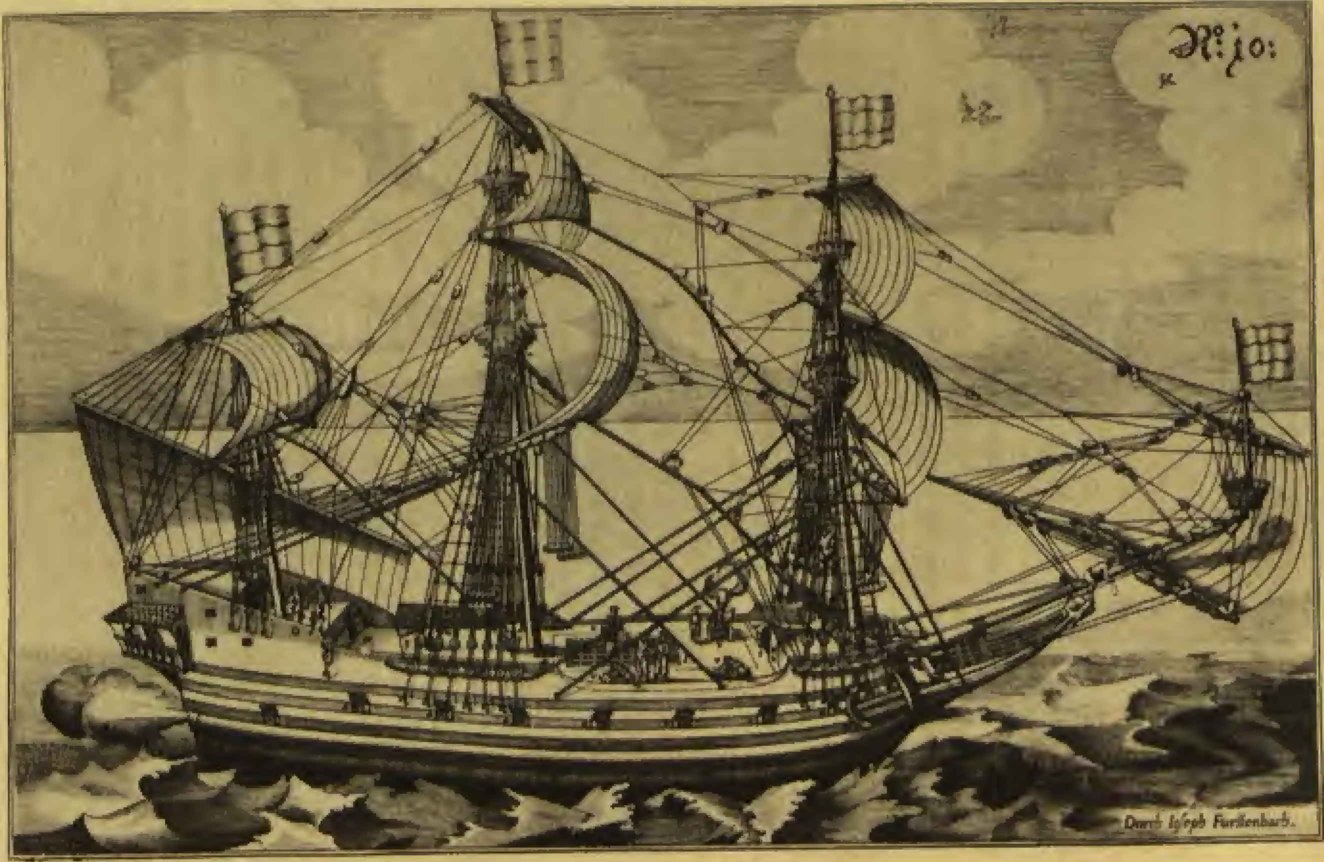
much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes journey downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the river, then they must unlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they have mended them : therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may have another ready to take in their goods, untill such time as they have mended the broken boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you : and in the rivers every night, when you make fast your boat to the banckeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theeves in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the river Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines upon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the river Euphrates.

The Arabian theeves are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

FEluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe unbarke themselves and unlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes journey and an halfe by land : Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia : and very often times there goe out from thence Carovans into divers countreys : and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the river of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Utrii. This river Tygris doeth

The olde Babylon hath great trade wt marchants still.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Durch Joſeph Furttenbach.

A VENETIAN MERCHANTMAN

wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon, where they unlade them, and being unladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now governed by the Turks. On the other side of the river towards Arabia, over against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing over Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: provided, that when the river waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other side of the river: and as long as the bridge is open, they passe the river in small boats with great danger, because of the smalnesse of the boats, and the overlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be overthrowen, or els the streame doth cary them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by proofe I have many times seene.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

THE Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seven or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on every side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost covered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of

These bricks be in thicknes six or seven inches, and a foot & a halfe square.

fouresquare Brickes, which Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: first they layed a lay of Brickes, then a Mat made of Canes, square as the Brickes, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Mats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of such great antiquity: I have gone round about it, and have not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my judgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then more.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My judgement & [II. i. 215.] reason of this is, that because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any shew saving the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect descrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that use to go in the river Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fusts or Galliots with a Speron and a covered poope: they have no pumpe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they have to pitch them with all: which pitch they have in abundance two dayes journey from Babylon. Nere unto the river Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere unto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very marvellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is throwen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinckled over all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people have great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the river of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse: we were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies, because the waters were low: they may saile day & night, and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes journey.

This hole whereout commeth this pitch is most true, and the water & pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch resteth, & the water runneth into the river Euphrates, and it maketh all the river to be as it were brackish with the smell of pitch and brimstone.

Basora.

Basora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was governed by those Arabians called Zizarii, but now it is governed by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarii, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarii have the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be overcome of the Turke, because that the sea hath divided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bring an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very strong and warlike men. A dayes journey before you come to Basora, you shall have a little castle or fort, which is set on that point of the land where the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two rivers make a monstrous great river, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South: Basora is distant from the sea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come

At the castle of Corna the river Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

from Ormus. Also there is great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thorow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene every board certaine straw which they have, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulfe, until at length we arrived at an Iland called Carichii, fro whence we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shore on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discovered infinite Ilands.

Ormus is the barrennest Iland in all the world.

Carichii an Iland in ye gulfe of Persia.

Ormus.

ORmus is an Iland in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelve miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adjoyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere unto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the maried men, souldiers and marchants of every nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and divers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of merchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore

Ormus is alwayes replenished with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.

Great trade of merchandise in Ormus.

[II. i. 216.]

king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they use in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Governour, and then he giveth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient revenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had : it behooveth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city : their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a shippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to advertise those Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselves in those shippes that carry horses, because every shippe that carrieth twenty horses or upwards is privileged, that all the marchandise whatsoever they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

The election of the king of Ormus.

A privilege for Marchants.

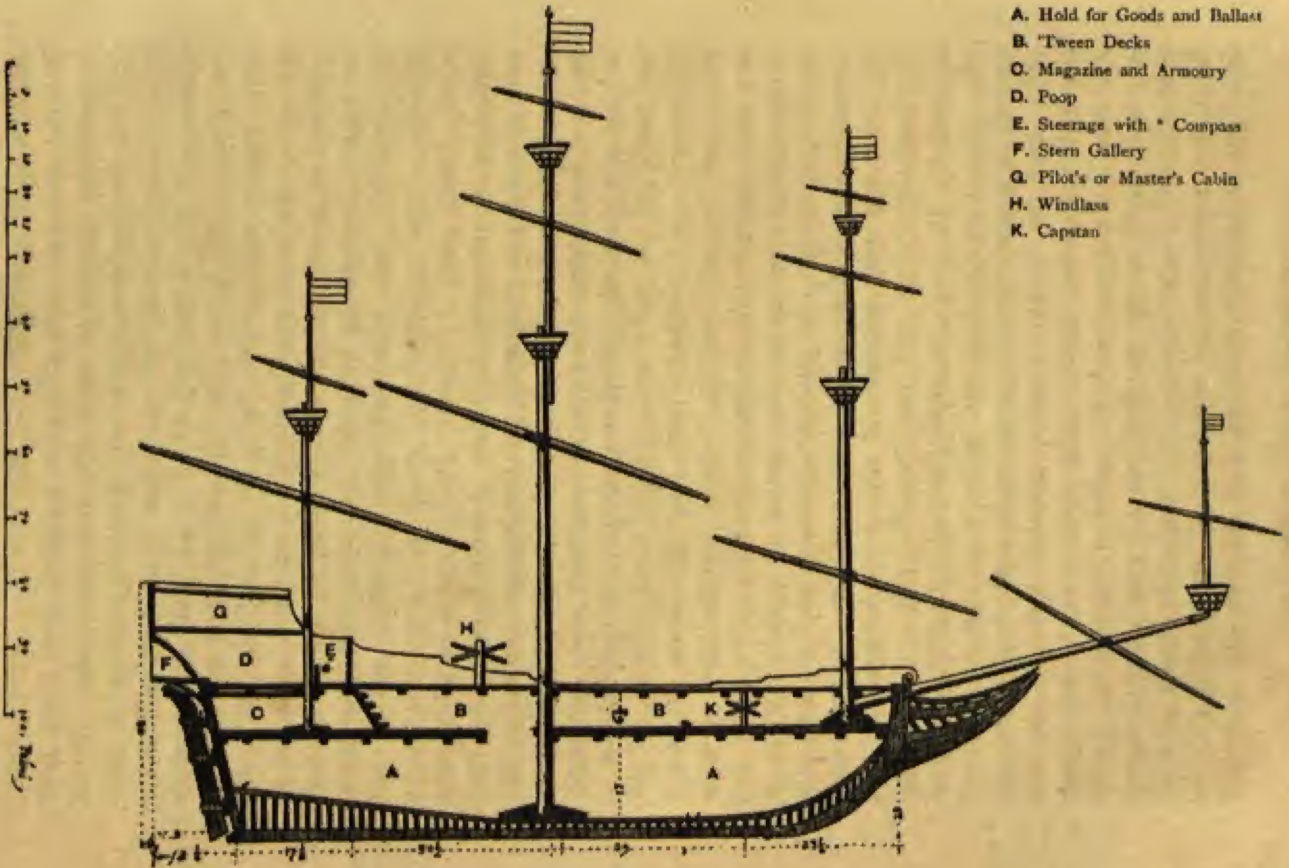
Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to

Diu. in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The marchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, unlesse it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called *Cambaietta.* Amadavar, it is a dayes journey and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & scarsenesse, so that I have seene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and have desired the Portugals to buy them, and I have seene them sold for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not have beleeved that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of every new Moone and every full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Velvets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with divers sorts of other marchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conserved, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonii, Hematists, and some kinde of naturall Diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will; but all the [II. i. 217.] Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certain Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and have every one of them fifteene or twenty servants, and the Marchants that use that countrey have their Brokers, with which they be served: and they that have not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they shall be served. Now every fifteene dayes (as abovesayd) that the fleet of small shippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants assoone as they are come on land, do give the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will have to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they have: and the marchant having taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies cary provision of housholde with them, because that in every place where they come they must have a new house, the Broker that hath received his cargason, com-

Marchants that travell to the Indies must cary their provision of houshold with them.

mandeth his servants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home, and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers have divers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bedsteds, tables, chaires, and empty jarres for water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he have any desire to sell his goods or marchandise, at the prises that such wares are worth at that present time? And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Marchant, you have so much of every sort of marchandise neat and cleare of every charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant understanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giveth order to make his marchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 dukets, all shalbe bartred or solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the prise currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and perchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those marchandise that come not ordinarily every fifteene dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks


A. Hold for Goods and Ballast
B. 'Tween Decks
C. Magazine and Armoury
D. Poop
E. Steerage with * Compass
F. Stern Gallery
G. Pilot's or Master's Cabin
H. Windlass
K. Capstan
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SECTION THROUGH MERCHANTMAN

that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to lade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very wel appointed, or els are guarded by the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries or Pyrats which goe coursing alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theeves there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or five captaines of the army divided the kingdome amongst themselves, and every one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelve yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes journy within the land of Amadavar, became the governour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, devising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought under obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I saw very marvellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannii, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of divers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which have their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent every yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Great store of men of warre and rovers on the coast of Cambaia.

A marvellous fond delight in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAving passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals have, called Daman, situate in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and [II. i. 218.] twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandise, save Rice and corne, and hath many villages under it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies have the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals have little benefit by them. Next unto Daman you shall have Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these have nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armesine, and weavers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Tana an Iland whereof Odoricus writeth, pag. 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals have is situate lower then the other, and governeth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores, governed by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and have unto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marsine, Versine, Porcelane of China, Velvets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come every yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great shippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but serveth for some use, and none of it is woorthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaves thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like unto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell under every tree, and every evening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scavasches for merchandise. The leaves they cut very small, and weave them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwen away or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquour of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of every sort, great store of Boraso in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, corne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not bee carried to and fro; yet although they bee made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them marvellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent unto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seven or eight dayes journey, which city is called Abneger. Threescore and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an haven of the king Zamalluco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet serviceable.

[II. i. 219.]

Goa.

The chiefe place the Portugals have in the Indies.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reasonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with divers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great trafique for all

A.D. 1563-81.

sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which commeth every yeere from Portugall, which are five or sixe great shippes that come directly for Goa, arrive there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whose chiefe city is up in the countrey eight dayes journey, and is called Bisapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to give assault to Goa, being encamped neere unto it by a river side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horses to that king: because the horses of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses: and it is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and upwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoever; whereas if they bring no horses, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two and forty pagodies for every horse, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are

A very good sale for horses.

of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horse, and to 1000 duckets a horse.

Bezeneger.

A most unkind & wicked treason against their prince: this they have for giving credit to strangers, rather then to their owne native people.

THe city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet these foure kings were not able to overcome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome governed by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull king in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the government on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was captaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, having lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the overthrow in the battell, the wives and children of these three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

The sacking of the city.

[II. i. 220.]

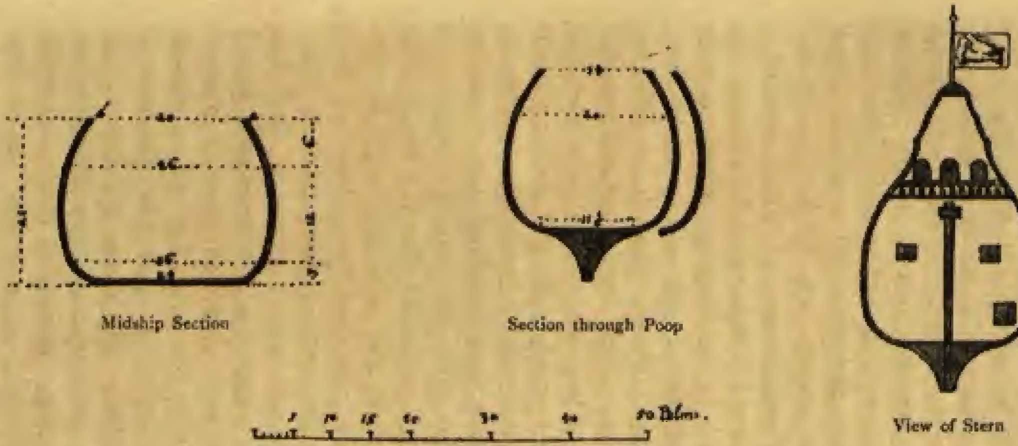
When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horses that were taken in the aforesayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither unto him, hee gave the Merchants faire wordes, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there untill the wayes were cleere of theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very earely, either on horsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with jewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thorow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spowse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the rivers side called Nigondin, which runneth under the walles of the City, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steppes up: the foresayd cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire

A discription of the burning place.

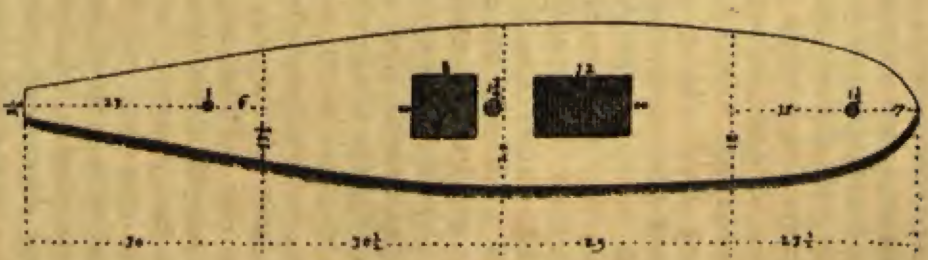
Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.


5
10
15
20
30
40
50 Palms.

Midship Section

Section through Poop

View of Stern


30
30½
25
27½
12

Deck Plan

MEASUREMENTS OF MERCHANTMAN

in the square cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinseman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresayd river, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsefolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the river, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinseman by the hand, and they go both together up to the pinnacle of the square cave wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and sprinckleth it over her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarse beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any

Mourning when they should rejoyce.

[II. i. 221.] great man, his wife with all his slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities amongst them, of which I have no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselves against nature and law, and it was told mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make provision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for every little displeasure that their husbands had done unto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull unto their husbands, and count their lives as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

The cause why the women do so burne themselves.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine

Penegonde.

sise and bigger then that sise, are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that have beene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great division in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I have seene many kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates: which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theeves, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets, or under porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came unto a river where was a little bridge to passe over, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the middest of the river there was a little Iland, unto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our journey, for that every day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome: and every morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or five pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new governours countrey, as every day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet every one of them stamped a several coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serve the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came

Men ride on bullocks, and travell with them on the way.

[II. i. 222.]

safe to Ancola, which is a country of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went every yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, jewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white bombast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandise that come in and out to Bezeneger every yere.

The apparell of those people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth unto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horses in a palanchine, and two Portugall souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies; all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid privily all the jewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleven of the clocke wee set forwards on our journey, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a mountaine which divideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company, was assaulted by eight theeves, foure of them had swordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes.

Their Winter is our Summer.

When the Falchines that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeves were on my necke and rifeling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leave the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeves sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two pursses that I had, well bound up together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeves thinking it had beene so many duckats of golde, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would have it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it up, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not have found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the use, I had thought to have seene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my jewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to have made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should have gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeves left me neither money, golde, nor silver, and that which I did eat was given me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you shall have from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which

Foure small fortes of the Portugals.

is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little fort called Barzelor, there they have good store of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you shall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that ye king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles: and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes having delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and [II. i. 223.] when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like unto our Ivie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistershels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is used daily, which thing I would not have beleeved, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profite by these Herbes, for that they have custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like unto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to have a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my judgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lustes, and of a knaverie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote, & maketh a very strong expulsion. From Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another smal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small

Bettell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieves, being under the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger theeves, and those bee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thieves part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giveth leave unto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is such a number of thieves, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15 miles.

Cochin.

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper.

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by ye streights.

COchin is, next unto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales have in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in sackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that give a better price, have it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate neerest unto the Sea, and that of the king of

Cochin is a mile and a halfe up higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one river which is very great and of a good depth of water which river commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdome are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they have by the great privileges which the Citizens have of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the privilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withall that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin having understanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speach of this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin [II. i. 224.] is of a small power in respect of the other kings of

Great privileges that the citizens of Cochin have.

the Indies, for hee can make but seventie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their lives any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselves forward in every danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle upwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and having their haire very long and rolled up together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi have their wives common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaveth his sworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

A very strange thing hardly to be beleeved.

The Nairi and their wives use for a braverie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they esteeme themselves. I had leave of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme up to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they have for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for

Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leave to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conserved, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great store into Portugale.

Note the departing of the ships from Cochin.

The shippes every yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seventie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seventie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chialo, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in converting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

The order how they fish for pearles.

THe Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make every yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fishe every yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Divers, that goe to discover where the greatest heapes of Oisters bee under water, and right agaynst that place where greatest store of Oisters bee, there they make or plant a village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere unto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fishe. The Fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fustes armed to defend the Fishermen from Rovers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the [II. i. 225.] order that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle lesse, there goe seven or eight men in a boate: and I have seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or under his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee filleth the basket, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one untill they have laden their barke with oysters, and at evening they come to the village, and then every company maketh their mountaine or heape of oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched untill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing every companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if every oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that have no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of every countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought up at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the pearles.

These pearles are prised according to the caracts which they weigh, every caract is 4. graines, and these men that prise them have an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort ye perles withall.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and have a small hold of the Portugales being situate over agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee emptie, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run over every Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane untill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholdes, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they have sailed sixe and thirtie miles, they arrive at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forciblie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not having any other refuge to save themselves. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thorow, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abovesayd, whose chanell is Oazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not more sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shalow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles overthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my judgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of [II. i. 226.] that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being deprived of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger sonne, was deprived of his kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and brother being prince, usurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee lived secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I have sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaves like to our Baie tree.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamom. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth up to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from joint to joint, above and belowe, and then easilie with *A rare thinge.* their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but agaynst the next yeere it will have a new barke, and that which is gathered every yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

Negapatan.

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men use to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither have they any trade there, save a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbast which they carie into divers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neverthelesse the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and have their Churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great devotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred, sixtie and five: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they having denied them unto him, and gainesayd his demaund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens understood, they doubted some evill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to sacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselves the best they could with their mooveables, marchandize, jewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their evill chance would have it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were saved, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would have happened.

A foolish feare of Portugals.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

[II. i. 227.]

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they have heard to have bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere unto this Church the Portugals have builded them a Citie in the countrey subject to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great, yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great devotion, their houses be set close one unto another, with little doores, every house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend ye Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there have no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie: the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches

S. Thomas his sepulchre.

and great trade: there come every yeere two or three great ships very rich, besides many other small ships: one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast cloth of every sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded with divers colours, and the more they be washed, the livelier the colours will shew. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is woven with divers colours, and is of great value: also they make in Sant Tome great store of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will never waste, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew: they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weave it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a marvelous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee served with small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waves of the sea that are on that shore, untill that they carie them to the ships: and in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and

A painted kind of cloth & died of divers colours which those people delight much in, and esteeme them of great price.

sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa unto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went unto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people savage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands have warre one with another, for they have small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by evil chance any ship be lost on those Ilands, as many have bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslaine. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live onely of such fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any ship come neere unto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere unto our ship laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, these

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Ilands of Andemaon they eate one another.

[II. i. 228.] ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke unto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let us hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall have for an old shirt a good piece of Amber.

Sumatra.

THis Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and devided and governed by many kings, and devided into many chanels, where through there is passage: upon the headland towardes the West is the kingdom of Assi governed by a Moore king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Foists and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin: he is an utter enemy to the Portugals, and hath divers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Assi.

The Citie Malacca.

The great trade that is at Malacca.

MAlacca is a Citie of marveilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from divers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they unlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and have not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I have not passed further then Malacca towards the East, but that which I wil speake of here is by good information of them that have bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Japan, and so forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leave granted unto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the jurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, & these are the kings voiages, that every yere there departeth from Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of them goeth to ye Moluccos to lade Cloves, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, saving the portage of the Mariners and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiages for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not have where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coast of Java, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Assa, and these be the Maces, Cloves, and Nutmegs, which go for the streights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Japan, from China to Japan, and from Japan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and every sort of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coast of Java, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ship that goeth every yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth divers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is silver. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Japan goeth every yeere a shippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of silver which they trucke in China. The distance betweene China and Japan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are divers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloves.

The kingdome of Assa.

The ship of drugs, so termed of the Portugals.

Ilands not discovered. there like to themselves. From these Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet discovered for the great sholdnesse of Sandes that they find. The Portugals have made a small citie neere unto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood, and it hath a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes journey and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are so jealous and fearefull, that they would not have a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge within the citie, but send them foorth into the suburbes. The countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be judged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeve there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world besides. *China is under the government of the great Tartar.*

[II. i. 229.] First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quicksilver and of Cinaper, great store of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diverse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the rootes of China: and every yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious marchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence over lande, by the way of Persia, because that every yeere there goeth a great Carovan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carovan arriveth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with *A yeerely Carovan from Persia to China.*

a Persian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the jurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Every yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this Iland: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship every yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere unto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that every day there is a mart kept in the ship, untill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiages, he selleth them to another.

A market kept aboord of the ships.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

SIon was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixtie and seven, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths journey with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gave assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them

A prince of marveilous strength and power.

that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became governour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his wives and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captives into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, silver, jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had understanding by advise that the king of *Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore upon this he would not give licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer us to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were driven too and fro, so that the first lande that we discovered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then five hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere unto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat so sore and hoarse,

*Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

that I could never satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I judge the reason of my hoarsenesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are so hot [II. i. 230.] that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would have given a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not have it. Truely I beleeve that I had died with my slave, whom then I had to serve mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to provide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slave for halfe that he was worth, because that I would save his drinke that he drunke, to serve my owne purpose, and to save my life.

Of the kingdome of Orisa, and the river Ganges.

ORisa was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might have gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land sixe dayes journey. This king loved strangers marveilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grievous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and every yeere in the port of Orisa were laden five and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and divers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great store of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great store of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the

The commodities that go out of Orisa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of Patane, which was also king of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enjoyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towardes the East a hundred and seventie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this river, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselves together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot prevaile against that streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the river untill the next flowing water, and they call these barkes Bazaras and Patvas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor, and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwardes the river is very shallowe, and litle water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made

The river of Ganges.

me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan, I sawe this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade.

Of the citie of Satagan.

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

IN the port of Satagan every yeere lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the king of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe up and downe the river of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie [II. i. 231.] with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went up and downe the river and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, nevertheless there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I have spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters, and wheras I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and every day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make

Moores are of the sect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone untill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie jarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the river. These things every night as I passed up and downe the river I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the river Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is woont to be made in five and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told us that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanasary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanasari was.

Marchandise comming from Sion.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great rivers side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin, a few cloves, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be whole againe, and I have seene it proved, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctors of phisicke, that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is every yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is over against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for us in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelve of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selves to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the evill counsell of the two Portugales that were with us.

Niper wine good to cure the French disease.

For we had overshot the harbour and left it behind us, in such wise that we had lost the lande inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with us in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for

Great extremitie at sea.

Tavay under the king of Pegu.

some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would have eaten it at a meale: I tooke the government of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for us until it pleased God to send us to some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys uninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would have [II. i. 232.] seemed sugar unto us, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaves of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a cave or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe unto us: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and have no shell about them but a tender skinne, every day we sodde a kettle full of those egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discovered certaine fisher men, a fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were never men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tavay, under the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arrivall there, we would eate but litle meate any of us, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of us. From Tavay to Martavan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seventie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were aboundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martavan, where in short time we arrived, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that she wanted her boat a moneth, which should have made her provision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arrived safely in the aforesaid port of Martavan.

The Citie of Martavan.

Martavan a citie under the king of Pegu.

WE found in the Citie of Martavan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or governour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine five falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They have for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being wheresoever his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that every fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carovan of Falchines, with every one a basket on his head full of some fruites or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carovan passing by Martavan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despight, and from wordes to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugales had the worse, the night following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these

A custom that these people have when the king is in the warres.

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Falchines being the servants of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gave commaundement that the malefactors should be kept untill his comming home, and then he would duely minister justice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliver those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went every day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the king: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales use such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stoode in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not unlade my goods because that they were more sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diverse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not unlade any of their goods there, unlesse I would unlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost every whit. The Rector with the customer sent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goods on lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should have no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should have any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my

Great pride of the Portugales.

[II. i. 233.]

reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and so presently he sent for the Bargits, which are as Counsellers of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should have any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles devised to be revenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution untill such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor sent, and gave commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did so bragge, at that time put themselves to flight most shamefully, and saved themselves a boord of litle shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbes also. After this the Portugales that were

A revenge on the Portugales.

fledde into the shippes to save themselves, tooke a newe courage to themselves, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbes, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to have beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recover any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousand duckats, which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might have had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales understanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure days, but all was in vaine, for the shotte never hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere unto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceived that the Portugales made battery against the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry untill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done unto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man should doe me injurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee perfourmed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my supplication unto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martavan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure daies; they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall have a Macareo, which is one of the most marveilous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I never saw any thing so hard to be beleeved as this, to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martavan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chanell towardes some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land: and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would overthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Channell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prowe to the streme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow up by strength, shee would be overthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waves. So that the first washeth over the barke, from stemme

A thing most marveilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth should quake.

[II. i. 234.]

This tide is like to the tides in our river of Severne.

These tides make their just course as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide or a currant.

Houses made of canes & covered with leaves of trees.

Godon is a place or house for marchants to lay their goods in.

The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rayseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no jot of time, for if you arrive not at the stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these stagions, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martavan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes up aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could never gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in deminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbes. Their houses be made with canes, and covered with leaves, or with strawe, but the marchants have all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to save them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, five for every square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and covered or guilt with gold, the streetes thereof are the fayrest that I have seene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their use, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphants appointed for the service of the kings person, and amongst all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants give for every man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they have payde the aforesayde Tansa, they make chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, every man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This King amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these

A rich and stately palace.

Foure white Eliphants.

This money called Tansa is halfe a duckat which may be three shillings & foure pence.

A warlike policie.

An excellent devise to hunt and take wilde Eliphants.

white Eliphantes, and would not send them unto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete service, every one of them is in a house, all guilded over, and they have their meate given them in vessels of silver and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greatest that hath bene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marveilous [II. i. 235.] thing. It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all have their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many yong Eliphants that have not their teeth sprowted foorth: also this king hath a brave devise in hunting to take these Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere unto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this businesse. Every hunter carieth out with him five or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they have, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leave them: when the hunts-men have made provision, & the Eliphant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long streight way with trees on both the sides, which covereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters have gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to give knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, asmuch as is possible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and assoone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiveth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he justleth, hee thrusteth under the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kil some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; at length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinckleth it over the heades of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himself to go backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not swift to save themselves: at length when

An excellent pastime of the Eliphants.

These canes are like to them in Spaine which they call Joco de tore.

they have gotten him into one of those houses, they stand over him in a loft and get ropes under his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and give him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or five dayes, they unloose him and put one of the females unto him, and give them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my judgment there is not a beast so intellective as are these Eliphants, nor of more understanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humaine speech.

A strange thing that a beast so wilde should in so short time be made tame.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands under their bellies: and in every Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Eliphant is so hard, that an harquebusse will not pierce it, unlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and have a very excellent order in their battel, as I have seene at their feastes which they make in the yeere, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they have in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they have very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreaseth dayly. Because the king will have them shoote every day at the Plancke, and so by con-

The greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath.

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

[II. i. 236.]

tinuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great Ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and sixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fielde against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, & the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleeve it. I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers have eaten of all sorts of wild beasts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwise all serveth for their mouthes: yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they wil maintaine themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaves of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that serveth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie unto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath divers Magasons ful of treasure, as gold, & silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere unto his royal pallace there is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with lead, & in every one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great valure. In the first house there is a stature of the

26. Crowned kings at his command.

Fifteene hundreth thousand men in one Campe.

Eating of serpents.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceedes the height of any one roofe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may go & see it: for the keepers therof never forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this king every yere in his feastes triumpheth: & because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy over it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lordes & nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it upright that it fal not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & upon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most favored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, there are in his dominions, a marveilous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300 concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath

The great pompe of the king.

90. children. This king sitteth every day in person to heare the suites of his subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The king sitteth up aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree, these leaves are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for y^t purpose, & in those leaves are their supplications written, & with their supplications, they have in their hands a present or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come ye secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that favour or justice that they demaund, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unlesse it bee at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast woven and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more livelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layd great store of red yarne, of bombast died with a roote which they call

The order of Justice.

No difference of persons before the King in controversies or in justice.

[II. i. 237.]

The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.

Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will never out. With which marchandise every yeere there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if she stay until the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their use was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to have the wind alwayes to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arrive not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anker there, then with great labour they may save their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala every yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arrive is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martavan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither

Note the departure of the ships from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth sterling 7. shillings.

into the same port laden with peper; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it up the river in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherin they make the custome of the marchandize. When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giveth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe up to Pegu with their marchandize; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe up to Pegu in company. God deliver every man that hee give not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the jewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinels pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I have spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must cary al maner of houshold stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

Great rigour for the stealing of Customes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the river side, and there tary until the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, having on both sides of the rivers many great vilages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage up to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelve miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he have wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount unto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse stolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man have his eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to have many friendes, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these gentlemen have no shame that their slaves rob strangers: whether it be cloth in shewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves, a man cannot choose but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that

Description of the fruitfulnesse of that soyle.

Deling is a small litter caried with men as is aforesaid.

[II. i. 238.]

you have, & not by rate of every sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price, they sel them away, and the brokers have two in the hundreth of every sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neverthelesse he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor, and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but every man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his just partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or silver, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, silver and

A lawe for Banckrupts.

Every man may stampe what money he wil.

other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for ye accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza never changeth: every Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if he wil do well, it behoveth him to be a whole yere there to do his businesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conveniently for the brevitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold, and silver, which is never wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be advertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, & that their paiment shalbe in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sel every thing with great advantage. And how needful is it to be advertized, when they wil recover their paiments, in what order they shal receive their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Gansa, as also in the falsenesse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receive money or make paiment, he must take a publique

How a man may dispose himselfe for the trade in Pegu.

Good instructions.

wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and give him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath received any store, then hee causeth it to bee brought into the Magason of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiveth his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a [II. i. 239.] moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they have aboundance of Canes, but they give them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaves or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with brickes and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a covering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varely or idol houses

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Idol houses covered with gold.

great store of leafe-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with gold, and some of them are covered with golde from the top to the foote: in covering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that every 10. yeeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great aboundance of golde. For every 10. yeres the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of jewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall have as good jewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Jewels. These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceive that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Marchants in that Citie that have very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

them unto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to have them returned. For these men have alwayes great care that they affoord good peniworths, especially to those that have no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite: and when those Marchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not understand howe the Jewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants have their hands under a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For every joynt and every finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should understand the bargaine, it would breede great controversie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. having gotten well by my endevour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tary until March.

An honest care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers under a cloth.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to go by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin, before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to understand, that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but every 10. or 12. yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

This Touffon is an extraordinary storme at Sea.

[II. i. 240.]

The Toufon commeth but every 10. *or* 12. *yeeres.*

Unfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it happened well unto us, for that our ship was newly over-plancked, and had not any thing in her save victuall and balasts, Silver and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast over boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a sholde: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the divine power, there came a great wave of the Sea, which drave us beyonde the should. And when wee felt the shippe aflote, we rose up as men revived, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelve fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left us at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that she should not overthrow.

A manifest token of the ebbing and flowing in those Countreis.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discovered an Island not farre from us, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my judgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is divided into two parts by a chanell which passeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh us. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right over against the ship with all maner of provision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told us that we were deceived the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such aboundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it.

This Island is called Sondiva.

Sondiva is the fruitfullest Countrey in al the world.

This Island is called Sondiva belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, & every day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no smal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord every night as the use is, but the governour of the towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the governour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact: and moreover he did us every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subjects to one king. We departed from Sondiva, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the governours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port,

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ships.

The King of Rachim, or Aracam, neighbour to Bengala.

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and comming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deviseth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of *Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Aracam.

The commodities that goe from Chatigan to the Indies.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great store of rice, very great quantitie of Bombast cloth of every sort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arrived not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arrived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discovering of Cochin, we also discovered the last shippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marveilously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arrived at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy

The Portugal ships depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was besieged.

would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a smal quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde that for five hundreth duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, every thing was so scarse: For every chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Livers, which is sixe shillings, or sixe shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for, whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundreth duckets, every ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreover I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good commoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I understood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

the Island of Zeilan the Pilote was deceived, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might have passed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to go out, by reason the winds blew so fiercely against us. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardly saved her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary us to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the rest of the marchants; and ariving at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, so that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would have proved, if my adverse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles, and [II. i. 242.] by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arived a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizze before, was solde for 2. Bizze & an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship; so that I was glad to stay two yeres in Pegu unlesse I would have given away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. *Peper tree.* The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Ivie, which runneth up to the tops of trees wheresoever it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Ivie berry, and those berries be graines of peper: so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Ginger. The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in divers places.

Cloves. The Cloves come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

Nutmegs and Maces. The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

White Sandol. All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. *Canfora.* Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

Lignum Aloes.

Benjamin.

The Benjamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi and Sion.

Long peper.

Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Java.

This Muske the Jewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muske and beat the flesh of an asse and put in the roome of it.

Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take alive, & beat him to death with small staves y^t his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a morter very smal, and dry it, and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the cods of muske.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are divers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found upon the sea bankes.

Rubies, Saphyres, and Spinels.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from divers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Java, but the Diamants of Java are more waightie then the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called Balassi come.

The Balassi growe in Zeilan.

Pearles they fish in divers places, as before in this booke is showne.

Spodiom.

On the coast of Melynde in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, the great trade that the Portugals have.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I have said before) they make their houses there of woven canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongst the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores.

Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the use of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, slaves called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies under his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they use to goe in small shippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speach one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongst the Sea coast, and lay them downe: and so depart, and the Cafar Marchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leave their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then commeth the Cafar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Cafar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will have no more trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they have offered ynough, for they be a peevish people, and have dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we

Buying and selling without words one to another.

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Golden trades that the Portugals have.

fraighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with us there went other Marchants, which did ease our fraight, and very commodiously wee came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for providing a Carovan of barks to go to Babylon, because they use not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the river, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be wel provided of armor, for respect & safegard of our goods, because the number of theeves is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, until the Carovan was ready to go over the wildernes, or desert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, five Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selves with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes; and wee bought horses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. akens, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did us very great pleasure: we had also amongst us 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for every camels lading, and for every 10. camels they made 11, for so is their use and custome. We take also with us 3. men to serve us in the voyage, which are used to goe in those voyages for five D d. a man, and are bound to serve us to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carovan maketh but small journeis about 20. miles a day, & they set forwards every morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe.

An order how to provide to goe over the Desert from Babylon to Alepo.

We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we never wanted water, but every day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for every good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of every thing, and every day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with us with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and every marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gave the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they have the heads, the skinnes, and the intrals of every sheepe they kil. We sixe bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. alive of them. And in the Carovan they use this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

36. Dayes journey over the wildernes.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes journey, of the which they make 36. dayes over the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots go before, and the Carovan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carovan unladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe over the wildernesse. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited until we have passed the river Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we have villages inhabited. In this Carovan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Justice unto all men: and every night they keepe watch about the Carovan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo,

An order how to provide for the going to Jerusalem.

and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with us to Jerusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arrived at Jaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Jerusalem, and we gave order to our barke to tary for us untill our returne. Wee stayed in Jerusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we returned to Jaffa, and from Jaffa to Tripolie, and there wee shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the divine power, we arrived safely in Venice the fift of November 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I have passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore from Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Master Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carovan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carovan was robd, and all my goods lost saving foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeves thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them up, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I adventured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be unmindfull to put them in remembrance, that have a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and give them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales have in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the governours whereof, if you give them for their paines, will take a coppy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there

[II. i. 244.]

The author returneth to Venice 1581.

A very good order that they have in those Countreys for the recovering of the goods of the dead.

goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recover the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that have not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesaide schooles, the Captaines wil consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and have his Will made, and hath given order that the schoole of Misericordia shall have his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they give intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soever it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath never bene any deceit or fraude used in this matter. I have knowen many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they have desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and have departed with al their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serveth for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene brases, which they binde up betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter, and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hive on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted up: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men never goe on foote, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaves of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirops. All sorts of women whatsoever they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before; so straite that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this use was invented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remove from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly given unto: which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled up about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a cloake.

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

Now to finish that which I have begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they must governe themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why? to such there shal never want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

[Letters

[II. i. 245.] Letters concerning the voyage of M. John Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the Levant Sea to Syria, and overland to Balsara, and thence into the East Indies, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

A letter written from the Queenes Majestie, to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by John Newbery. In February Anno 1583.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the most invincible, and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Invincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subjects have, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoever they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter John Newbery, joyntly with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Majestie through your royal grace, will favourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make us greatly beholding to your Majestie; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Majesties humanitie in these uttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we use the fewer and lesse words: onely we request that because they are our subjects, they may be honestly intreated and received. And that in respect of the hard journey which they have undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Majestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such privileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperiall majestie shal to our subjects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Majestie to farewel.

A letter written by her Majestie to the King of China, in Februarie 1583.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and invincible prince, our honest subject John Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our favour hath taken in hand the voyage which nowe hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting upon any other ground then upon the favour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooved to undertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee having entred into so many perils, your Majestie will not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable unto your royall Majestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage unto us well liked of. For by this meanes we perceive, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in ye West do receive, your Imperial majestie & those that be subject under your dominion, to their great joy and benefit shal have the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we have plenty, & in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing we are borne and made to have need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Majestie wil wel like of it, & by your subjects w^t like indevor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Majestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other privileges most necessary to use the trade with your men, your majestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserve so much of us, as by no continuance or length of time shalbe forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your majestie, and so great a benefit towards us & our men, we shall endevor by diligence to requite when time shal serve thereunto. The God Almighty long preserve your Imperial majestie.

A letter of M. John Newbery, written from Alepo, to M. Richard Hakluit of Oxford, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

Right welbeloved, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Gravesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained upon our coast untill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till wee arrived in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie of this present we [II. i. 246.] came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within five or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Stevens in Goa, as also the note you gave mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings unawares, the which I have sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they have not all with them above 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes journey from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with divers captaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Jones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your loving friend to command in all that I may.
John Newberie.

Another letter of the said M. Newberie, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from Alepo.

Right welbeloved, my very heartie commendations unto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained upon our owne coast, untill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no *March* 11.

The last of April. place until our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make us thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arrived here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you have received. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I have not seene the accompt thereof, neither have demaunded it: for ever since our comming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. *Currall. Amber greese. Sope. Broken glasse.* Wee have bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serve very wel for those places that wee shall goe unto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound. Besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very well to speake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to travell for three or foure yeeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being used in good order: for there should come in every ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to have two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went [II. i. 247.] from Tripolis in a small barke to Jaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Jerusalem: God send them and us safe returne. At this instant I have received the account of M. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserve us. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured, John Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide M. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, & arrived at Feluge the 19 day of June, which Feluge is one dayes journey from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our comming hither we have found very small sales, but divers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may proove true. I thinke cloth, kersies & tinne, have never bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort of spices at Babylon.

Balsara.

Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant.

The prices of spices at Babylon.

CLoves and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.

Cynamom 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.

Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.

Ginger 40 medins.

Pepper, 75 medins.

Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.

Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.

Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and every bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of July, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. John Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

Right welbeloved and my assured good friends, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed from you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arrived here, & the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil send us all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, upon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therfore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe us great good: for they cannot with justice put us to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe us long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or forty crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recover this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

[Il. i. 248.]

[His second

His second Letter to the foresaid Master John Eldred and William Shales.

THe barke of the Jewes is arrived here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherfore I pray you shew him what favor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, wherby I certified you what had happened there unto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arrivall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused us, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arrived there, this Stropene accused us that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides divers other lies: notwithstanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely have traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Jewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all justice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid us. But now I have as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwise except this, we have as much libertie as any other nation, for I have our goods againe, & have taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

Two causes of our mens imprisonment at Ormus.

There were two causes which moved the captaine of Ormus to imprison us, & afterwards to send us hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused us of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest justice in Ormus, who was called Aveador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aveador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloves, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiving that this did greatly grieve them, I asked, if they would be revenged of me for that which M. Drake had done? To the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

[II. i. 249.] He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would understand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres or Jesuits of S. Pauls colledge to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his servantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuysen, whose name is John Linscot, who did us great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of us. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who travelled very much for us, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called ‖ Padre Thomas Stevens.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

‖ This is he whose letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was sometimes of New colledge in Oxford.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing up hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arrivall here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aveador, who is the chiefest justice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent us backe againe to prison.

James Storie their painter.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, James Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

They arrived at Goa the 20 of November 1583.

And upon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arrivall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibility to have made as good a voyage as ever any man made with so much money. Many of our things I have solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: & so with officers I went divers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gave order that I should deliver all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scrivano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scrivano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliver into the hands of the Aveador generall of India: but at our arrivall here, the Aveador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not prove any thing against us: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arrivall, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scrivano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receive them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receive them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or five daies. But afterward when they should deliver the money, it was concluded by the justice, that both the money and goods should be delivered into the positors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of silver and gilt, sixe knives, sixe spoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for five and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had five emrauds set in golde, which were woorth five hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelve larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides divers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieveth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in divers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that have passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that have chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write unto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, & from thence by the ships they may be conveyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either [II. i. 250.] in Portuguise or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abovesaid.

LOving friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I have not written unto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelve dayes journey downe the river Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer upon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selves for Ormuz, where we arrived the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued untill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to *Diu.* water the 20 of November, we arrived at Goa the 29 *Chaul.* of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued untill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Stevens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for us unto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood us in as much stead, as our lives and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to us, if we had escaped with our lives, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered us, if we could put in suerties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found suerties for us, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see us abroad: and many marvell at our delivery. The painter is in the cloister of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we have beene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which wil sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our suerties discharged. Then I thinke it wil be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles have bene so great, & so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a brave and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the East.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marveilous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe over to certifie you of strange things, untill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who ever preserve you and us all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set [II. i. 251.] foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven dayes with the Carovan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe travaile with Camels.

Birra. Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the river of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. These boats be but for one voiage; for the streame doth runne so fast downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes journey, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much a doe to save your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeves, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the river of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages upon the river. *Felugia.* Felugia where you unlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon. Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the river of Tygris. They are brought upon raftes made of goates skinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde upon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to serve another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subject to the Turke. Over against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon upon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boates are to passe up or downe the river, they take away certaine of the boates untill they be past.

The Tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaves of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great plaine betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

The tower of Babel.

By the river Euphrates two dayes journey from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere unto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the out side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Boyling pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

Basora in times past was under the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the river Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeves all and have no setled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wives and children and all. They have large blew gownes, their wives eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfe of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes, and sowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huske of Cocoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaves sowed upon the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so having Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes, and among others the famous [II. i. 252.] Ilande Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus. Ormus is an Island in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portugales have a castle here which standeth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale having under him a convenient number of souldiers, wherof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moore to their king, which is chosen and governed by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings set with jewels, and lockes of silver and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde upon the side of their noses. Their eares with the weight of their jewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from us by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October he shipped us and sent us for Goa unto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horses in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arrived at upon the fift of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that province, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes journey from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare upon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Daman the second towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They have many villages under them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maister of

Diu.

Daman.

Basaim. *Tana.* them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of November we arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. *Chaul.* There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little above that is the towne of the Moores which is governed by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitablest tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaves are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot upon it, which they emptie every morning and every evening, and still it and put in certaine dried raysins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Hither many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse: for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but live by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive: if shee will not, her [II. i. 253.] head is shaven, and then is never any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the towne they have hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the Ants.

Goa.

Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals have in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seven dayes journey. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our comming we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could proove nothing by us. We continued in prison untill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne; which sureties father Stevens an English Jesuite which we found there, & another religious man a friend of his procured for us. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demaunded more: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Justice to have our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere five moneths and could proove nothing against us. The Viceroy made us a very sharpe answere, and sayd we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against us. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then

This was the 20. of November.

to bee in danger for ever to be slaves in the country, for it was told us we should have ye strapado. Wherupon presently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set over the river, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came unto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones. From Bellergan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

Bellergan a towne.

Bisapor.

Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Servidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to

Masulipatan.

Servidore.

Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of silver round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good silver. It is marveilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of corne and Rice. We found mariages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of five or six yeeres old. They both do ride upon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together untill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so yoong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may have a father in lawe to helpe to bring up the children which bee maried: and also that they will not leave their sonnes without wives, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong towne. It was besieged twelve yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It standeth upon a very great high rocke as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Ugini and Serringe, where wee overtooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marveilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many rivers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very

Bellapore.

Strange mariages.

[II. i. 254.]

Mandoway a very strong town.

Ugini.

Agra a great citie.

great citie and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streetes, with a faire river running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: such store of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes: they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be used here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staied all three untill the 28. of September 1585. and then master John Newberie tooke his journey toward the citie of Lahor, determining from

The great Mogor.

The like is reported of the cities of China.

thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage unto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gave him an house and five slaves, an horse, and every day sixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities downe the river Jemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They live with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30. or 40. times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, & to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water side singing, & there

Wil. Leades served the king of Cambaia.

The superstitious ceremonies of the Bramanes.

do wash themselves, & then use their ceremonies, & marke themselves in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may have 7. wives. They be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. From Agra I came to Prage, where the river *Ganges.* Jemena entreth into the mightie river Ganges, and Jemena looseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the [II. i. 255.] Northwest, & runneth East into the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partriges & turtle-doves, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in these countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he covered his privities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand upon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shaven save the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shave them round, all but the crowne. In this river of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adjoyning very fruitfull. *Bannaras.* From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that ever I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and pecocks, and some like the devil with foure armes and 4. hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, & give them of their sacrifices. And when they give, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in divers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they have divers great stones carved, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon some rice, wheate, barly, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they have a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather up the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy. They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves overhead,

A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.

and lade up water with both their handes, and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise up and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelve times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done, they goe to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols.

They have in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde upon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many give them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride upon peacockes and other foules which be evill favoured, with long haukes bils, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giveth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe presently eate them. The wives here doe burne with their husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked save a litle cloth [II. i. 256.] bound about their middle. Their women have their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of Ivorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him upon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the river. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a priest, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they give the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with divers things in it: the cloth hee laieth upon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and saieth certaine wordes: and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot upon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe,

This tying of new maried folks together by the clothes, was used by the Mexicans in old time.

and then they give somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and evill favoured, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse, some having one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They have continually lampes burning before them. *Patenaw.* From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the river of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great rivers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces upwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There be very many thieves in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they have no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women bee so decked with silver and copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they weare on their toes. *Gold found.* Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and have many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and covered with strawe, the streetes are very large.

In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here under the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I saw a dissembling prophet which sate upon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries be much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

Tanda in Gouren.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great store of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the river Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the river Jemena, and downe the river Ganges, I was five moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time.

[II. i. 257.]

Couche: this seemeth to be Quicheu, accounted by some among the provinces of China.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes journy Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes & driven into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground above knee deepe, so that men nor horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people have eares which be marveilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other living creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil give him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They wil give meat to the Ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they use to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thieves, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno southwestward, standeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa standeth 6. daies journey from Satagan, southwestward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerva, it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every yere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places; & lade from thence great store of Rice, & much cloth

Pure Gentilisme.

In Mexico they use likewise for small money the fruit Cacao, which are like almonds.

Hugely.

Porto Angeli.

The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia.

of cotton wooll, much sugar, & long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they cal pericose, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates have 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great estimation, for having good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Satagam I travelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen have almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes under the king of Recon.

Satagam.

Tippara or porto Grande.

There is a country 4. daies journie from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscovia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths journey. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies journey off it, he may see it perfectly. Upon these mountains are people which have eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be upon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say,

Bottanter a great Northren country.

Marchants of China, Moscovie and Tartarie.

These seeme to be the mountains of Imaus called by the people Cumao.

from under the sunne, which is from China, which have no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountains which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northren merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscovia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they have very good horses, but they be litle: some men have foure, five, or sixe hundred horses and kine: they live with milke and fleshe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long: they use to hang them for braverie upon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much used in Pegu and China: they buie and sell by scores upon the ground. The people be very swift on foote.

The apparel of the Tartarie merchants.

Cowe tailes in great request.

Bacola.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth upon the river of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many rivers & Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and covered with strawe, and have a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they live of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

Sundiva Island.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of November 1586. for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundiva, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leaving them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South & by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had throwen many of our things over-boord: for we were so pestered with people & goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a brave barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall & well disposed; the women white, round faced, with litle eies: the houses are high built, set upon great high postes, & they go up to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of rivers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

Negrais.

Cosmin.

Ladders used to avoyd the danger of wild beasts.

Dwelling in boats.

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes journey by the rivers. Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and passing up the rivers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all upon the water. They rowe too and fro, and have all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow over their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaves of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

Medon.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wildernesse they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships staie and discharge, & send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried upon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the same day. Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbes round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee covered with strawe. In your house you have a Warehouse

Dela.

Cirion.

Macao.

Coches caried on mens shoulders.

Pegu.

which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to have all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made [II. i. 259.] of stone, for every square five gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelve men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree: which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workemanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marvellous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in service of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth

Foure white elephants.

come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king have one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office given him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he never so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath above five thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great grove or wood: and there be many huntsmen, which go into the wildernesse with she elephants: for without the she they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the she elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wilde elephant neere unto the place, they send word unto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a strait

The king of the white elephants.

way which doeth goe to the palace, and the she and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood upon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarse pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They have gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth every day twise, all his noble men which they call Shemines sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were

Odia a city in Siam.

[II. i. 260.] his guard. These people do eate roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant with a fine castle upon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes upon a great frame like an horsliter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & saphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is caried upon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by Sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and saphires, and spinelles. Neere unto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with leade: in every one of them are Pagodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and saphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brasse, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brasse, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, marvellous great, of copper, made in

This maner of cariage on mens shoulders is used in Peru, and in Florida.

the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be remooved: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and above three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fourescore and ten children. He sitteth in judgement almost every day. They use no speech, but give up their supplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaves are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giveth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

Paper of the leaves of a tree.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they called Saia, which will never lose his colour: it is very wel solde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your mony you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martavan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and scarlets solde in Pegu.

your debt good, because you sell your marchandises upon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaves, and binde them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and silver is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brasen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, silver, rubies, saphires, spinelles, muske, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard waxe, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and every ten or twelve yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their Priests doe

The money of Pegu.

The severall marchandises of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

[II. i. 261.]

The Tallipoies or Priests of Pegu.

preach. This house is five and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great jarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely apparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times upon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they have a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare headed & bare footed: for none of them weareth shooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders, first they go to schoole untill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli:

The apparell of their priests.

he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon an horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried upon a thing like an horsliter, which they call a serion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or foureteene staves. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which commeth under their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their potte: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service that I could see, but onely preaching.

Observation of new moones.

I went from Pegu to Jamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Jangomes; it is five and twenty dayes journey Northeast from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire rivers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and covered with straw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Jamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shooes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these countreys they have no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Jamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, silver, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they have such plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places. [II. i. 262.] Here is great store of copper and benjamin. In these countreys when the people be sicke they make a vow to offer meat unto the divell, if they escape: and when they be recovered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other instruments, and dansing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and rejoycing they offer to the divell, and say, they give the divel to eat, and drive him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they drive him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoy or two every night doth sit by them & sing, to please the divell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried upon a great frame made like a tower, with a covering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his

Jamahey five & twenty dayes journy Northeastward from Pegu.

They burne their dead.

friends and neighbours, all men: and they give to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wives & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left unburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shave their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

Caplan is the place where the rubies and other precious stones are found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, saphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their privy members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be maried the husband is for every child which his wife hath, to put in one untill he come to three and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so given to that villany, that they were very scarse of people. It was also ordained that the women should not have past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare above the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of divers sorts: the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge:

Anthony Galvano writeth of these bals.

some are of brasse and some of silver: but those of silver be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath used them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale up the place in seven or eight dayes.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they have: they use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they have a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to judge, and they both do dive under the water, and he which remaineth longest under the water doth winne the sute.

Malacca.

The 10 of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the Iland of Tavi, from whence commeth great store of tinne which serveth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Junsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals have a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands [II. i. 263.] of the Javas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamants and other jewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong unto the captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals heere have often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices every yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

The voyage to Japan.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great caracke which goeth thither every yere, and she bringeth from thence every yere above sixe hundred thousand crusadoes: and all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in silver which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. The

Eight hundred thousand crusadoes in silver imployed yerely by the Portugals in China.

Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldome or not at all, nor may not looke up to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried upon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latise to looke out at: so that he may see them, but they may not looke up at him: and all the time that he passeth by them, they heave up their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not up untill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres: the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban is an Iland among the Javas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the rivers: for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Laban. Diamants.

Jamba is an Iland among the Javas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Jamba. Golde.

Bima. Bima is another Iland among the Javas, where the women travell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

He returneth from Malacca. The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time untill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping; and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following: *Bengala.* where I stayed for want of passage untill the third of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the sixth of *Ceylon.* March, where we stayed five dayes to water, and to furnish our selves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals commeth out of Bengala every yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth upon one legge, and setteth the other foot upon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all [II. i. 264.] the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, saphires, and spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so drive him out of his countrey for them. They have no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houses are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and covered with the leaves of the same tree.

Blacke people.

The eleventh of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for pearles. And there is fished every yere very much; which doth serve all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarsity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They have here very bad water,

Cape de Comori.

Coulam.

Cochin.

People with swollen legges mentioned also by Joh. Huygen.

for the river is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, & many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of haire, and bound up with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

How pepper groweth.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it springeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the ivy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here have very little houses covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes; all the rest of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place above five or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooveth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before.

Blacke people

‖ Or Calicut, or Cananor.

The Naires which be under the king of ‖ Samorin, which be Malabars, have alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe & steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes or boats together; and have in every one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere unto Goa. I remained in Cochin untill the second of November, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my provision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues. *Goa.* *Chaul.* *Ormus.*

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

[II. i. 265.] *The pepper tree.* The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like unto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

Ginger. The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Cloves. The cloves doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be divers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Nutmegs & maces. The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphora. Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes. Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The benjamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Jangomes.

Long pepper. The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

Muske. The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Amber. Of the amber they holde divers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it upon the shores side.

Rubies, saphires and spinels. The rubies, saphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu.

Diamants. The diamants are found in divers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

The best pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woorser from the Piscaria neere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Spodium.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Ninive, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fish; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & so passed the river of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the 29 of April 1591, having bene eight yeeres out of my native countrey.

Basora.
Babylon.
Mosul.
Merdin.
Orfa.
Bir.
Aleppo.
Tripolis.

The report of John Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arrived in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, having sailed out of England, & passed thorow the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and haven lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & marchandises, & from thence are caried by land unto

Aleppo, which is nine dayes journy. In Aleppo there are resident divers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, every man having his religion apart, paying tribute unto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence every yeere twise, there travell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which travell unto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all [II. i. 266.] sorts of marchandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place have already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by the company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as also the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca have their factours, and traffique there, aswell for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreyes, which from thence are caried over land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and upon his advise and advertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, knives, and such like stuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be devised. And although those wares amounted unto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to give no occasion to be mistrusted, or seene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be deceived or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the same. They being thus arrived in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell

John Newbery had beene in Ormus before. Anno. 1581.

their wares: which the Italians perceiving, whose factours continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so dayly increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance unto them, did presently invent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went unto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was convenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend unto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had given him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arrived, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as having bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Jesuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent unto them, to undermine and examine them: wherein they behaved themselves so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and Catholicke Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Jesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leave off their trade of marchandise, and to become Jesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest maner, was, for that the Dutch Jesuite had secretly bene advertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soever it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were unfit for such places, neverthelesse they proceeded so farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieve himselfe, promised them to become a Jesuite: and although they knew and well perceived he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their felloship: so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Jesuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giving him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the favour and friendship they could devise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they understood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell given them to send unto them, whereat they much rejoyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring us once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint unto us of their hard usage, shewing us from point to point (as it is sayd before) why [II. i. 267.] they were come into the countrey, withall desiring us for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty upon sureties, being ready to endure what justice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then travelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went unto the Viceroy to deliver our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be delivered unto them againe, upon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no more ready money, he gave them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were delivered out of prison, and hired themselves an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they uttered much ware, and were presently well knowen among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour unto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloved of all men, so that every man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To us they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop favoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receive them, neither would ever take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaved themselves so discreetly that no man caried an evill eye, no, nor an evill thought towards them. Which liked not the Jesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Jesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselves Jesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therin as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Privy councell: which to effect he sayd they stayed but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with divers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Jesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called John Newbery) complained unto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselves to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Jeweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite us so much, as to shew us their mindes therein, although they tolde us all whatsoever they knew. But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the river in a countrey called Bardes, having with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein unsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by us provided for them, that looked unto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little river, in a maner halfe drie, they passed over it on foot, and so travelled by land, being never heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainely. Their greatest hope was that John Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is used in all those countreys, or at the least understood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with us. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had given them counsell so to do: and presently their surety seised upon the goods remaining, which might amount unto above two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had received of the English men, he went unto the Viceroy, and delivered it unto him: which the Viceroy having received, forgave him the rest. This flight of the English men grieved the Jesuites most, because they had lost such a praye, which they made sure account of: whereupon the Dutch Jesuite came to us to aske us if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would have dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand veneseanders (ech veneseander being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: upon the which promise he gave them their money againe, which otherwise they should not so lightly have come by, or peradventure never, as he openly sayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he uttered against them. The English man that was become a Jesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiving that the Jesuites shewed him not so great favour, neither used him so well as they did at the first, repented himselfe; and seeing he had not as then made any solemne promise, and being counselled to leave the house, and tolde that he could not want a living in the towne, as also that the Jesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of any thing,

The Arabian tongue generall in the East.

[II. i. 268.]

he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they used all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good store of worke: and in the end married a Mestizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he lived. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common customes which they usually holde during their voyage over the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Goa, there never arrived any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique over land, and use continuall trade going and comming that way.

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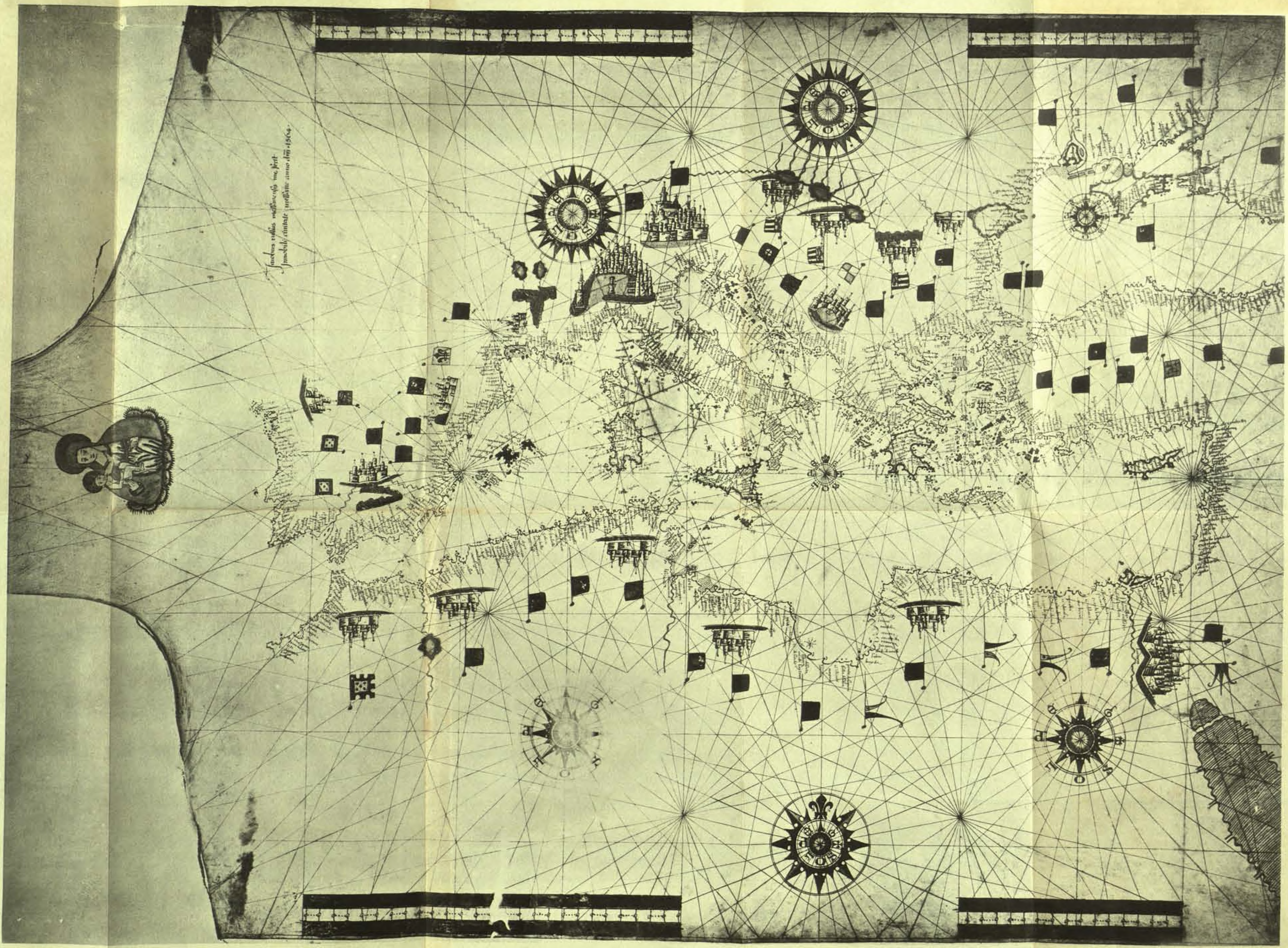
Jacobus russus messinensis me fecit
In nobili civitate messane anno dni 1564

SAILING CHART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, A.D. 1564

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The voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and river to Babylon and Balsara. 1583.

I Departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. John Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seven other honest marchants upon Shrove munday 1583, and arrived in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Maying upon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboord the ships, are woont to be buried. In this city our English marchants have a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Cloister, & every man hath his severall chamber, as it is the use of all other Christians of severall nations. This towne standeth under a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, stand five blocke houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Janisaries. Right before this towne from the seaward is a banke of moving sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westerne winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow up & overwhelme the towne: for every yere it increaseth and eateth up many gardens, although they use all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse

The description of Tripolis in Syria.

of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and overlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Janisaries and good artillery. A river passeth thorow the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefest naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsilians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a caravan, passing three dayes over the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arrived in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne & cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde above a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarse one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens lives to win it, the Turke will not have it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue over the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreshing our selves one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more untill we came to Aleppo, where we arrived the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Jewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and injoy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds

Store of white silke.

The city of Hammah.

Cotton wooll.

Gall trees.

Aleppo.

[II. i. 269.]

of rich marchandises. In the middest of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or five hundred Janisaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere unto the rivers side, which is but small; the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the last of May with M. John Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated upon the river Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, wherof we all furnished our selves for a long journey downe the aforesayd river. And according to the maner of those that travell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conveyance of our selves and of our goods. These boats are flat bottomed, because the river is shallow in many places: and when men travell in the moneth of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to fall on the sholds. We were eight and twenty dayes upon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disimbarked our selves and our goods. Every night after the Sun setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and having supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners upon the shores side as nere as they can unto the same. In many places upon the rivers side we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gave them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for

Birrah.

Euphrates shallow.

Eight & twenty dayes journey by river.

Arabians upon the river of Euphrates.

churned milke we gave them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they use to tanne their goats skinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore have gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, silver, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they have hoops of golde, silver or yron. All of them aswel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought us milke to our barke in vessels upon their heads. These people are very theevish, which I proved to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from under my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore travellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the river. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the river of Trent: it hath divers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of June, where we made our abode seven dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to travell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the river: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to unlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our English marchandises onely to New Babylon over a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eighteene houres travelling by night, and part of the morning, to avoid the great heat.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their nostrels.

Euphrates described.

Felugia.

In this place which we crossed over, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines wherof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I John Eldred

The ruines of olde Babylon.

have often beheld at my good leasure, having made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo over this desert. Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being upon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth; sundry times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing above a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stoneworke of Pauls steeple in London, but it sheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene every course of bricks there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon joyneth upon the aforsayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the river of Tigris runneth close under the wall, and they may if they will open a sluce, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is above two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they do be they never so poore.

New Babylon.

The river Tigris.

[II. i. 270.]

.This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the river of Tigris from Mosul which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of marchandises upon rafts borne upon goats skins blowen up ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they have discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats

Rafts borne upon bladders of goats skins.

skins, and cary them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the river. The building here is most of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, January and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at severall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeres. As we come to the city, we passe over the river of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong & greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this river to Balsara, but we might have done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Upon the waters side stand by the way divers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes journey, the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two rivers joyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water overflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here five hundred Janisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about five and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly divers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico and

Seldome rain.

Eight & twenty dayes journey more by river, from Babylon to Balsara.

Curna Castle.

Balsara.

Calecut cloth. These ships are usually from forty to threescore tunnes, having their planks sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Occam they use the shiverings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They have no kinde of yron worke belonging to these vessels, save only their ankers. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus: there they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was just sixe moneths, during which time I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Majesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & unto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment he and his companions were delivered upon sureties, not to depart the towne without leave, at the sute of one father Thomas Stevens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called John Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we understood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales having dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selves in company of seventy barks all laden with marchandise, having every barke 14 men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming up against the streame to Babylon, where arriving and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought us camels, hired us men to lade and drive them, furnished our selves with rice, butter, bisket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and every marchant bought a proportion of live muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to drive them with us: we

Ships made without yron in the Persian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balsara to Aleppo.

Their provision of victuals.

A Caravan of foure thousand Camels.

also bought us tents to lie in, and to put our goods under: and in this our caravan were foure thousand camels laden with spices and other rich marchandises. These camels will live very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, wormewood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they finde upon the way. The government and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole caravan committeth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceive best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, travelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, resting ourselves commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, until three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our journey. Eight dayes journey from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere [II. i. 271.] unto a towne called Heit, as we crosse the river Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like unto tarre, which serveth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: every one of these springs maketh a noise like unto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swaloweth up all heavie things that come upon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of 40.s. sterling, upon every Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receive of the Caravans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh upon him to conduct the sayd Caravans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieves. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caravan the eleventh of June, 1584. where we were joyfully received 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Janissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more unto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, over the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessell, I arrived at Joppe, and travelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethleem, to the river of Jordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Joppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others have published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arrived (God be thanked) in safety here in the river of Thames with divers English marchants, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that ever was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret Consul in Aleppo.

M. Wil. Barret.

Two voiages more made to Babylon.

[The money

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three seventh parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ye 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take them by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint give 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Velvets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselves. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and use of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ye ordinarie use is to give 30 Saies in curtesie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, & for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turvie.

BALSARA:

[II. i. 272]

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8. ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in every mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is just as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, ut supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estivi, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of silver, having the

Moresco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of silver, having the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estives. Also one Say and 20 estives make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we use to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the just halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, ut supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sel by the 100 drams, having there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and have their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & scrivan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaveth his goods in the custome house paieth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driven to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Having paid the custome, it behoveth to have a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cavillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, ut supra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the abovesayd prises and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, under paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they have laden.

And in this accord it behoveth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be overladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

[II. i. 273.]

ORMUZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of every sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and every frasoll is 10 manas, and every mana 23 chiansi, and every chianso 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that every quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and every roue 32 rotiloes, & every rotilo 16 ounces, and every ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. english weight. And contrarywise ye quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces english) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of divers weights, ut supra, of which they bargaine simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and every sadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is every thousand meticals, 382 asures: but those that will not sel them, use to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per advise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called codo which increaseth upon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase upon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or upwards, in what places soever the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one horse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreseene, whither all those horses laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is favour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his horses that come in the same ship, are not to answere custome. As for example: If there were 4 horses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the marchandize of that ship to be subject to pay custome, per advise. But if they lade ten horses upon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreover, if the horses should die before the midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voiage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arrive safe. Notwithstanding, the merchandize (whether the said horses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleven in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Karsies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all [II. i. 274.] sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send ye same further into India, the same are bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Jewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note y^t^ in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order observed of custome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as foloweth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariosa 8 larines by ordinarie chist, raisins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruvia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of five foot. Tamari for Maschat sadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 sadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where horses goe: otherwise not having horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custom which they are to pay.

The use of the India ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ship, but that every one at the beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they have a great jarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA.

The weight, measure, and mony currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and every rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignum de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill, advertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be just 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is also another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice sotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muske, ambracan, civet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other jewels.

Note that in Goa they use not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therfore it requireth great advisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muske of Tartarie by ye way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaseth upon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is just as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the spheare or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money: so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, & 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may have 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which overplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they use not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for jewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of silver, per adviso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and every rey is one basaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 basaruchies as their just [II. i. 275.] value, but for that the said roials are excellent silver and currant in divers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, when the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) every one to have the said roials pay more then they are worth, & the overplus, as is abovesaid they call serafagio. And first they give ye just value of the 100 roials of 8, and 5 tangas 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they give seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, untill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by just value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of silver, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also have serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, untill 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all cary of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth five larines and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of mony, round, having

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on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse then that which they call Imitivo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behooveth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is understood to be base money of 60 basaruches, which wanteth of the good money ut supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed justly rather to the marchants advantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one having paied the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to save the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that have bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as abovesaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subject to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They use also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many braganines, accounting 24 basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such mony stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state soever he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale upon the arme, having thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they have the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which they sell or buy within the sayd citie, they bargaine for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of just weight with ye quintall & rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: advertising that there are divers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a used tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that have bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per adviso.

MALACCA.

[II. i. 276.]

The weight, measure, and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of divers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diversitie of the goods. But for the cloves they bargaine at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I have abovesaid, all kind of drugs have their sorts of barres limited. Note that every quintal is 4 roues, and every roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no just tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2 of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of silver money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of mony called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are every 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha.	Medines 60 per *somme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Avania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,	med. 35.
For a present to the Ermine the summe of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes. Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20. pounds of sope.	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.

** Or, by the Camels burden.*

For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For a barke from Babylon to Balsara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 26.

[II. i. 277.] For fraight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.

For custome in Ormus, as is abovesaid in this booke.

For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.

For custome in Goa, as is abovesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

CLoves, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Java.

Nutmegs, from Banda.

Maces from Banda, Java, and Malacca.

Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.

Pepper common, from Malabar.

Sinnamon, from Seilan.

Tinne, from Malacca.

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Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domestick, from Malacca.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
Quicksilver, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordassi, from Mordas within Cambaia.
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China.
Corcunia, from divers places of India.
Corall of Levant, from Malabar.
Chomin, from Balsara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from divers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.
Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Asa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Persia.
Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Persia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiva.
Ruvia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.

Oppopanax, from Persia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galangæ, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balagvate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balsara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Persia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balagvate.
Muske from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
✓ Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Castorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red sea.
Masticke, from Sio.

Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.
Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto. [II. i. 278.]
Lapis Spongii is found in sponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Persia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Pistaches, from Doria.
Worme-seede, from Persia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebesten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Persia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzvar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Persia.
Melleghete, from the West parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the West India.
Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

[The times

The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe can passe over the barre of Goa, because through the continuall shoures of raine all the sandes joyne together neere unto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being joyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can have no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut up untill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abovesayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abovesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Island and hath but few ships, which depart as abovesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balagvate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of November. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places unto Zindi: and by the South is understood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast unto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Januarie passing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, having Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therfore they set their course over for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make [II. i. 279.] two navigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the five and twentie and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15 of April, and they saile with Southeast windes, East and Northeast windes, coasting upon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon unto Cape Rasalgate, and having lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they have Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of Aprill.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Januarie.

Hitherto I have noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

THe ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it navigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. *Note.* In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at every time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in November, December and January.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. *Marchandize good for Pegu.* Note that the chiefest trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, silver, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arrived in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they have not then fet the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arrive in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arrive in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, [II. i. 280.] they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arrived at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come upon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

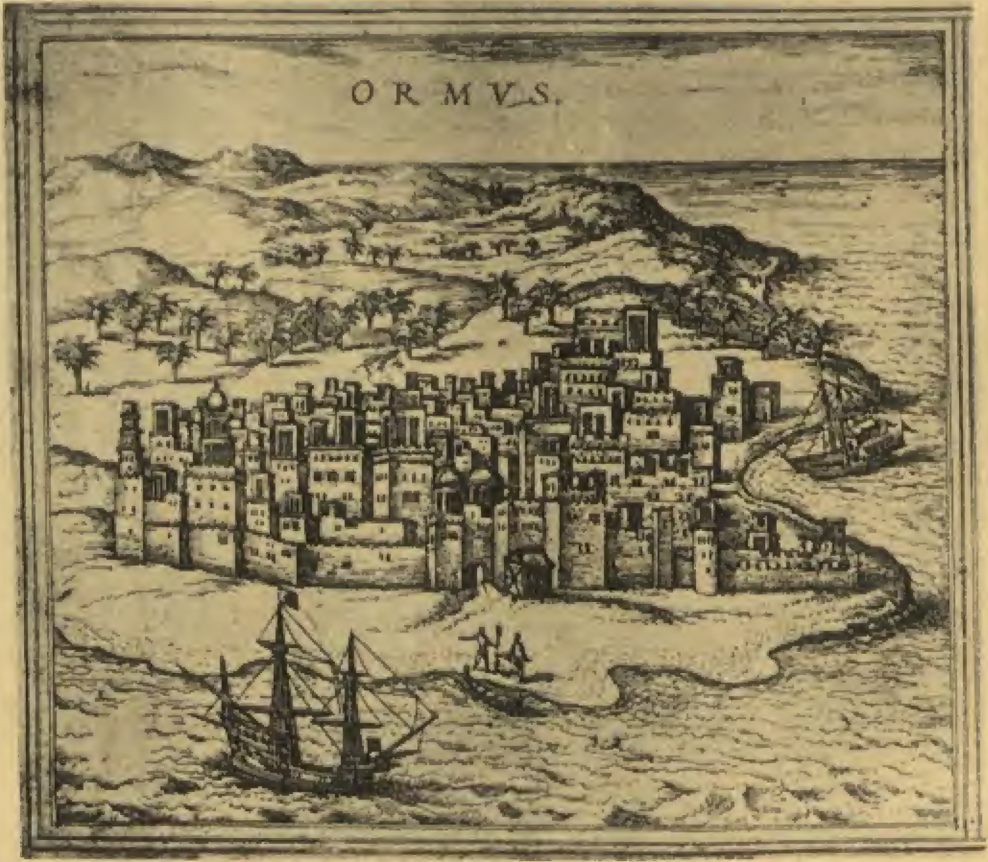
The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe over the barre of Goa for the cause abovesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arrivall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arrive upon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.



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The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abovesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost upon the coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arrived in time upon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there upon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull sore sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before.

Note.

Note.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of January, going on till they have sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discovered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ship which had beene foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselves both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discovered upon S. Helens day. And undoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted· And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for devotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come *Note.* from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abovesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recovery.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Januarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arrive in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of November.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teve and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

A.D. 1586.

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by John Evesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.

[II. i. 281.]

THe 5 of December 1586 we departed from Gravesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master under God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entred the straights: and the second of January being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arrived at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staied till the first of March. At which time we set saile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arrived the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small citie up 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee set saile towardes Alexandria, and having sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adjoyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arrived the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

Tunis.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, having bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted underneath for provision of fresh water, which water commeth thither but once every yeere, out of one of the foure rivers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth

The description of Alexandria.

neere eighteene foote upright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rossetto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such aboundance, that barkes of twelve tunne doe come upon the same water, which water doth fill all the vauts, cesternes, and wels in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they have there very litle raine or none at all, yet have they exceeding great dewes. Also they have very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure square, every square is twelve foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth upon a great square stone, every square is fifteene foote, and the same stone is fifteene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heigth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how ever it was possible to set the said pillar upon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this *Cayro.* Citie, about three dayes journey the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwise called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes journey about the wals, which was journeyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seven severall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seven yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie score every square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our judgement, doth surmount twise the heigth of Paules steeple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they have no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, having torch-light with us, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red sea: also there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe under those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but three daies journey from this place, and Jerusalem about seven dayes journey from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherin is the house that Pharaoes wives were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote: also in the [II. i. 282.] said Citie is the castle were Joseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would have any summe of money of them: there are seven gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serveth this castle, commeth out of the foresaide river of Nilus, upon a wall made with arches, five miles long, and it is twelve foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, five miles off, called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the providence of God, an Angell came from heaven, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselves, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, *Carthage.* called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought upon arches (as afore) above 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at divers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but *Argier.* few. The towne of Argier which was our first and last port, within the streights standeth upon the side of an hill, close upon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captives, wherof there are of Englishmen onely fifteene, from which port we set sayle towardes England, the seventh of Januarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arrived at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.

I Embarked my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, having a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towardes them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepstow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with us, untill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelve sayle more, with whom we thought to have spoken, to have learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gave them over.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Upon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, upon the coast of England, beforementioned.

Goleta.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we judged to be of England.

Malta.

Tuesday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maister caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, servant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord us, with whom our Master and twelve more of our company, thought to have gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: so we all came aboord againe, and went to Patras, where we arrived upon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and John Doddington, who very kindly went with us, and shewed us the pleasures of the towne.

Zante.

Patras.

They brought us to the house of the Cady, who was made then to understand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboord, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captivitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Majestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and understood howe strangely they were delivered, hee marveiled much, and admired the Queenes Majestie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Majestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foresaid countreymen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord upon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

[II. i. 283.]

Upon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle: the situation of the Towne is under a very great hill, upon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante upon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Island, called Strivalia, which is desolate of people, saving a fewe religious men, who entertained us well, without taking any money: but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat upon them for their maintenance, and then they gave us a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord. The last day of Aprill, wee arrived at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners ashoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

Strivalia.

Candie.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my judgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles.

May.
The Islands of Milo, in olde time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes before, came to us, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth under a hils side.

The 13. day we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also wee passed by the Castle of Tino, standing upon a very high mountaine, and neere unto it is the Island of Diana.

Sio. The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are civil: and while we were here, there came in sixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, mastike, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controversie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Vive el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a broile beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of June.

Singonina. The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place: the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much that it bloweth up the rockes.

The 24. of June wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide sixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came unto us, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gave them.

The 27. of June, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of July, and then tooke passage in a smal barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes. [II. i. 284.]

The 20. day of July, this barke which I passed in ranne upon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set us quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri.

The 28. of July I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Jewe which was the Customer there, giving me Muskadine, and drinking water himselfe: having broken my fast with him, he provided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride upon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboord a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well received of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The English house in Alexandria.

The said Master having made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, having the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to provide me all things that I needed, and every day came himselfe to me, and caried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

The monuments of Alexandria.

Hee brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation above 52. yards, and the compasse about sixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rossetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, having there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I saw there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse five fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most brave and daintie Bath, where we washed our selves: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanship.

The Citie standeth upon great arches, or vawtes, like unto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde up the foundation: which arches are built to receive the water of the river of Nilus, which is for the use of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe times more then that part which standeth.

Rossetto.

The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rossetto, standing by the river side, having 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with us.

From Rossetto wee passed along the river of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traveile without a Janizary to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent.

The time that I stayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they have three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drink in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Betwixt Rossetto and Cayro there are along the water side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not above three hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæsar, who intertained me in very good sort. M. Cæsar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. square, and every of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a roving arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides.

Cayro.

The house of Joseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, having a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the river of Nilus, which was done with great joy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they never ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who used me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the souldiers.

The English Consul at Argier.

[II. i. 285.]

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seven Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill used by the Moores, who forced them to leave their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the injurie. They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke upon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seventh day of Januarie, and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seventh day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my safe arrivall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Jones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turky trade, having received intelligences, and advertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they used to and in the dominions, and provinces, under the obedience of the Great Turke, had given order to the Captaines of his gallies in the

A.D. 1586.

Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endevour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemie might the better be prevented, and the voyage acomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, five tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were provided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very brave and good shippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonaventure.
4. The William, and John.
5. The Susan.

These five departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of November 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicile, within the Levant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leave of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated upon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were privatly appointed. But before they devided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendevous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoever ship of these 5. should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serve him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

[II. i. 286.] It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of al the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arrivall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripolie in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the joy on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and joyfull behaviours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to joyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made myrth and pastime among themselves. These three had not bene long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the joy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stoode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content

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to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two severall armies and fleetes provided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete hovered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, under the charge and government of John Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name serving the king of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accompt and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, having received such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselves againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight whereof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigat expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiva their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name [II. i. 287.] of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answere, and not to stay longer a brabling, upon her perill. With that away she went, and up comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaunded of the frigat whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cavallero. These Gallies are in service and pay to the king of Spaine, under the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiva a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behaviour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: using withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promising securitie and good usage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reverend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Majestie, and giving good speeches of the courteous

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usage and interteinement that he himselfe had received in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leave, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to have seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiva the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set upon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish bravado that should make them yeeld a jot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an injurie. Whereupon Cavallero the messenger left bragging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moove them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to have the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee imployed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to save the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cavallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliver him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had received sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and perjurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard upon a Spaniards othe. But at last, upon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would have contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peradventure have provoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies having espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, every man crying out, Que nuevas, que nuevas, Have these English men yeelded? the frigat answered, Not so, they neither have, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they have sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending upon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, upon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These [II. i. 288.] wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, using trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not urged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his soveraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such injurie to English Marchants, who as they were farre from giving offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in such particular sort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in generall, stood resolutely upon the negative, and would not yeeld to any such unreasonable demaund, joyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the English Admiral againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the levell of the shot, and the English on the other side couragiously prepared themselves to the combat, every man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admiral with a Culvering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the revenger of al evils, and the giver of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselves against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to overthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady give us the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde up her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them above water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had received to perish in the seas: & what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were uncertaine, but by a probable conjecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battel, they withdrew themselves: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

A fight of five houres.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Navigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne upon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting every particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marveilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city upon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soever he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of injury in body or goods. By vertue whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al favor & peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captives of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good usage which they received, and [II. i. 289.] hearing also what service they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came upon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recovered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had received the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slave even to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English having received this good justice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could crave for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leave of him, and of the rest of their friendes, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship coulde not discerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might have passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire never so cleare for every ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordinance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

The second Spanish fleete lying in waite for the English.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had provided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the just commendation of ech mans service performed in that voyage.

[The returne

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople over land to London, 1588.

I Departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldavia, where ariving the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positive prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Majesties subjects there trafiquing should pay but three upon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subjects as all other nations answere: whose letters to her Majestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, & also he writ to her Majestie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldavia to the Queene.

Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.

Thence I hasted unto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and judge to be faithfully devoted to her Majesties service, whose letters likewise unto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteously received by one of the Buroughmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Civil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that ye duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar received like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of November, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Boroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Majesties victory over the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready service to her future disposing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on ye way ever demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the [II. i. 290.] Hanse-towns upon the sea coasts, especially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough have laden and were shipping for Spaine, great provision of corne, cables, ropes, powder, saltpeter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition serving for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection unto her Majesties service, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The privilege of Peter the Prince of Moldavia graunted to the English Marchants.

Petrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ & Moldaviæ; significamus præsentibus, universis & singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimirùm ut dehinc suæ Serenitatis subditis, omnibusque mercatoribus integrum sit hic in provincia nostra commorandi, conversandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendíque, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ societas ususque requirit, sine ulla alicujus contradictione, aut inhibitione: salvo ac integro tamen jure Telonii nostri; hoc est, ut a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretii, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cujus rei firmius testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldavia; we signifie by these presents to all and singuler persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we have made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hencefoorth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subjects and all her Marchants, to remaine, converse, buy, sel, bargaine and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and use requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserved; That is, that they pay three ducats upon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmely observed; For the more assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Given in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly paiments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signior, out of his Treasurie, to the Officers of his Seraglio or Court, successively in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall summe, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet every day, one thousand and one aspers, according to a former custome received from his auncestors: notwithstanding that otherwise his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which summe maketh sterling money by the yere, two thousand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three shillings, eight pence.

The five and fourtie thousand Janizaries dispersed in sundry places of his dominions, at sixe aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere to five hundreth, fourescore and eleven thousand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betweene the yeeres of sixe and twelve, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in service may be equall in number with the Janizaries abovesaid, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred fourescore and fifteene thousand, sixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Bassas, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yerely revenues, amounteth sterling by the yeere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Beglerbegs, chiefe presidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclavonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousande aspers the day: as also to eighteene other governours of Provinces, at five hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand sixe hundred, and threescore pounds.

[II. i. 291.] The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten thousand pounds.

The Aga of the Janizaries, generall of the footemen, five hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the yeere in sterling money, one thousand, fourescore and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire under him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleven pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to ech, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controller of the housholde, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hundred and twenty aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Phisition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fourtie Phisitions under him, to ech fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number five hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, threescore and five thousand, and seven hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri gentlemen, attending upon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aspers ech of them, and amounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, five hundred and foure pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the yeere, seven thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundreth and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth unto in English money, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty five aspers, and maketh of English money, five hundred, forty and seven thousand, and five hundred pounds.

The Janizaires sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armor, one thousand, five hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seven hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Seiesir, servitors in his Equier or stable, five hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Saesi, Sadlers and bit makers, five hundred, at seven aspers, seven thousand, six hundred, threescore and five pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers upon Mules, two hundred, at five aspers, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers upon Camels, one thousand, five hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty sixe thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, five hundred, threescore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seven aspers, foure thousand, five hundred, fourescore and nineteene pounds.

[II. i. 292.] The Getti, Boateswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Bassi, Pursers, three hundred, at five aspers, maketh three thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi souldiers two thousand sixe hundred at foure Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seven hundred fourscore and six pounds.

The Mariers Bassi masters over the shipwrights and kalkers of the navie, nine, at 20. Aspers the piece, amounteth to three thousand fourescore and foure pound, foure shillings.

The Master Dassi shipwrights & kalkers, one thousand at fourteene aspers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand, sixe hundred threescore pound.

Summa totalis of dayly paiments amounteth by the yeere sterling, one million, nine hundred threescore eight thousand, seven hundred thirty five pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of foure hundred fourescore twelve thousand, one hundred fourescore and foure pounds foure shillings eleven pence, and is for every day five thousand three hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds, fifteene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands never improved, five times more in value then their summes mentioned, given by the saide Grand Signior, as followeth.

TO the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thousand golde ducats.

To the second Bassa for his annuitie 50. thousand ducats.

To the third Bassa for his annuitie 40. thousand ducats.

To the fourth Bassa for his annuitie 30. thousand ducats.

To the fifth Bassa for his annuitie 20. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of the Janizaries 20. thousand ducats.

To the Jeu Merhorbassi master of his horse 15. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these above specified, be sundry other annuities given to divers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Sahims, diminishing from three thousand to two hundreth ducats, esteemed treble to surmount the annuitie abovesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that under him be three subtreasurers called Teftadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of

Europe, Asia and Africa, save their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper character such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithstanding all letters to forreine princes so firmed be after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to have bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wise.

The Admirall giveth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of Islandes, to whom hee giveth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbassas, Bayliffes or Constables over Cities and Townes upon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbassi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thousande ducats, and so likewise either of the others according as they are placed.

The Ressistop serveth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and so likewise doeth the Cogie Master of the Rolls, before which two, passe all writings presented to, or granted by the said Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of especiall credite and like profite, moreover rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Judges named Cadi Lesker, the one over Europe, and the other over Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas. These sell all offices to the under Judges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in every Citie [II. i. 293.] or towne, before whom all matters in controversie are by judgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed upon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending upon the Beglerbegs the governours of Provinces and Sanjacks, and their petie Captaines mainteined of these Provinces.

The Beglerbegs of

GRæcia, fourtie thousand
Buda, fifteene thousand
Sclavonia, fifteene thousand
Natolia, fifteene thousand
Caramania, fifteene thousand
Armenia, eighteene thousand
Persia, twentie thousand
Usdrum, fifteene thousand
Chirusta, fifteene thousand
Caraemiti, thirtie thousand
Giersul, two and thirtie thousand
persons.

The Beglerbegs of

BAgdat, five and twentie thousand
Balsara, two and twenty thousand
Lassaija, seventeene thousand
Alepo, five and twentie thousand
Damasco, seventeene thousand
Cayro, twelve thousand
Abes, twelve thousand
Mecca, eight thousand
Cyprus, eighteene thousand
Tunis in Barbary, eight thousand
Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand
Alger, fourtie thousand
persons.

Whose Sangjacks and petie Captaines be three hundred sixtie eight, every of which retaining continually in pay from five hundreth to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

[Chiefe officers

Chiefe officers in his Seraglio about his person.

Be these

CApiaga, High porter.
Alnader Bassi, Treasurer.
Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
Killergie Bassi, Steward.
Sarajaga, Comptroller.
Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely revenue.

THe Grand Signiors annual revenue is said to be fourteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling five millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subjects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of every head, which may amount unto not so litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Moreover, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde summes for maintenance of his Armie and Navie of the said Christians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand dollers, which is sterling thirteene thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to surmount to twentie thousand dollers.

[II. i. 294.]

Ambassadors Allowances.

THe Ambassadour of the Emperor is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The Ambassadour of the French king heretofore enjoyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of displeasure conceived by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to sixe crownes the day, beside the provision of his Esquier of his stable.

The Ambassadours of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Ligiers as these two abovesaid. The said Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very seldome do the state of Venice send any Ambassador otherwise, then enforced of urgent necessity: but in stead thereof keepe their Agent, president over other Marchants, of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & state is in maner as magnifical as the other aforesaid ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador was equall with others in Janizaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome folow the list of other ambassadors in making presents to ye Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end wherof, having concluded a truce for 6. yeres, taking place from his first comming in November last past 1580. he was not admitted to the presence of the Grand Signior.

The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signior, to the sacred Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing that upon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace unto the King and kingdome of Poland.

Gloriosissima & splendore fulgidissima fœminarum, selectissima Princeps magnanimorum Jesum sectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Serenissima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris & gloriæ dulcissima; nubes pluviarum gratissima, heres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Angliæ; ad quam

omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis vestræ beatissimum, exitusque fœlicissimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate nostra digna vota & laudes sempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. vestræ amicissimè; Quia sunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentissima Cæsarea celsitudo bella ineffabilia cum Casul-bas, Principe nempe Persarum gessit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellum movere noluit, ob eamque causam in partibus Poloniæ latrones quidam Cosaci nuncupati, & alii facinorosi in partibus illis existentes, subditos Cæsaris potentissimi turbare & infestare non desierunt. Nunc autem partibus Persicis compositis & absolutis, in partibus Poloniæ & aliis partibus exurgentes facinorosos punire constituens, Beglerbego Græciæ exercitu aliquo adjuncto, & Principi Tartarorum mandato Cæsaris misso, anno proximè præterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infestata, turbata & devastata fuit, & Cosaci aliique facinorosi juxta merita sua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Poloniæ viso duos legatos ad Cæsaream celsitudinem mittens, quòd facinorosos exquirere, & pœna perfecta punire, & ab annis multis ad portam Cæsareæ celsitudinis missum munus augere vellet, significavit. Cæsarea autem celsitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam suppeditavit potentiam, & quæ omnes supplices exaudire dignata est) supplicatione Regis Poloniæ non accepta, iterùm in regem Poloniæ exercitum suum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum ejus subvertere constituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis vestræ in porta beata & fulgida Cæsareæ celsitudinis residente sese interponente, Et quòd Serenitati vestræ ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, pulvis, arbores navium, tormenta, & alia necessaria suppeditarentur significante, & pacem pro regno & rege Poloniæ petente, nevè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæsareæ celsitudinis turbaretur vel infestaretur intercedente, Serenitatisque vestræ hanc singularem esse voluntatem exponente, Legati serenitatis vestræ significatio & intercessio cùm Cæsareæ celsitudini significata fuisset, In favorem serenitatis vestræ, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, juxta modum prædictum, ut Cosaci facinorosi exquirantur & pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta condonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cæsareæ celsitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ sunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis vestræ fœdus & pax sollicitata non fuisset, nulla ratione Cæsarea celsitudo fœdus cum regno Poloniæ injisset. In favorem autem Serenitatis vestræ regno & Regi Poloniæ singularem gratiam Cæsarea celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas vestra, quàm etiam Rex & regnum Poloniæ sibi certò persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram benè fœlicissiméque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ nostri sacrati Mahumedi nongentesimo, nonagesimo, octavo. Jesu vero Anno millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo mensis Junii.

The same in English.

[II. i. 295.]

MOst glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princesse, most gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Jesus in the famous kingdom of England, most wise governesse of all the affaires and businesses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse & Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe unto all your Majesties affaires and actions, and offering up mutuall & perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayses: In most friendly manner we signifie unto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past the most mightie Cesarlike majestie of the Grand Signor waged unspeakeable warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that cause

certaine theeves in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notorious persons living in the same partes ceased not to trouble and molest the subjects of our most mightie Emperour. But now having finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the saide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army unto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement unto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notorious offenders have received condigne punishment. Which the king of Poland perceiving sent two Embassadours to his imperiall Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and inflict most severe punishments upon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent unto the porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall majestie (upon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to give eare unto all humble suppliants) rejecting the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, utterly to subvert and overthrowe his kingdome. By your Majesties Embassadour resident in the blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatour, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with corne, gun-powder, mastes of ships, guns, and other necessaries, and craving peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Majesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Majesties Embassadour was signified unto the Grand Signor, for your sake, unto whom all honour and favourable regard is due, upon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be sought out and grievously punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, upon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent unto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene sollicited on the behalfe of your Majestie, his imperiall Highnesse would never have vouchsafed the same unto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Majesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a favour unto the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Majestie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perswaded. We wish your Majestie most happily and well to fare. Given at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaum, in the yeare of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Jesus 1590, the 12 of June.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Majestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Levant, the seventh of Januarie 1592.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance and jurisdiction or otherwise unto whom these our letters shalbe seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

Where our welbeloved subjects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Staper of our saide citie Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie with their great cost and charges by the space of sundry late [II. i. 296.] yeeres travelled, and caused travell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subjectes of us or our progenitors: And also have by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, safetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be used and continued by our subjects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceive and finde that both many good actions have beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which have beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage under the sayde Grand Signor and his vassals or subjects. And also good and profitable vent and utterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the advancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Navie, the encrease of our customes, and the revenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, John Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London have by the space of eight or nine yeeres past joyned themselves in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen unto us, that within fewe yeeres now past our loving and good subjects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and sundry other marchants of our said Citie of London, have likewise at their great costes and charges, builded and furnished diverse good and serviceable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges have traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby have made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine divers good shippes with mariners skilfull and fitte and necessarie for our service: and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diverse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward untill it hath beene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endevours, costs, and charges of our sayde subjects, was in effect by our subjectes wholy discontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our loving subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heyres, and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie and welbeloved subjectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Harte knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Aldermen of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas

Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and every of them by the name of Governour and company of Marchants of the Levant shall from hence foorth for the terme of twelve yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselves both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence foorth shall and may have one Governour. And in consideration that the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the [II. i. 297.] chiefe setters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Governour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall live: and after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Governour, and so of every Governour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant and everie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of every of them, and all such their apprentises and servants of them and of every of them, which have beene or hereafter shall be imployed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or upwardes by themselves, their servantes, factors or

The marchants above named be made a fellowship and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Governor and companie of the marchants of the Levant.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Governour.

deputies, shall and may by the space of twelve yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and use the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discovered by John Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and James Storie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them: and into and from everie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, usage, or diversitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

A priviledge for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them for the better governement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date heereof, and so from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselves in some convenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelve discreete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Governour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, untill they shall die or bee remooved by the sayde Governour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistantes or any of them to die, or be remooved from their sayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or more other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of every such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooved, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesayde to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Hart knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same convenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good governement of the sayde companie, and for the better advancement and continuance of the sayde [II. i. 298.] trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in ure, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for us, our heyres and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelve yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable unto us, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoever, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions unto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our Officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the sayde Governour for the time being, give unto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiving good and sufficient bonde and securitie to our use for the payment of the same accordingly. And upon receipt of the sayde bonde to give them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforesayde shall happen to miscarie before their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent: That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered us for the same, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurour of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the just quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed unto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforesaide, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for us, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever being naturall subjects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to us, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proved. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall upon due and sufficient proofe thereof made in the custome house give them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be used herein to us our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwardes to our customer outwardes that the sayd marchandizes have within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for us our heyres and successours doe graunt unto the said Governours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and priviledge of trading and traffiking, and using feate of marchandise by and through the Levant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant and every particular and severall person of that companie their and every one of their servants, factors, and deputies shall have full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and the dominions [II. i. 299.] of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arrive or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all other seas, rivers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barkes, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or have with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne proper costes and expenses.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde

Countreyes must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceive can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelve yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by us, our heyres and successors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or subject of us, our heires or successours in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, usage or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provided neverthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelve yeeres have just cause to arme our Navie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and convenient for us to joyne to our Navie the shippes of our subjects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as above is mentioned; then upon knowledge given by us or our Admirall to the sayde Governour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the marriners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Navie shall be upon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbeare to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise untill that we shall retake our sayd Navie from the sayd service.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant to have and use in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be used and imployed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white over the same as heretofore they have used.

And we of our further Royall favour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have graunted and by these presents for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Governour and companie of Marchants of the Levant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Levant or Mediterran seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Levant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subjects during the saide terme of twelve yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presentes. And by vertue of our prerogative Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe have argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for us, our heyres and successours all our subjects of what degree or qualitie soever they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or adventure by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Levant sea other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servants and assignes. And further for that wee plainely understande that the States and Governours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice have of late time set and raysed a newe impost and charge over and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and upon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and upon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subjects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subjectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our sayd subjects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for us, our heires [II. i. 300.] and successors further straightly prohibite and forbid not onely the subjects of the sayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countries whatsoever other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servantes, and assignes: That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruites called corrants, being the raysins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale first had and obteyned upon paine unto every such person and persons that shall trade and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Segniorie of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said corrants being the raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and losse aswell of the shippe and ships with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoever they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the saide forfeitures to be to us, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and every the sayde forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the saide Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant.

And further all and every the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to us for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered untill they and every of them shall be come bounde unto the sayd Governour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe herein set downe and published.

Provided alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subjectes shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe impostes and charges as they and every of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presentes mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subjects thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to taxe or levie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions upon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subjectes heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the said State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our Porte and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and every of them, That they or any of them by themselves, their clarkes, or substitutes shall not receive or take, or suffer to be received or taken for us or in our name, or to our use, or in the name, or unto the use of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd save onely of and in the name of the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and unto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure observation thereof wee will and graunt for us, our heires or successors by these presentes, that our Treasurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and every time and times during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, at and upon the request of the sayde Governour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct under the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte [II. i. 301.] or writtes close or patent, unto every or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, commaunding them and every of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelve yeeres shall take entrie of any corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other subsidie for any of the sayd corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoever, other then with, or in the name and by the privitie of the sayd governour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Governour and company of marchants of Levant, that wee our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayde Levant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Governour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet have not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, neverthelesse sithence, as we be informed, they have bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to submit themselves to be of the sayd companie, and doe give such assurance as the sayd Governour and companie, or the more part of them shall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe such orders, constitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then every of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall upon his or their request unto the sayd Governour bee admitted into the sayd companie and corporation of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, and have and enjoy the same, and as great liberties, privileges, and preheminences, as the rest of the sayde corporation or companie may, or ought to have by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Governour and company of marchants of Levant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as have bene or shall bee employed as servants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Levant seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steven Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies have bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide governour and Company of Marchants of Levant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that every such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steven Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Style, and Nicolas Style, as shall pay unto the saide Governour and company of Marchants of Levante the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company have already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thencefoorth bee of the same company of Marchants of Levant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Provided also, that wee our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelve yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants of Levant, [II. i. 302.] ratablie as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Levant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe also performe and observe the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appoynted by us our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and companie of the merchants of Levant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same companie, and doe give notice thereof, or make the same knowen to the sayd Governour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giving notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or have trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or use trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Provided alwayes neverthelesse, that every such person so giving notice and having at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, have free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without using any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, dueties and summes of money ratably as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answere, or performe for the like.

Provided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayde Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to observe or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, presently to expell, remoove, and displace every such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all privilege, libertie, and preheminence which any such person should, or might claime, or have by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that every such person so expelled, remooved, or displaced by consent of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thencefoorth utterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this privilege, or any time after to bee admitted or received againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to us our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to us our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thencefoorth, upon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee given to the sayd companie by us our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelve yeeres it shall seeme meete and convenient to the sayde Governour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for us our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Governour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subjectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by us, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelve, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of lawe with like covenants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents [II. i. 303.] are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelve yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liegemen and subjects whatsoever, to bee aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the sayd Companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, servaunts, assignes and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set foorth, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by us, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or provided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the seventh day of Januarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

Bailie.

RICHARD WRAG

A.D.
1597.

To the Worshipfull and his very loving Uncle M. Rowland Hewish Esquier, at Sand in Devonshire.

SIr, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, even of meane things being given with a good heart, I have presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my travailes into Turkie, and of the deliverie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the observation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time to put it in order I have not performed it so well as it ought, I crave pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I have not missed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my travels I have learned, I answere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, Hoc unum didici, mundi contemptum: and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leave and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your loving Nephew
Richard Wrag.

[A description

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of delivering the second Present by Master Edward Barton her majesties Ambassador, which was sent from her Majestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.

WE set saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three score tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a provident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Gravesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And upon the eight of Aprill folowing wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arrived at Zante an Iland under the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arrived at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo. [II. i. 304.] From thence wee set saile the fift of June, and by contrary windes were driven upon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, until certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought us to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatnesse of the Grecian monarchy.

From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driven into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is under the Venetians, who have there 600 souldiers, beside certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, having the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arrived at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirty miles from this place, where foure of us tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two watermen, which rowed us along the Thracian shore to Constantinople, which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arrived at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton untill then her Majesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Five or sixe dayes after the shippe arrived neere the Seven towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came unto. Heere the Agent appointed the master of the Ascension to stay with the shippe untill a fitte winde and opportunity served to bring her about the Seraglio to salute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you shall understand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adjoyning to the Sea side; whereunto twise or thrise a weeke hee resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of divers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadours men, having the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the shippe in such bravery) they discharged

Candie.

The Ascension arrived at the 7 towers.

The ship saluteth the grand Signior.

first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twise over, there being seven and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Bustangi-Bassa or captaine of the great and spacious garden or parke, to give our men thankes, with request that some other day they would shew him the like sporte when hee would have the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the Custome-house they performed.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once over, and where he landed the Present, the deliverie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassador to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambassadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who upon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles standing toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called John Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to have brought a letter to one of them: upon the solliciting of whose libertie there fell a jarre betweene the Bassa (being now chiefe Vizir) and our ambassador, and in choler he gave her majesties ambassador such words, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put up. Whereupon after the arrivall of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The cause of staying the present.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their usuall whirries) they approch within some two or three score yards, where the plaintife standeth up, and holdeth his petition over his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receive them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambassadors favorites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shore side, tooke his Arz, and with speed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slave had offered him and her majestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present untill such time as he might by letters over-land from her majestie bee certified, whither she would put up so great an injurie as it was. [II. i. 305.] Whereupon he presently returned answere, requesting the ambassador within an houre after to goe to the Dovan of the Vizir, unto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it upon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassador returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his men, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassador, and with curteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold upon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadors, who never in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst have attempted so bold an enterprise with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassador prepared himselfe for the deliverie of the

The great hall of Justice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

Present, which upon the 7 of October 1593. in this maner he performed.

The ambassador goeth to the court with the present.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh unto the place where the ambassador should land to go up to the Seraglio: for you must understand that all Christian ambassadors have their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is litle broder then the Thames. Our Ambassador likewise apparelled in a sute of cloth of silver, with an upper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sutes of Sattin, with 30 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liverie of sad French russet cloth gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chauses to accompany ye ambassador to the court, & also horses for the ambassador & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish servants attendant to take the horses when they should light. The ambassador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauses foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Janissaries, which he doeth usually entertaine in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an other stately court, being about 6 score in bredth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassador. Upon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched over, and borne up with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood* most of his guard in

The Ambass. came to the Seraglio.

** All these are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.*

rankes from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt over, with a great plume of fethers somewhat like a long brush standing up before. On the left hand stood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauses. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, silver, velvet, sattin and scarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands upon their brests in curteous maner of salutation, entertain the Ambassador: who likewise passing between them, & turning himself somtime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chauses conducted him to the Dovan, which is the seat of Justice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Justice, & the Mufti or high priest do sit to determine upon such causes as be brought before them, which place is upon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnes received him: and after receit of her majesties letters, & conference had of the Present, of her majesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of ye Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adjoining, which consisted of an hundred dishes or therabouts, most boiled & rosted, where the ambassador accompanied w^t the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men having a dinner with the like varietie prepared upon ye same side of the court, by themselves sate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauses standing at the upper end attending upon the gentlemen to see them served in good order; their drinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and under his arme letteth it run out at a spout into cups as men wil call for

The ambassador received by the Vizir with all kindnesse.

Diner brought in.

it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken up; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her majesties blacke guard) came in disordered maner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eie one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassador after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the upper ende upon the left side of the court, nere unto a great gate which gave entrance to a third court being but litle, paved with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whose commandement given there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put upon the ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassador himselfe having 2, one of gold, and the other of crimosin velvet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, delivered them by the ambassadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the present, and of him to whom it was given: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid up in certaine roomes adjoining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being most of them youths. At the doore of his roome stood the Bustangibassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassador and his

Diner taken away.

[II. i. 306.]

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambassador and his gentlemen.

The Present.

The Present viewed.

folowers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of silver. The floore under his feete, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was covered with a carpet of green sattin embrodered most richly with silver, orient perles & great Turkeses; ye other part of the house was covered with a carpet of Carnation sattin imbrodered w^t^ gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall over against him hanging down his head, & looking submissely upon the ground as all his subjects doe in his presence. The ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he stood untill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassador, according as it is the custome when any present is delivered, made his three demaunds, such as he thought most expedient for her majesties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our nation into his dominions: whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperor familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking; as to our ambassador he granted all his demands, & gave order that his daily allowance for his house of mony, flesh, wood, & haie, should be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambassador taking his leave, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his comming in; & comming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staied halfe an houre, until the captain of the guard with 2000 horsmen at the least passed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauses next before the ambassador to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged

The ambassador kisseth the grand Signiors hand.

The ambassadors demands granted.

all her great ordinance, where arriving, he likewise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe & solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or empresse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reverence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her majesties name was a jewel of her majesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles silver & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return y^t would most delight her majestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an under gowne of cloth of silver, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I have at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge over-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Moldavia, & so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voivoda prince of Moldavia receiving letters from the ambassador, entertained them with al curtesie, through whose meanes by the great favour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene advanced to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who maried the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with divers pieces of plate, fine English cloth & other costly things: the particulars whereof, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship

The Sultanas present.

The Sultanas present to the Queene.

Letters sent for England.

The others Vizirs presented.

[II. i. 307.]

shooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her journey for England the first of November, my selfe continuing in Constantinople untill the last of July after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke threatened to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more serviceable to Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarse either Christian or Jew could without danger of losing his money passe up and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely upon Christians but also upon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may never be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst us as have injoyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperity under her Majesties government this forty yeeres, and have not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulnesse to her Majesty, were there but a short time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others living under such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them up to more thankefulnesse to God, that ever they were borne in so happy a time, and under so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The Ascension departeth.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars given by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder doe appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report divers upon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiers which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

SInan Bassa generall, with the Sanjacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Sanjacks in office or of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Adventurers, 50000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Janisaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Sanjacks, 40000.

The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.

The company of Silitari, 6000.

The company of Sagbulve and of Solbulve both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,	80000.
The Bassa of Temiswar.	
The Bassa of Bosna.	
The Bassa of Buda.	
The Sanjack of Gersech.	

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.	120000.
The Bassa of Laras.	
The Bassa of Damasco.	
The Bassa of Suas.	
The Bassa of Van or Nan.	
The Bassa of Usdrum.	

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleeve reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall understand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aswell in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary provision of victuals, and whatsoever els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated upon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus upon the Northeast, and to Propontis on the Southwest, by which two seas by shipping is brought great store of all maner [II. i. 308.] of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles upon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth upon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that ye wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two English miles: the seven towers spoken of before stand at another corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooved out of the West into the East, it was inriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, having many monuments and pillars in it worthy the observation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with divers goodly buildings & stately Mesquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which lived in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, *Santa Sophia.* which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pavements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of divers coloured marble of admirable heigth and bignesse, which stand upon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigth, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which unto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and upon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare up the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise upon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Neere adjoyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children & sultanas. The 16 of July, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant from Constantinople, the sea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some fourescore yards from the maine land, whereupon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: over against it is a turret of stone upon the maine land 120 steps high, having a great glasse-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in heigth, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it serveth to give passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y^t end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus having spent eleven moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chause, & carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde usage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of July I tooke passage in a Turkish car-

Pompeys pillar

mosale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propontis, having Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellespont, betweene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Janitzary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. From thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now under the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing alongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. John wrote the Revelation. The Iland is but small, not above five miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & passing many other Ilands and rocks, we arrived at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed three or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who used me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Over the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine undefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the

Gallipoly. *Troy.* *Zio.* *Patmos.* *Cos.* *Rhodes.*

[II. i. 309.]

taking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing upon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts converted the governor. *Sidon.* Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turks called Saytosa, within tenne or twelve miles of the place *Ezek.* 26. 5. where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, upon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile up toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arrived. From thence with a Venetian caravan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by *Antioch.* Antioch, which is seated upon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets upon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the river Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. *Aleppo.* In Aleppo I stayed untill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, having continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowen to most of our nation I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wooll, and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was some twenty miles from this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but uninhabited; the cause whereof doth give me just occasion to shew you of a rare judgement of God upon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subjection to the Turks, while it was under the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by usurping more superiority over the common people then they ought, and partly through their great revenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wives and children of their poore tenants to serve their uncleane lusts, & holding them in such slavery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should ever after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he listed, being Christians aswell as themselves, if they may deserve so good a name. As they behaved themselves most unchristianly toward their brethren, so and much more ungodly (which I should have put in the first place) did they towards God: for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serve God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publike basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the judgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure. The

Nicosia.

A great judgement of God upon the noble men of Cyprus.

Turkes the yeere before the overthrowe given them at Lepanto by Don John tooke Cyprus. These mighty Nimrods fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselves; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselves, they would restore them to their former revenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischievous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselves knowen; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wives and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut of all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen alive in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Iland some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, having in her passengers of divers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Jewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Jew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Judea neere Jerusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his travels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related unto me such conference [II. i. 310.] as he had with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation have, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by judgement in Astrologie gave answere to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God? He made answere, that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising and setting) as I have seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason

Indians skilfull in Astronomy.

was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giving light to the moone & other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease upon the earth: answere was made, that it did moove with the rest as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force must have a moover. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly prooved that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receive detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiveth both in the Eclipse, as it is apparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had received from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in ye Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when she riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receive their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely seven precepts which they say were given them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly not to commit adultery; fourthly not to kill any thing living; fiftly, not to eate any thing living; sixtly, not to cut their haire; seventhly, to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is punished with twenty stripes; but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not above twenty or five & twenty stripes. In the yere

The seven precepts of Banianes.

they have 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we use to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not having any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in divers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke up and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold, there shalbe a resurrection, and all shall come to judgement, but the account shalbe most streight, insomuch that but one of 10000 shalbe received to favor, and those shall live againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shalbe tormented. And because they will escape this judgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together even to ashes, and then they are throwen into a river, and so dispersed as though they had never bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, she is holden ever after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to escape the judgement to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe they reason w^t the phylosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by corne cast into the ground there commeth up new corne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would never be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being restored againe, he should come into judgement, whereas now, the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be judged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be united together, as they have sinned together, to receive judgement; and therfore the soule alone cannot. Their seven precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they have after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them shall have ill successe in all his businesse.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Jewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be judged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be saved, the examination shall be so straight; and therefore, as I have sayd before, to prevent this judgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say, these three religions have too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therfore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, because so few doe observe all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in this sea voyage, [II i. 311.] we arrived at Venice the tenth of June: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way over the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for England; where to the praise of God I safely arrived the ninth of August 1595.

[A letter

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Majesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.

IL principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non havevano anima ni persona, & di quello che fa girar gli nove cieli, & che la terra sette volte una sopra l' altra fa firmar; Signor & Re senza vicere, & che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, & uno senza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l' altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come e descrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arrive, & alla perfettione sua compiuta non si oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandessa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso, ragi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio è Mahomet Mustaffa, al qual & suoi adherenti & imitatori sia perpetua pace: alla cui sepultura odorifera si fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de sette climati, & delle quatro parti del mondo, invincibile Re di Græcia, Agiamia, Ungeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Sirvan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Corvacia, Belgrado, &c. sempre felicissimo, & de dodeci Avoli possessor della corona, & della stirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del'Imperatore, conservato de la divina providenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat, che Il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forzze, & padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia regale, & vero herede del commando imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li suoi dissegni, & alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scrive la presente alla serenissima & gloriosissima fra le prudentissime Donne, & eletta fra li triomfanti sotto il standardo di Jesu Christo, potentissima & ricchissima regitrice, & al mondo singularissima fra il feminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Ingilterra, che segve le vestigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale sia con bene & perfettione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando una salutacion di pace, cosi honorata, che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche arivare, non che con questa carta: l' amore singulare che e conciputo fra noi, e simile a un' horto di Uccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di salvacione, & il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo & nel' futuro sia con pace. Doppo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, sapera che sono capitati in una hora che ogni punto e stato una consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, & con quello una lettera di vostra serenetà, che ci estata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; la carta de la quale odorava di camfora & ambracano, & l'inchiostro di musco perfetto, & quella pervenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte a parte ho ascoltato intentamente. Quello che hora si conviene e, che correspondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si aspetta alle cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenità, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenità e conveniente, accioche quelle cose che si interprenderano, habino il desiderato buon fine; perche Io saro sempre ricordevole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per che sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, & con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via di Dio.

Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Livol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Jesu 1594.

The same in English.

LEt the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him which mooveth the nine heavens, and stablisheth the earth seven times one above another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like unto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, [II. i. 312.] to whose Majesty all the Prophets submit themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest favour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloved of the most high God is Mahomet Mustaffa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seven climats and of the foure parts of the world, the invincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Sirvan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Corvacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelve of his ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserved by the divine providence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet

Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprises God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph under the standard of Jesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich governour, and most rare among womankinde in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Majesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular love which we have conceived one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to save and keepe you, and send your Majesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arrivall of your honourable presents from the Court of your Majesty, your Highnesse shall understand that they came in such a season that every minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Majesties Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Majestie, which with great honour was presented unto us by our eunuks, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfor and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we have heard very attentively from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subject to your Majesty, I never faile, having information given unto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Majesty to my power in any reasonable and convenient matter, that all your subjects businesses and affaires may have a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour

This Sultana is mother to Mehemet which now reigneth as Emperor.

for your Majesties affaires, that your Majesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Majesty,
and to all such as follow rightly the way of
God. Written the first day of the
Moone of Rabie Livol in the
yere of the Prophet,
1002.

Ann. Dom. 1594.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS SECOND VOLUME

containing the

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,

made to the South and Southeast quarters of the world
without the Straights of Gibraltar, namely to the Ilands
of Madera, and of the Canaries, to the kingdome of
Barbarie, to the Iles of Capo Verde, to the River
of Senga, to the Coast of Ghinea and Benin, about
the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so to Goa in the
East Indies, and likewise beyond cape Comori
to the Iles of Nicubar, to Sumatra, to the
Channell of Sincapura over against
the City of Malacca, and to
divers other places

The voyage of Macham an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall history, written by Antonio Galvano. [II. ii. 1.]

IN the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an English man, which was named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stollen, arrived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haven or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham.

Madera first discovered by one Macham an Englishman

And because his lover was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loved her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arrivall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came upon the coast of Afrike, without saile or oare. And the Moores which saw it tooke it to be a marvellous thing, and presented him unto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the king of Castile.

Macham made there a chapel, naming it Jesus chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gave of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, mooved many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur John Betancourt, after that the Queene hath given him them, and holpen him, he departed from Sivil with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moved him to this, was to discover the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galvano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, given to King John the first of Portugall, for the winning of Ceuta in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries, is taken out of Thomas Walsingham his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

HOc anno Joannes primus Rex Portugalliæ fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris destinatis: cepitque civitatem eorum quàm amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

The same in English.

[II. ii. 2.]

THis yere John the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Marchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

[Confirmatio

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, & Joannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Majoris 8 Februarii, & apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Joham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandov à el Rey d'Inglaterra, cap. 33.

EDa qui de Monte Mor mandov el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiava, é ho doutor Joam d'Elvas, é Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condisan dellas ho novo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey d'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Joam Tintam é hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d'Inglaterra mostrov receber grande contentamento, é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeran ‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é assi as provisones das aprovasones que eran

‖ These writings are in the Tower.

necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

The Ambassage which king John the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Gracias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don John the second, king of Portugall. Chap. 33.

ANd afterwards the king sent as Ambassadours from the towne of Monte major to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisedome and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor John d'Elvas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same, he should give charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to give commandement to dissolve a certaine fleet, which one John Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With

The first cause of this ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they received authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also provisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

[II. ii. 3.]

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the Canarie-ilands, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of Bristoll.

The English had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

IT appeareth evidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Bristoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne servant William Ballard at that time resident at S. Lucar in Andaluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one Thomas Spacheford exercised usuall and ordinary trade of marchandise unto the Canarie Ilands. For by the sayd letter notice was given to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforesayd, that a certaine ship called The Christopher of Cadiz bound for the West Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both course and fine, broad and narrow of divers sorts and colours, some arovas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of sope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be delivered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the seven Canary-ilands. All which commodities the sayd Thomas and William were authorised by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & sell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good store of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing upon high rocks, in those dayes much used to die withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-skinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the abovesayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tison an English man, who before the foresayd yere 1526 had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident, unto whom the sayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by Thomas Nicols English man, who remained there the space of seven yeeres together.

MIne intent is particularly to speake of the Canaria Ilands, which are seven in number, wherein I dwelt the space of seven yeres and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great untruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, set out by a French man called Andrew Thevet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry Phylosophers, Astronomers, and Cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne travell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the judgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of Canaria.

THe Iland of Canaria is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they discovered the same in their navigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their navigation toward Aethiopia and the East Indies.

English men at the first conquest of the Canaries.

But truth it is that the Spanyards first conquered these Ilands, with divers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day injoyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Thevet sayth, that one Juba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I never learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I have talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the Northwest lands, and some part of the West India, which served the people in stead of sheepe for victuall. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I have heard say that the reason why they were called the Canaria Islands is, because there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquor as white as milke, which liquor is ranke poison, and at [II. ii. 4.] the first entry into these Ilands some of the discoverers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like unto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caves in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly love. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they use at this day, and thereof I have eaten divers times, for it is accounted exceeding holesome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aswell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemy against the Romane gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of justice and government of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Governour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Judges called Auditours, who are superiour Judges, and all in one joyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as have sustained any wrong, and these good Judges do remedy the same. The city is called Civitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who have a councell house by themselves. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

Civitas Palmarum.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galder, and the third Guia. It hath also twelve sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The planting and growth of sugar canes.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giveth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluce may come over every roote being covered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Thevet the French man writeth.

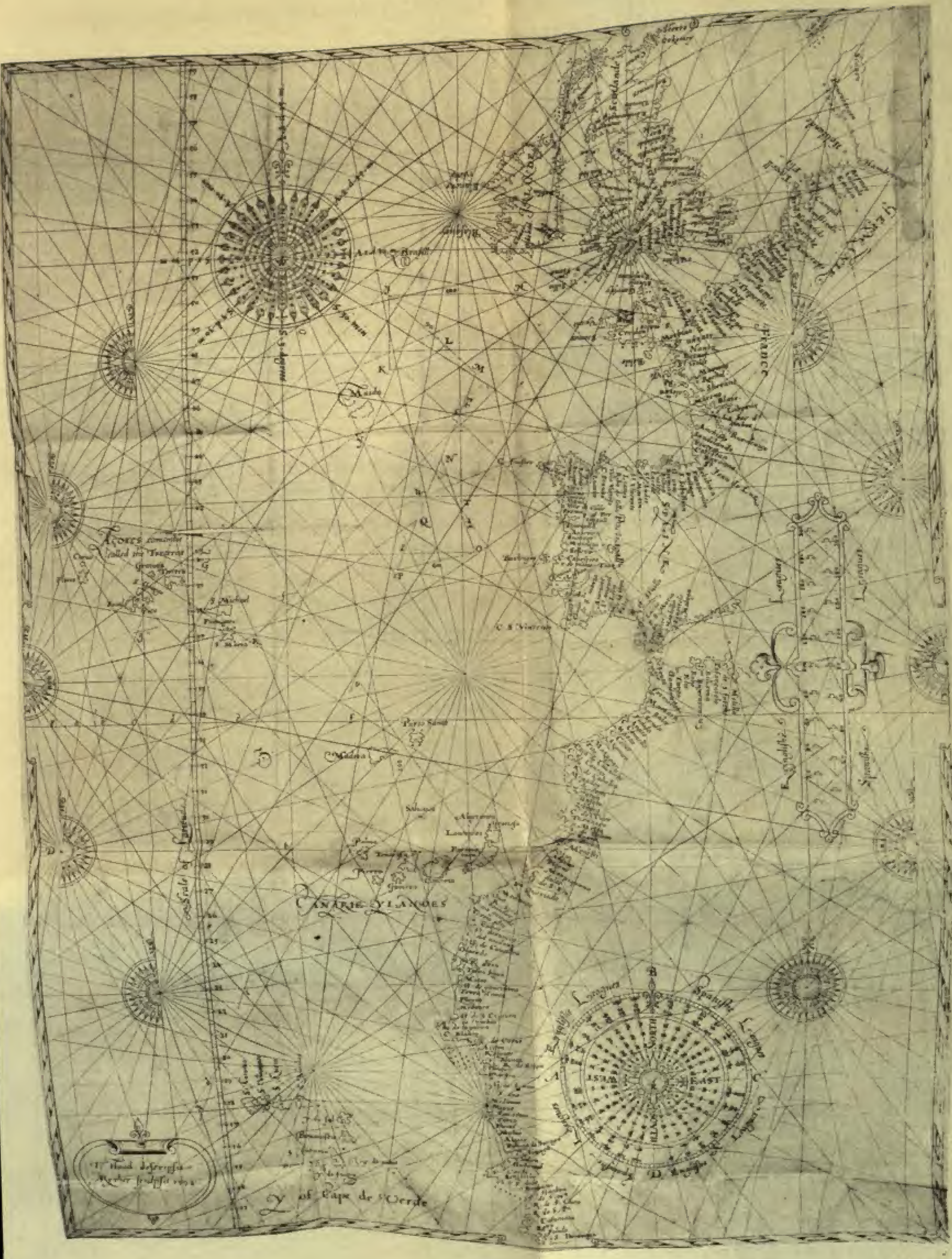
The making of sugar.

Then are they cut even with the ground, and the tops & leaves called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the juyce thereof conveyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned over with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, til age causeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of divers sorts, and many other fruits: but especially the Plantano which groweth



Azores otherwise called the Terceras
Corvo
Flores
Graciosa
Tercera
S. Michael
S. Maria
Madera
Porto Santo
Canarie Ylandes
Y. of Cape de Verde
Scale of Leagues
Scotlande
France
Spaine
C. S. Vincent
Englishe Leagues
Spanishe Leagues
North
East
South

HOOD'S SAILING CHART A.D. 1592

neere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly upward with the body, having marvelous thicke leaves, and every leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree never yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and every tree yeeldeth two or three of those branches, which beare some more and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conserve.

This Iland is sufficiently provided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because I have particularly to [II. ii. 5.] intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leave further inlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

THe Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sowen lande in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly upward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme or likenesse of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & pumish stones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region covered all the yere with snow, and somwhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heavy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thousand yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Savine trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to travell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, saving that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly then all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liveth but a small while. This Iland bringeth foorth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a juice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a common drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

Lime.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for corne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse upon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two townes, the one called Larotava, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good silke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great

Orchel good for dying.

store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

There is in that Iland a faire city, standing three leagues from the sea, nere unto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the governour who ruleth all that Iland with justice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

Santa Cruz.

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Larotava, Rialeio, and Garachico.

In this Iland before the conquest dwelt seven kings, who with all their people dwelt in caves, and were clothed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and used such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great cave, where he was propped up against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessell of milke standing by him. I have seene caves of 300 of these corpses together, the flesh being dried up, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently every Iland spake a severall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, unto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands joyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelve thousand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I have before declared.

[Gomera

Gomera.

THe Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an [II. ii. 6.] Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controversie the vassals may appeale to the kings superior Judges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ships, where often times the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselves.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of Palma.

THe Ile of Palma standeth twelve leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera Northwestward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a governour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute justice. It hath also another prety towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof provided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelve thousand buts of wine like unto Malmsies. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit neere five and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif have, it standeth in twenty seven degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called Hierro.

THis Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was John Hill.

The onely vineyard in Hierro planted by Joh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaves like an Olive tree, which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is covered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaves of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necessities, aswell for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of Lanzarota.

THe Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant from grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortaventura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Judges, which reside in Canaria, as I have sayd before: because although the king hath reserved to himselfe but onely the three fruitful Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he also reserved the rod of justice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be evill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly resort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tussmetta, which serveth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelve leagues.

The Ile of Forteventura.

THe Ile of Forteventura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Estward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is navigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Both Forteventura and Lanzarota have very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

[II. ii. 7.] Thus much have I written of these seven Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I have sayd before, the space of seven yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

THe Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctinall line, and seventie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeastward and Southwest from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discovered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wildernesse of sundry sortes of trees that there did

A.D.
c. 1550.

growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and divers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discovered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also justice and government according to the Portugall use. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings superior judges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for ships, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discovered the same. There are also sixteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of divers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of divers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liveth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof provided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the provision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heigth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conveyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Salvages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldaie, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professeth himselfe to have bene the first inventer of this trade.

Worshipful Sir, having lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discoverie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, travell or industrie I may doe you service, I am readie to doe it, and therein to adventure my life to the uttermost point. Trueth it is, that I have bene by some men (not my friends) evill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Navigation and Cosmographie, and that I have bene the inventer of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without just cause, that I have not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I have taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Aucher for the Levant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very trueth is, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I invented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I joyned in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir John Lutterell, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with evill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame fever, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand upon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had lived) to have had the whole government both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inventer of that trade. [II. ii. 8.]

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, convayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,
James Alday.

[The second

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir John Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole, and others; Written by the relation of Master James Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THe shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the River of Thames, That is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Caravel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one John Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was David Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small Fleete was Master Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somerset shire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conveied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and having refreshed our selves with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Jet, and divers other things well accepted by the Moores. In which road we

Asafi.

Santa Cruz.

found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her selfe as neere under the towne wals as she could possible, craving aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing us draw neere, shot at us a piece from the wals, which came over the Lion our Admirall, between the maine mast & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboord us to know what we were, who understanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leave of their king in marchant wise, were fully satisfied, and gave us good leave to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite us, and used us with all curtesie. But by divers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or sugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell upon the Lion, so that we were driven to Lancerota, and Forteventura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chestes of Sugar upon Lancerota, with some dozen or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our caravell, suddenly came with force upon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke us prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceived from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue us, and drave the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eighteene, and tooke their governour of the Iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chasing the enemie so farre, for our recoverie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiving this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them.

The English were at Santa Cruz the yeere before being 1551.

[II. ii. 9.]

Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receive their olde governour, giving us a testimonie under his and their hands, what damages wee had there received, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants upon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came under saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee understood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gave out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good providence wee escaped their handes. From this Iland shaping our course for England, we were seven or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the haven of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I Was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memorie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in oblivion so woorthie attempts, so much the greatlier to bee esteemed, as before never enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, envying that other should enjoy the commodities, which they themselves cannot wholy possesse. And although such as have bene at charges in the discovering and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to have certaine privileges, preheminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake under correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as invade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to use the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselves have at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approove or improove, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was advertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neverthelesse, with also the exact course of the navigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voiage. And if herein favour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some have bene sharply touched, let them lay apart favour and friendship, and give place to trueth, that honest men may receive prayse for well doing, and lewd persons reproch, as the just stipend of their evill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be more plainly understood of all men, I have thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelve degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall [II. ii. 10.] line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe unto the Equinoctiall, and so foorth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Afrike gathered by Richard Eden.

IN Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day under Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports

Tunis.
Bugia.
Tripoli.
Numidia.

of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with divers other. Under this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, living scattred in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Ilands of Tunis. *Malta.* *The deserts of Lybia.* *Barbarie.*

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is divided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania. *The kingdom of Fes & Marocco.*

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Telensin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth unto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

Tremisen. *Oram.* *Mersalquiber.* *Sala.*

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended above the Ocean Sea, unto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are upon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Jalofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the river Negro called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes

Azamor. *The Ilands of Canaria.* *Guinea.* *Aethiopians.*

of trees, plastered with chalke, and covered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

Marocco. The kingdom of Marocco hath under it these seven kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. *Fes.* The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. *Tremisen.* The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. *Guinea.* But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa ye great. Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and severed from Asia, on the East by the river Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. *Africa the lesse.* Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia; On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage. *Carthage.*

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king Prester John, *Prester John.* well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on every side: and hath under him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called David the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight ships laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: *Cape de Bona Speranza.* and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between ye great citie of Alcair, *Alcair.* or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of [II. ii. 11.] Aethiopia: In the which way are many unhabitable deserts, continuing for the space of five dayes journey. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperor were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would or now have invaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Olive. There are also many other cities, as the city of Sava upon the river of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this province are many exceeding high mountains, upon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred daies journey. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to have said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

Amacaiz.

From whence the Queene of Saba came.

The earthly Paradise.

The trees of the Sunne and the Moone.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seven score, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: having also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great favour with

Pinteado.

Brasile. Guinea. the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner never favoureth but flattereth, never promiseth but deceiveth, never raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth & favour have alwaies companions, emulation and envie, he was after many adversities & quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was evil matched with an unequal companion, and unlike match of most sundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships under saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceived in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that more happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, untill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not have prevailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was sinisterly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

The Ilands of Madera.

The castle of Mina.

After that our ships departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of love. Then did he take upon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and somtimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the service of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leaving him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem above all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their course from thence until they arrived at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course and tarying here & there at the desert Ilands in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somwhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great river of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes have laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like unto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, having in the mids thereof a hole on every side. This kind of spice is much used in cold countries, & may there be sold for great advantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of ye fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land: where not attempting to

The Ilands of Canarie.

The Iland of S. Nicholas.

The river of Sesto.

[II. ii. 12.]

Graines.

The thirst of gold.

The castle of Mina. come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the river of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it, for the gold of *The quantitie of gold.* that country, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might have dispatched all their ware for gold, if the untame braine of Windam had, or could have given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might have had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke upon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being under the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to have their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might have bene great gainers: Windam not assenting *Furie admitteth no counsel.* hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reviling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whoreson Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring us unto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gave the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their lives, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the *The Rossia.* Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: or els for comming to soone for *Rotting heat.* the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought *Benin.* he the ships before the river of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas up into the river 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with *Francisco. Nich. Lambart.* captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the river side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest) sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like unto lovers to let in the aire.

The king of Benin his court.

And here to speake of the great reverence they give to their king, it is such, that if we would give as much to our Savior Christ, we should remoove from our heads many plagues which we daily deserve for our contempt and impietie.

Reverence toward the king.

So it is therfore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they never looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we upon our knees, so they upon their buttocks, with their elbowes upon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking up until the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do see him, they do shew such reverence, sitting on the ground with their faces covered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reverence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first understand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand up, and demanded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants traveiling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king then having of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (every kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke upon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and

The communication between the king of Benin and our men.

Pepper.

the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to provide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

[II. ii. 13.]

In the meane season our men partly having no rule of themselves, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not used before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiving the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to Captaine Pinteado, & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answere Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leave them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answere, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake up Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deerest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiving that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serve for the same, promising them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to returne with all haste to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept ashipboord against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not used like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find favour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for very pensivenesse & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serve any prince, and most vilely used. And of sevenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I have saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken upon favour otherwise then trueth, I have thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote unto him to reconcile him, at such

The death of Windam.

Pinteado evill used of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whose father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

time as upon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for povertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, upon malicious informations of such as envied the mans good fortune: even so may it hereby appeare that in some cases even Lions themselves may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore mise, according unto the fable of Esope.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voiage of Guinea.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, whereby the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last delivered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confessor.

I The king doe give you to understand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and overseer of my house, that in consideration of the good service which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of John Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done unto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seven hundred reis monethly, and every day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, & to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Providing alwaies that he shall receive but one marriage gift. And this also in such condition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the

Seven hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

Matricula of our houshold, under the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, [II. ii. 14.] for the certeintie therof, write on the backside of this Alvala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing unto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques have written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this benevolence the king gave unto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the five and twentie day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written under the kings grant.

YOur Majestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good service of Anthony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of John Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seven hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall have but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, have me heartily commended unto you. Peter Gonsalves is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Majestie hath given you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalves will make further declaration hereof unto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALl these foresaid writings I saw under seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his unfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secrete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might have served their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok.

AS in the first voiage I have declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the navigation, whereof at that time I could have no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the observation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I received it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by conjecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due unto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well observed by art and experience, I have thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly used among them, and as I received it of the said Pilot, as I have said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleventh day of October, we departed the river of Thames with three goodly ships, the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seven-score tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the John Evangelist, a ship of seven score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (wherof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Dover fourteene dayes. We staied also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreover last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

[II. ii. 15.]

Robert Gainsh was master of the John Evangelist.

The first day of November at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing Southwest all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, untill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the Ile of Madera, which doth rise to him that commeth in the Northnortheast part upright land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like unto corne fields, & some white houses to the Southeast part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged,

The Ile of Madera.

if you may see it, and in the Northeast part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and over the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries. The 19 day at twelve of the clocke we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riseth round, & lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South is a round hill over the head land, and another round hill above that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera & the Northwest part of the Ile of Palme seven and fifty leagues. This Isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And *From Madera to the Isle of Palmes.* our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa lie Southeast and Northwest, and betweene them are 20 leagues. *Gran Canaria. Forteventura. The Iland of Gomera.* Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteventura stande in seven and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoever wil come betweene them two Ilands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the Iland: and it standeth in seven and twentie degrees *Teneriffa.* and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and upon the said pike is *Snow.* snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen above all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of November, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, untill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The two and twentieth day of November, under the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe West and *The coast of Barbarie. Cape Blanke.* by South. Upon the coast of Barbarie five and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small Ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seventeene fadome deepe. Seven or eight leagues off from the river del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there use many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of November: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selves in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves seven leagues off: and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

The river del Oro.

Then we went South untill we brought our selves in 13 degrees, reckoning our selves five and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crosiers, and we might have reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of November, by reason that the nights are short there. Neverthelesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

The crosiers or crosse stars.

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, untill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our selves 30 leagues off the sholes of the river called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

[II. ii. 16.]

Cape Mensurado. The river of Sesto.

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selves seventeene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnortheast of us, and the river of Sesto being East.

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason y^{t} the rising of it is like a Porpose-head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, & the Southermost like unto a gibet: and upon the maine are foure or five high hilles rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the river of Sesto, & remained there untill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before us the pinnesse to the river Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might have the beginning of the market before the comming of the John Evangelist.

The river of Sesto. Rio Dulce.

At the river of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This river standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the river of Sesto to Rio Dulce are five and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The river of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the haven are five or sixe trees that beare no leaves. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ye entrance into the river. There is also a rocke in the havens mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast & by East, Northwest & by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal have in some places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the river of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Cape de Monte. Cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the river of Sesto and the river Dulce are five and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the river of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right over against S. Vincent, is a rocke under the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the Eastsoutheast of the island is a rocke that lieth above the water, and by that rocke goeth in the river Dulce, which you shall know by the said river and rocke. The Northwest side of the haven is flat sand, and the Southeast side therof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

The land of Cakeado.

Shauo.

Croke.

S. Vincents harborow.

The river Dulce.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Island and the Northeast land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Januarie, we came from the river Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

Cape de las Palmas.

The coast of Guinea.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and five leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, untill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still higher and higher, untill you come to Cape Trepointes, Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a castle called Arra, perteining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and fifteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westermost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westermost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and upon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The castle of Arra.

[II. ii. 17.]

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samma or Samva, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samva is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs have a pledge a shore. But when they received the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinance at us. They have two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The towne of Samma.

The pledge was sir John Yorke his Nephew.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don John dwelleth, whose men entertained us friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, saving two or three packes.

Cape Corea.

The castle of Mina perteining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seven leagues Eastward of us, where she solde her wares.

Then they of the Trinitie willed us to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere unto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied up alongst till we came within seven or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceive you sore. Whosoever shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a river called De los Potos, where you may have fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of ivory or Elephants teeth. This river standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, untill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, untill you come in five degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could judge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceive many men.

Perecow.

Perecow grand.

Monte Rodondo.

The currants.

From Mina homeward.

Rio de los Potos.

Ivory.

Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and so we ran to the Northwest, having the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, untill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Islands of

Cape verde Eastsoutheast of us, we judging our selves to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selves a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

The Ile de Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and having the Isle de Flores East of us, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, judging the Ile of Corvo South and by West of us, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from us.

The Ile of Corvo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with John Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and judged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, under nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

How the compasse doeth varie.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before [II. ii. 18.] we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreover that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had received much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then upon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from us, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shoare to the towne, and there John Berin went to trafique from us, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samva, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape de 3 puntas.

The Primrose.

The towne of Samma.

Golde.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie buts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh above the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and five & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calves, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to ye age of the beast. These great teeth or

Gold foure hundreth weight.

Graines.

Elephants teeth.

tusks grow in the upper jaw downeward, and not in the nether jaw upward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceived. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bignesse, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether jaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether jaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or troonke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh litle lesse then five hundred weight. This head divers have seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisedome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The head of an Elephant.

Sir Andrew Judde.

The contemplations of Gods works.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feete undivided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth up his Master or keeper, therewith he overthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on every side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the jaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes

The description and properties of the Elephant.

they are taught, and doe understand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he never after toucheth her. The male Elephant liveth two hundreth yeeres, or at the least one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but threescore yeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they love rivers, and will often go into them up to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they use none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wildernesse being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Joyned in battel, they have no small respect unto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the juise of barley. They have continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therfore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters use in certaine colours.

Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.

[II. ii. 19.]

Sanguis Draconis.

Cinnabaris.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Marshes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in con-

Three kinds of Elephants.

ditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes passeth the horse of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some have bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males have tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of divers heights, as of twelve, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, every dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ye colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a river in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marveilous docilitie, of their fight and use in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the use of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of ivory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and divers other things of ivory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Josephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Ivory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as

Workes of Ivorie.

went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproved by this proverbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make ivory white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Ivory necks. And to have said thus much of Elephants and Ivory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of living, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be understood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with divers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly living, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior.

Getulia.

Æthiopes. Nigritæ.

The river Nigritis or Senega.

A strange thing.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with divers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and savage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusii, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beasts as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same river which the Portugals call Senega: For this river is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marveilous and very strange that is said of this river: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither have respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These have the same situation in Ptolome that they now give to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Christians under the dominion of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by conjecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining upon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the river of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly divided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia under Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this perteineth the Island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the river Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Josephus writeth,

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

[II. ii. 20.]

Prester John.

Regnum Orguene.

Gambra.

Guinea.

Cabo Verde.

The Portugals Navigation to Brasile.

Aethiopia.

The Island of Meroe.

that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Jerusalem, to heare the wisedom of Salomon. From hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperor Prester John, whom some cal Papa Johannes, & other say that he is called Pean Juan (that is) great John, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea & Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonii, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caves and dennes: for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They have no speach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, having their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi, and naked Ganphasantes: Satyrs also, which have nothing of men but onely shape. Moreover Oripei, great hunters. Mennones also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is joyned in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prester John.

The Queene of Saba.

Prester John Emperour of Aethiopia.

People of the Eastside of Africa.

People without heads.

Myrrh.

Azania.

Regnum Melinde.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward ye South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech or Habasia, a region of

Aethiopia interior.

White Elephants.

Habasia.

Ichthiophagi.
Anthropophagi.
Montes Lunæ.
Gazatia.
Cap. bonæ Spei.

Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as live onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapsii, & Anthropophagi, y^{t} are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere unto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is under the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in every globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Africa without colde.
The winter of Africa.
Flames of fire and noise in the aire.
The middle region of the aire is cold.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifieth privation, voyd, or without: and Phrice signifieth colde. For in deed although in the stead of Winter they have a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smoothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to live as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such firie exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and divers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force: for even common and dayly experience teacheth us, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striveth when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moved, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other.

[II. ii. 21.]

The strife of Elements.

Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to us that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

The heate of the Moone.

The nature of the starres.

And, that the Moone giveth heate upon the earth the Prophet David seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalme, where speaking of such men as are defended from evils by Gods protection, hee saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heaven, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also even in the sea are seene evaporations of fire, and such eruptions and break-

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

Cataracts of heaven.

ing foorth of springs, that the mouthes of rivers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the middest of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted up and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted up in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast upon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans understanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to marvell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I have thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may aswell take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noble men use to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in divers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or ivory. I my selfe have one of their braslets of Ivory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare upon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carved, with a hole in

Vehement motions in the Sea.

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Fine jewels.

A bracelet.

the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some have on every arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leave them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeves made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like unto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dog-chaines and collers.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be evill used. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did trafick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should have hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulde make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so prevented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the Cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could trafique there.

A muske cat.

[II. ii. 22.]

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and covered with boughes.

Their houses.

Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as they take, whereof they have great plenty.

Their feeding.

There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the

Flying fishes.

sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to provide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therfore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they wil last uncorrupted ten or twelve dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

A strange thing.

Their bread.

They use also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they have thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

Their wheat.

They have very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that have lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receive by the fervent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receive the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the juise that droppeth from

The Sunne.

Their drinke.

the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches every evening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground under the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches every evening, because they are seared up in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They have also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to have saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

Graines

And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to have holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them up to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the Phisicions Grana Paradisi.

Shels that cleave to ships.

Barnacles.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes were marveilously overgrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles have bene seene in ships returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the docke, and in maner covered with the said shels, which in my judgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

Bromas.

A secret.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that wheras they sailed thither in seven weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is ever at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolveth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserveth the same.

The death of our men.

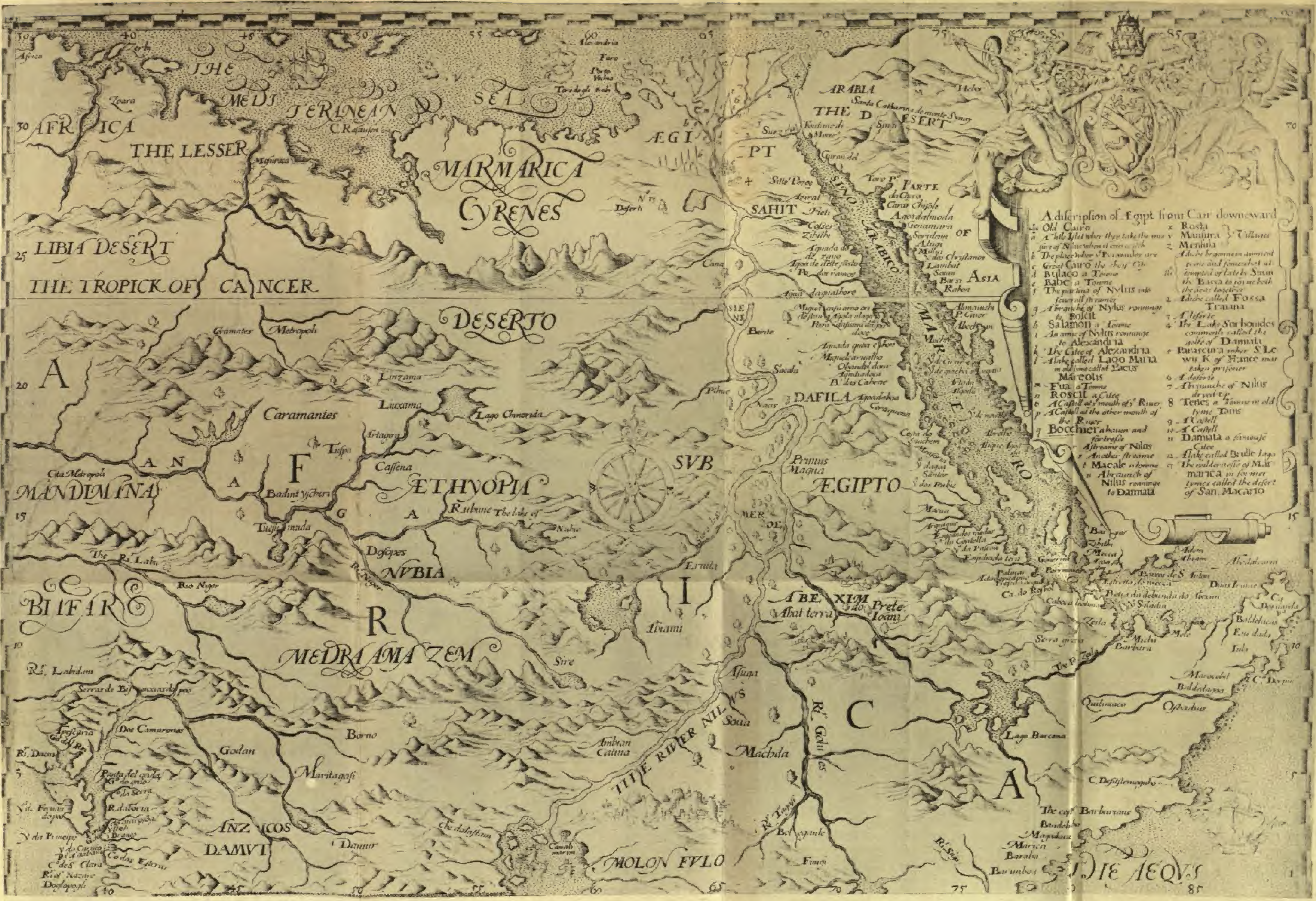
Five blacke Moores brought into England.

[II. ii. 23.]

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, under the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are under the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as they of Africke have, but of the colour of an Olive, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in divers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they


THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
THE LESSER
LIBIA DESERT
THE TROPICK OF CANCER
MARMARICA CYRENES
ÆGIPT
ARABIA
THE DESERT
Santa Catharina de monte Synay
PARTE
SAHIT
SINO ARABICO
MARE ROSSO
ASIA
DESERTO
A F R I C A
MANDIMANA
Caramantes
ÆTHYOPIA
SUB ÆGIPTO
DAFILA
NUBIA
BIIFAR
MEDRA AMA ZEM
ABEXIM do Prete Ioani
Abat terra
THE RIVER NILUS
ANZICOS
DAMUT
MOLON FULO
Lago Barcena
The cost Barbarians
Lago Chnonda
The lake of Nubio
The Ri. Laba
Rio Niger
Ri. Gelu
A discription of Egipt from Cair downeward
+ Old Cairo
a A little Islet wher they take the measure of Nilus when it encreaseth
b The place wher the Pyramides are
c Great Cairo the cheif Citie
d Bulaco a Towne
e Babe a Towne
f The parting of Nylus into fower all streames
g A branche of Nylus ronninge to Roscit
h Salamon a Towne
i An arme of Nylus ronninge to Alexandria
k The Citee of Alexandria
l A lake called Lago Maria in old time called Lacus Mareotis
m Fua a Towne
n Roscit a Citee
o A Castell at the mouth of the River
p A Castell at the other mouth of the River
q Bocchier a haven and fortresse
r A streame of Nilus
s Another streame
t Macale a towne
u A braunch of Nilus ronninge to Damiata
x Rosta
y Manfura
z Menhila
The Villages
A diche begonne in auncient tyme and somewhat attempted of late by Sinan the Bassa to ioyne both the Seas together
2 A diche called Fossa Traiana
3 A deserte
4 The Lake Sorbonides commonly called the golfe of Damiata
5 Parascura wher S Lewis K of France was taken prisoner
6 A deserte
7 A braunche of Nilus dryed up
8 Tenes a Towne in old tyme Tanis
9 A Castell
10 A Castell
11 Damiata a famouse Citee
12 A lake called Brulle lago
13 The wildernesse of Marmarica in former tymes called the desert of San Macario

overtooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to have said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

September.

UPon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the haven of Neuport with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were John Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made unto the River de Sestos in Guinea, and to other havens thereabout.

October.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arrived wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the haven, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues.

November.

The first of November we found ourselves to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Santo.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lyeth in thirty and three degrees.

The same day at 11. of the clocke we raysed the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leave the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues. *Madera.*

The fourth day wee lay becalmed under the Isle of Madera, untill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike upon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif. *Tenerif.* *Palma.*

Gomera. The 7. day we perceived the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of us, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would have gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe five houres Eastnortheast to the ende we might double it upon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeast, which hath not bene often seene upon that coast by any travailers: for the winde continueth there for the most part Northeast, & East Northeast: so upon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same. *Ferro.* [II. ii. 24.]

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we sawe a saile under our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that wee went roome to have spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that wee could not see the shippe nor one of us the other: we shot off divers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not: at after noone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake up, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare upon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with us and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not judge justly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be judged of it but the forepart of the shoare, which is white like chalke or sand, and very deepe unto the hard shoare: there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for upon that coast, which they cal Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing up of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shaped us such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the river del Oro.

River del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile comming towards us, which wee judged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee our selves within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied us, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that wee coulde not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelve a clocke wee espied a Carvell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with five men, and all without any weapon saving their Oares. The Carvell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende overtooke the Carvell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboord, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men.

A Carvell taken.

After they were come to us, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare us for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogsheads of saltfish which they had taken upon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store upon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serve twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they sent aboord of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seven Pistolets, which was twise as much as they willingly would have taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused us to ancre againe about twelve leagues off the river del Oro, as the Portugals tolde us. There were five Carvels more in this place, but when they sawe us, they made all away for feare of us.

Great store of fish upon the coast of Barbary.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right under the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelve of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanke.

[II. ii. 25.]

The 22. day our Pilots reckoned us to be thwart Cape Verde.

Cape Verde.

The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night

The coast of Guinea.

we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to have bene a ship, and thereby judged it to be the river de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from us, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the river de Sestos.

This land all a long is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were under saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the shoare, and the billow beating so sore, that the seas brake upon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran until 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after judged themselves to be 24. leagues past the river de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might wel have rid by an Hawser. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the river de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against us.

The Currant setting Eastward.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with divers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in every boate one man and no more: we gave them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to us with fresh water: and this night we ankered against a River.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the River, and then wee sent our boats into the River for water, which went about a mile within the River, where they had very good water. This River lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the River de Sestos, and is called in the Carde River S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a River: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the River, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the River, and being within it, it is a great River and divers other Rivers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas do

River S. Vincent.

goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

There are neere to the Sea upon this River divers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their privie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like upon their heades being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of divers sorts, and the most part of them have their skin of their bodies raced with divers workes, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the udder of a goate.

The Negroes race their skinnes.

Graines of Guinea. Elephants teeth.

[II. ii. 26.]

The same morning we went into the River with our Skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogs-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manelios, and Margarits, but they desired most to have basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gave them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the river with our Skiffe, and tooke some of every sort of our marchandize with us, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: howbeit for the basons they would have given us some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation above one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtile, that for a bason hee would not give 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer us small dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would have followed them, and have given them their owne askings. But after that wee perceived their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a threescore of them about us, and at the first they were afraid of us, but in the ende perceiving that wee did no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand and be familiar with us, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie small hovels, all covered over with great leaves and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffolde under the house about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses they worke yron and make faire dartes, and divers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there divers of the women to shew us pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

The description of their Townes and houses.

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes: other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made us signes that if when we had slept wee would come againe into their river, wee should have store of Graines, and so shewed us his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would have done something because the

Captaine sent for us, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master and the rest came into the river, the captaine with divers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so unreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiving, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke not above 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, having but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboord we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

This river is called River S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there every 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

The latitude of S. Vincent river is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This countrey as farre as we could perceive is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Leaves of exceeding length.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow upon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I

Long pease stalkes.

measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow upon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceive by the water markes. The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Divers of the women have such exceeding long breasts, that some of them wil lay the same upon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women have not such breasts.

Long womens breasts.

[II. ii. 27.]

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marveiled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came up at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceive that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they give themselves to seeke out nothing: if they would takes paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceive two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I observed some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

The language about the River of S. Vincent.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Have you ynough?
Begge sacke,	Give me a knife.
Begge come,	Give me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some

call him Dabo. These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed us that there was a river thwart of us, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before us. This river hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the river, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelve of the clocke there came out to us 3. boates to tell us that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde having ankered by us amongst rockes, and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to us, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should have Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to us, and brought Graines, and shewed us them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire upon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell us where we should land, and so they did in divers other places upon the coast, where they saw us to anker.

The tides and nature of the shoare.

In al the places where we have ancred, since we came from our watring place, we have found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboord the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast, that we were not able to runne above sixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to us, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne sixteene leagues. *The point of Palmas.*

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westermost part, and upon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a river, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night wee should overrunne a river, where the *last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth. ** That was the yere 1554.*

This Cape Das palmas lieth under foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the river de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is no great store else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne some 16. leagues. *The tides running Eastward.* [II. ii. 28.]

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to us certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made us signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that it was the river which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the river, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was not the river, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceived a place which he judged to be the river, when wee were in deede two miles shot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no river: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke five men with us in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was the same river which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, divers boates came to us, and shewed us that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought us one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the river side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell us them: so we gave unto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboord, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the sea, made us signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no river, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboord.

A Towne.

This river lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the river it selfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow five trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Westward, but the river cannot bee perceived untill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceive a litle Towne on ech side the river, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The river is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the river, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a close, and not above sixe trees upon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowen: for along all the coast that we have hitherto sailed by, I have not seene so much bare land.

Many Palme trees.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they have no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the juyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres puntas.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the river De Sestos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceive, differeth not much from the language of those which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to have Manillios and Margarites: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

Their maner of swearing by the water of the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to us foorth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ship three or foure of them, and we gave them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selves. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making us signes that the next day we should come to their Townes.

Two townes. The 26. day because we would not trifle long at this place I required the Master to goe unto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of every kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne [II. ii. 29.] where I was, I had eleven, which were also not bigge, and we left aboord with the Master certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboord the ship, in our absence: and having bought these of them, wee perceived that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought five small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right above that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not above foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the red cliffe aforesaide to have right upon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well upon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a river to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that have bene there, have not bene usuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots judged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: upon the first sight of the Cape wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the uttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceived the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not above a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and upon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same Cape to the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and divers rocks hard aboord the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeast, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East Northeast.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and divers head-lands rise one beyond another, and divers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middest of these Capes is the neerest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of overshooting a towne called S. Johns. Wee ran this day not above 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by us, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere us, and when they had well looked upon us, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great greene hils joyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforenamed Towne had stoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with us cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From these two hils aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northwestward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeast along the shoare: but the uttermost point of land in that place that we [II. ii. 30.] could see, lay Northeast, and by East from us.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that uttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe judged to be the towne of S. Johns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceived that there was a towne upon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waved us to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of us, to shewe us that they had golde, and they shewed us a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gave them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew unto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it unto their Captaine, and then they brought us a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making us signes that so much they would give for the like measure, and lesse they would not have. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall understood, that all the best places were before us, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and having sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainely was the towne of Don John: and the night was come upon us, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere unto the place as we could.

The towne of Don John.

The fift day in the morning we perceived it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to us. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh river, and afterwards they came and waved to us also to come in, because they perceived the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to us, and made us signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceive any boates that they had to come withall, so that we judged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee having stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to us, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe being a grave man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, every one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines stoole: wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selves, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moove his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly upon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to us, and bowed downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare above the loynes, except his head.

His servants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts skinnes.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they have, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them have hanging at their left side one of those great daggers. *Their weapons.*

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to cover their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I have not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them up close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to have them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gave them unto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, [II. ii. 31.]

nether would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that wee solde that day 74. basons unto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from us, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I received, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men under 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to us, every man sticked downe his dart upon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboord of us, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would have that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelve graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abovesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to us, and so the young man which was with us the night before was sent aboord, who seemed to have dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguise, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his comming he offered us, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelve graines for foure elles, and more he would not give, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelve graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would have done, rather then have given that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we judged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiving that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came unto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not give the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would give them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came unto them and gave them the weight of our Angell and twelve graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and John Savill went in one boat, and the Master John Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seventh day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with us before noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made us signes to fetch them some latten basons, which

I would not because I purposed not to trifle out ye time, but goe thence with speede to Don Johns towne. But John Savill and John Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a little Portuguise, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde five basons unto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceive, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde us that the Portugales were [II. ii. 32.] bad men, and that they made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and besides he told us, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them: he told us further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small carvell, and further, that Don John had warres with the Portugals, which gave mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

60. Portugales in the castle of Mina.

This fellowe came aboord our shippe without feare, and assoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

The English in anno 1554 tooke away 5 Negroes.

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and set sayle and a litle after spied a great fire upon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of overshooting the towne of Don John we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch up a towne here, if a ship overshoot it. This day we tooke seven pound, and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to have basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as knives, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed us a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Divers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diverse colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	Is their salutation.
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Knives.
Bassina,	Basons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great store.

Sight of the castle of Mina.

The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not have the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don John, and then it cleared up, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, upon the hill about it: then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Johns towne, and there ankered in seven fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceived that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Johns towne described.

The towne of Don John is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come unto us: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to us who made us signes that that was the towne of Don John, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboord, and I gave him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to us, who made signes that Don John was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Devis, and brought with him gold to shew us, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place John Savill, and John Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to us and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed us a weight of an angell and twelve graines, which they would give for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied and made no bargaine. And [II. ii. 33.] all this day the barke lay at Don Johns towne, and did nothing, having answere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of gold, and having driven the matter off a long time, and having brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth upon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad upon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake unto them, and foorthwith every man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knavery, and being waved by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceived upon the hill 30 men which we judged to be Portugals: and they went up to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselves, having a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two pieces of ordinance which I marveiled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboord together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had given to the two sonnes of Don John, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had delivered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill upon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had given them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceived it not. The sonne of Don John conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost upon them, but yet they recovered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their

The Portugales of the castle of Mina invaded our men.

calievers at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe perceiving it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at us with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for love stoode by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subjection unto them that they durst not sell us any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceived the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of John de Viso standeth upon an hill like the towne of Don John, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subjection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne upon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne upon the shoare: whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leave the towne upon our departure. Along from the castle unto this place are very high hilles which may be seene above all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side.

The towne of Don John de Viso.

The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelve men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few rivers: their language differeth not from the language used at Don Johns towne: but every one can speake three or foure words of Portuguise, which they used altogether to us.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knavery intended against us. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherein were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke upon us, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the uttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eastnortheast, and a sandy shoare againe: upon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waved us with a white flagge, but we perceiving the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. [II. ii. 34.] When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in five fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying upon the shoare, and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to us, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to have made no saile: yet towardes night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waved us on shoare with a white flagge, and

Foure men taken away by the English.

afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shore under a tree: which when I perceived, I tooke things with me to give him: at last he sent a boat to call to us, which would not come neere us, but made us signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to give to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they received making us signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended upon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

A great towne.

This towne is very great and stands upon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it upon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And under the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to us: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to wave us againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed us that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we saw a saile in the meane time passe by us but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore wee made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to us with five men in her, who brought us againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: so I gave them sixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to have a pledge of us, and they would leave us another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Janni.

boate, but they would not give us one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted us friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and sate downe under a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceived a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at us but overshot us, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at us againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by us, and discharged calievers at us, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Master Robert Gainshes voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The English were offered to build a towne in Guine.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates upon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuffs of cloth, every fuffe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should have golde enough: so the Master tooke the Hinde with John Savill and John Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceived our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to us with 4 men in them, requiring us to tary & to give them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with us for him, so Edward M. Morleis [II. ii. 35.] servant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde aboute his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light upon the shoare thwart of us, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calievers, which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals brigandine which followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with us.

A Portugale Brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wives also, because their towne was 8 miles up in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboord, and required to have two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboord, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboord us, he and his wife with divers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gave him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker about five leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to have some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gave it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while upon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waved a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bels, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bels and other things, and then perceiving their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and understood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day wee received out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day upon the request of a Negro that came unto us from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of us, but at night they sent a man aboord us, which lay with us all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to us the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calievers shot off upon the shore, which we judged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selves and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and having no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

Februarie. The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but having viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time upon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: upon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at Northnortheast, and so continueth untill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide or currant upon this shore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to have met with some English ships, but found none. *They returne for England.*

[II. ii. 36.] The sixt day we went our course Southwest to fetch under the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selves by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the River de Sestos, about 30 leagues. *Cape de Monte.*

The first day of March in a Ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set up a light and shot off a piece but could not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off us. *March.*

Upon the 22 day we found our selves to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14. degrees and a halfe. *Cape Verde in latitude 14 degrees & a halfe.*

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selves to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparell was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be delivered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our selves to be under the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selves to bee in the height of the Asores. *Aprill.*

The seventh day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gave them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serve us till we arrived in England. *May.*

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in safetie and gave thankes to God for our safe arrivall. *Their arrivall at Bristoll.*

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556. with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THe fourteenth day of September, the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bristoll, but arriving there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinnesse came to us, so that the 15 of November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

November.

The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caravels fishing for Pargoes.

December.

The 19 we found our selves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did set to the West Southwestward so fast as if it had bene the overfall of a sand, making a great noyse like unto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale: and to proove whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

Sierra Leona.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeast and by East from us:

betwixt the Nothermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northwestwards are certaine hommocks. Having sayled somewhat into the shoare wee tooke our selves to be shotte somewhat past the river de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses which were in the weather of us, and having sight of them we made our selves readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and having sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselves readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from us: but when they had made themselves readie, they kept about againe, and came with us verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very bravely: so when we met, they had the weather of us, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waved them to come under our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of us what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but Fishermen: then they told us that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the river de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saved none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned which they left a shore there. Then they desired to come aboord of us with their boates to talke with us, and wee gave them leave. Then the captaine of the Admirall and divers others came aboord very friendly, desiring us to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed us that

[II. ii. 37.]

The river of Sestos.

we were fiftie leagues past the river de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe us to water with their owne boats because they would have our companie. And told us further, that they had bene sixe weekes upon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before us, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would understand that we were behind, and so would waite for us. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore having considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to give us water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with us and helpe us to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had provided a notable banquet for us, and intreated us very friendly, desiring us still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe us pleasure untill the end, we should have the one halfe of it, offering us if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she came to an anker to seaward of us all, and would not come at us. All this night the boats continued on shore.

The first day of January our boats came to us againe and had found no river. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another river.

The 2 day we went into the river and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

An assault upon elephants.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fifteene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with us and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke divers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from us and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

Rio de S. Andre.

The 6 day we fell with the river de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the river, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

The 7 day we went into the River and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great river and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the Red cliffes, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ships, Jerom Baudet his vice admiral, and John de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send us to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of us hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then

[II. ii. 38.] one boate to make sale for every shippe. This night our boats going to the shore met with certaine Negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow. *Allow.*

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to us, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by divers small townes, and was waved to come on shore at 3 places, but the sea went so high upon the shore, that it was not possible for us to land, neither could they come to us if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would have come unto us, but the Land-wash went so sore that it overthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth an Almade to descry us, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negros Dondou. *Dondou a great towne.* Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the castle standeth upon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seven leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, until we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. *The castle of Mina.* This castle standeth about five leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. *Cape de Tres puntas.* Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongst the shore till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negros did understand them well, and one of them went a shore at all the places and was well received of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to us, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gave to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Margarets, and they shewed us about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then every man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to give more then the price which should be set by us al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us. *Bulle.*

The Negros here shewed us that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company judged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelve score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the river De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whose master is called John de Orleans.

Hanta. The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not give them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told us that there were five Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that [II. ii. 39.] they lived in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shore and the Frenchmen with us, but did no great good, the Negros were so unreasonable, we sold 80 Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Shamma. Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were very well received, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked every houre for the Portugals. * And here the Negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The Negros brought home by our men.

* *Note.*

Robert Gaynsh.

The 18 day we went into the river with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negros to give them for every Fuffe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shore every man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros shewed us that the next day the Portugals would be with us by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard divers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by us which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no nearer to us, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare us and so make us to leave our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our five boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corslets, and the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the river and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the river to waft us, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told us that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to us and told us that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to us, giving us warning to take heed to our selves: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases whereof the Negros were very glad, and requested us that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising us that if they came by land, they would advertise us thereof.

The 24 we went a shore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

Five sailes of Portingals descried.

The 25 day we being a shore, our ships had descried five sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call us away, and we threw every man his caske a shore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and given order one to another what to do, it was night, so y^t that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee judged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selves ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gave all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came [II. ii. 40.] to boording: but the night came upon us that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culvering shot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and so did the Portugals, and about eleven of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceived, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them, and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them: and the first that came up was a small barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of us, and caried good ordinance: and assoone as she came up, she shot at us, and overshot us, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went foorth a head of us, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came up another caravell under our Lee in like case which shot at us and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came up the Admirall under our Lee also, but he was not able to doe us so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboord, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with

The fight with the Portugals.

The French forsake our men.

him, he fell a sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a sterne of two caravels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left us, and then we put out our topsailes and gave them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere us, and our owne ship was a sterne so that she could not come to us: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay us as they went along by, and to have the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would have folowed us as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was past by them, and every one had shot at us and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnasse left us in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was under all of their Lees, and when they met with him, every one went roome with him, and gave him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe us in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that if they had had the weather of us, they would have troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towardes the shore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left us all alone: and when the Portugals perceived that we were alone, and gave them chase, they kept about with us and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at us, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do us no hurt: and thus we folowed one another until night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselves confesse, they praied for us, but as for helpe at their hands we could have none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of fourscore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost us in such a case, and John Kire made me answere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, John Davis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made us plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the master of the pinnasse came to us and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her up and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out [II. ii. 41.] of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shore, and spake with certaine Negros, who told us that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so unreasonable.

The 31 day I went to shore but did not traffike.

Februarie. The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth upon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from us, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to us, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shore the Captaine knew him and divers of the Negros who then began to aske for mee, and having told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man alive, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gave him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to give another, promising the next day to give him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shore, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke five ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negros perceived the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceived that being there where his Cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day there came an Almade & Negros aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him have, and tooke another of him.

George our Negro.

The 7 day George our Negro came to us, who had followed us at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day five pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their river, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them.

Two Portugals slaine by the English.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to us Jerome Bawdet the Vice-admirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed us that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe untill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to us, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound five ounces.

The Frenchmen bridled by the English.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to us laden with cloth, and would have made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboord of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shore and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere us, that within 3 houres they might be with us, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings servants came to us, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

[II. ii. 42.] The 10 day we tooke five pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I provided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Abaan.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told us, that he had received them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for us, and he willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and provision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

The offer of the king to the English to build a Fort.

A towne in circuit as big as London.

This towne standeth about foure leagues up in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They have about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they judge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much used in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch every night, and have to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast over their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bels upon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they have provision with certaine nets hanged over the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall upon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of trees.

A pretie devise to descrie the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about five of the clock in the morning, for there they travell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would have caried their present with them: but the Negros told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and received them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he received thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they use certaine ceremonies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth upon it, which

Their ceremonies in drinking.

they digged forth before, and then they set the pot upon the same, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it upon the ground in three places, and in divers places they have certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reverence in all places to the same Palme trees.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, upon the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gave drinke to every one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and every one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waveth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and five ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

Mowre. The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to us [II. ii. 43.] from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde us that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagova. *Lagova.*

They returne. The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of us, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more a sterne of her, the one a ship of five hundred or more, and the other a pinnesse: and these were a new fleet at that present arrived out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of us. These Portugals gave us the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till five at night, but did no good against us. At last, we perceiving the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceived, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to us: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast over boord: but this was a simple excuse.

Ships of Portugall.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we judged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land.

Cape Mensurado.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willfull Master ran in with the shore of purpose to lose us, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

Two small Ilands by Sierra Leona.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Ilands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set North-northwest, or els they may be much deceived.

Note.

The 14 of Aprill we met with two great ships of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of us, yet came not roome with us, whereby we judged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly under the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died John Underwood.

The fift day we were in the heigth of S. Michael.

A French bravado.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of us, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with us as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere us perceived that we had bene upon a long voyage, and judging us to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer us, and thought to have layed us aboord, & there stept up some of his men in armour, and commanded us to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stuffe, crossebarres, and chaineshot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the upper worke of their shippe flie about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a sterne of us, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gave him foure or five good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did us no harme at all. We had aboord us a French man a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Severne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Severne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrived safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arrivall.

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

[II. ii. 44.]

THe thirtieth day of January, the yeere abovesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these:

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.
4 A pinnesse called the Unicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Unicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Unicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats, and to come and speake with us, and we examined every one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartar-parties, we perceived that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch up his bils of

It is to be understood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Unicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshead of a French mans. Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same French mans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be delivered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that having all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes, and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in every two dayes sailing they would have hindered us more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift us out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise convenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that every man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for us foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse.

The French mens goods seazed in the time of the warre upon the losse of Cales.

More we tooke out one hogshead of Aquavitæ.

Sixe cakes of rozzen.

A small halser for ties: and certeine chesnuts.

The Christopher tooke out, [II. ii. 45.]

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogshead.

A quantity of Aquavitæ.

Shall-lines.

Chesnuts.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke up the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe over boord, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gave them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gave them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the River of Bordeux, they were not able to set him a shore againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seven tunnes of wine, one hogshead of Aquavitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe saving W. Crompton who sent us word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree unto, because we thought it not good to unman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and give them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquavitæ, chesnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we received a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selves to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleven of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceived that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then in deed wee had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, having the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off divers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the governour and captaines of the Iland sent to us which were the captaines of the ships, requiring us to come a shore. And when we came to them they received us very frendly, offering us their owne Jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew us: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboord to deliver our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants Ligiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and five hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted us with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he received me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone unto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, and kept it foorth still,

The Spanish West Indian fleet of nineteene saile.

certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot divers harquebush shot about the ship, and over the flagge: and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboord our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leave shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceived that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they received very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their General was very sory that any [II. ii. 46.] man should require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore he requested me not to thinke any ungentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost under the tropike of Cancer. *Rio del Oro.*

The 21 day we found ourselves to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Francis Castelin. The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-southwest, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in Southwest, *Cape verde.* and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and besides that two or three Ilands, which *Foure Ilands.*

were of very high rocks, being full of divers sorts of sea-foule, and of pigeons, with other sorts of land-foules, and so many, that the whole Iland was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceived the bay, and understanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like unto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse, & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negros came to us, and the night before our pinnesse brought us word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw upon the maine certaine Negros which waved us on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed us where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, & hides, and offered us to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leave a pledge for

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, muske and hides.

him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiving the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboord the Tyger.

Cabo de Monte.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, five leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a river called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguise, who tolde us that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I received nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The river de Sestos.

The 12 we set saile to go to the river de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same river.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and delivered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another river to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandise with us, and went into the river, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this river in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told us further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the river; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before us, and that by reason of the unholesome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

[II. ii. 47.] *Rio de Potos.*

The 21 wee came to the river de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth.

The 23. day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

They descrie five saile of the Portugals.

The first Aprill we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should have had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of us, and came roome with the Tyger and us untill night, and brought themselves all save one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of us: then it fell calme, and the winde came up to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of us. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answere. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at us, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thorow. They shot divers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because it was night, kept out their sailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to us, and afterward being neere the shore, wee three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to give warning to the Christopher.

The fight.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboord of us, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt us was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere unto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left us, they went all roome with him, and about twelve a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in divers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had understood that they had beene with him as well as with us, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could have no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set us thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shore and tooke our Negro with us. And on shore we learned that there were foure French ships upon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Estward of Laguoa: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen.

Weamba.

Perecow.

Egrand.

When we had intelligence of these newes we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and having bene about one houre under saile, we had sight of one of the French men under saile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gave chase, and agreed in the night for feare of overshooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

The English boord the Frenchmen. [II. ii. 48.]

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Christopher the Viceadmirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall: for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene upon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gave chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day untill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore seeing that we brought our selves very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

Fifty pound of golde taken in the French prise.

The 7 day I sent for the captaine, marchants & Masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of every ship into the prise to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prise, and would have sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired us to save their lives in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and divide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prise, and divided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leaving them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

Benin.

The 15 of April, mooving our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leave the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both should have sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes: to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with us.

Our men die of sicknesse.

We remained in this place called Egrand, untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke; and sixe of them died. And here we could have no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at us.

The 3 of May not having the pinnesse sent us with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gave but three yards thereof to every fuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told us they would come to us againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had divers of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prise at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another. *Sicknesse.*

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don John.

The 10 day in the morning we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Christopher came to us, and told us that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnesse came to us, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to us, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre. The 19 day having set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

[II. ii. 49.] The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Johns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shore, but the Negros would not come at us; then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with us, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don John himselfe lay, to advertise him of our comming. *The great towne of Don John.*

The 23 we went a shore againe, and the Negros tolde us that this day the marchants of Don John would come downe: so we tarried there untill night, and no man would come to us: but divers of the Negros made us signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he judged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went a shore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come up to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shore at Don Johns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused us to judge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to us well manned, and I sent one man up to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to us. When we saw that, we tooke twelve goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnesse come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & five ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre. *Cormatin.*

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the Negros would have beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt divers of them, and having put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats. *A fight with the Negros.*

The 26 day our pinnesse came to us from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleven ounces of golde: and John Shirife tolde us that the Negros of that place were very desirous to have a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to us from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of June the Tyger came to us from Egrand, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from us.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie up to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer upon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of five of the king of Portugals ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to us, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure caravels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selves wel shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with us, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and having brought our selves in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might have fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came up to us, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with us, and she and the Christopher finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would have gone with the Portugals ships to have fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to have gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receive no victuals from the other shippes, but from us onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelve Frenchmen into her, and gave them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

[II. ii. 50.] *Note.* The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we have plied to the windewards but twelve leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promised to have golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with us, but intised us from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gave them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinnesse.

The 23 of June our pinnesse came to us from Hanta, and tolde us that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subject to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugals chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Shamma burnt by the English.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

Their returne homeward.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selves to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceived

The currant.

our selves so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

S. Thome Iland.

The seventh of July we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to have sought the road to have ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could have no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skifs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put us three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we judged them to have agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leave us: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our selves into the same danger that we were in the night before: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered us with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed us, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left us willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleventh day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Iland, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selves directly under the line.

The description of the Ile of S. Thome.

This Iland is a very high Iland, and being upon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly under the line, and at the same South end of the Iland to the Westward thereof lieth a small Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of August we departed from the Ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the Southwest.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scotish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen upon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The Iland of Salt.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shore, and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from us, as for cattell we could finde none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take above three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and upon a small Iland which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

[II. ii. 51.]

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Upon the same Iland we left the Scotish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we judged, the people of the Iland found him sleeping, and so caried him away: for at night I went my selfe to the Iland to seeke him, but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboord us, & tolde us that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her above the water, and therefore requested us to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and give her up: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not above thirty sound men.

The great inconvenience by late staying upon the coast of Guinie.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboord us, who had beene aboord the Tyger, and tolde us that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could save, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The Tyger given up.

The eight day, having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gave her up 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our selves to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixt day the Christopher came to us, and willed us to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we having a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble us: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed us, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of us, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left us, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northwest and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not above sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

Extreame weaknesse of our men.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the Westsouthwest, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, untill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding our selves far shot into the sleeve, we bare with our owne coast; but that fore- [II. ii. 52.]

saile continued not above two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, untill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and providence of God, brought us to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona and the furthest place of the Mine.

Manils of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of divers sorts, but the most lattin.
Pots of course tinne, of a quart and more.
Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons graved, such as in Flanders they set upon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewers graven.
Some lavers, such as be for water.
Great knives of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French coverings.
Packing sheets good store.
Swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloves of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles delivered to M. John Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Benjamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

First, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to understand what rivers, havens, or harboroughs there be; and to make your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true elevations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

It is thought good, that having a fort upon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it would serve to great purpose: wherfore you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and upon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

The English marchants intend to fortifie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans countrey.

1. That the ground so serve, that it joyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and unlade.

2. What molde of earth the ground is of.

3. What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4. What provision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serve to continue.

5. The place must be naturally strong, or such as

may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6. How water may be provided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or neere to it.

7. What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

[II. ii. 53.] *The king of Haban.* To moove the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but use your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not understand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serve that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants adventurers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.

WOrshipfull sirs; since the arrivall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monjoy (as I understand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath received by the last storme: or in the moneth of January also, if the wind wil serve therfore. Wherefore for that your worships shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that have perswaded me thereunto; I have thought good to advertise you thereof, trusting that your worships will weigh them, as I uprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I have of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these have not beene the first that I have abiden, neither trust I they shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her strengthening then I can conceive, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shalbe stanch for men to lie drie in: the which sore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can have a shift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seames, and become in the state she was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my judgement, with that little experience

I have had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the unseasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the unseasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby have decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages have declared. And what it is to make the voyage in unseasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weying and foreseeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and unevitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Againe, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnesse in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessell and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and travell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the proverbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or ever we come there, so that she of force, by want of provision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with us a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worships might understand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I have troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Judge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet us) foure great ships, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinnesses: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is above to rule) but onely for the premisses: the sequell whereof must by reason turne to a great [II. ii. 54.] misery to the men: the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a corsive to my heart, and the more, because foreseeing the same, I should be so leud, as yeelding, to have runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I have absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be seene. And this I speake to give you to understand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliver the articles which I have received, but also will give some particular notes which I have noted in the affaires which you have committed unto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the living God keepe your worships all. Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worships to comand to his power
John Lok.

[The relation

The relation of one William Rutter to M. Anthony Hickman his master touching a voyage set out to Guinea in the yeere 1562, by Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, the sayd Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin: which voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker.

Worshipfull sir, my duty remembred, this shalbe to declare unto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gave you to understand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then having a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our *Cape verde.* voyage untill we arrived at Cavo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our *Rio de Sestos.* first appointed port Rio de sestos, at which port we arrived the third of Aprill in the morning, having the sight of a Frenchman, who assoone as he perceived us, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiving us to be Englishmen, he bare with the shore, & hailed our ships with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the river in traffike, and had understanding of the Negros that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnesse to traffike, we would not suffer him, untill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinnesse came into the river, whose men we willed to make no traffike untill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall; which was done. At which sayd *The Minion.* time M. Burton and John Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they should tary by us eight dayes, and suffer us quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleased. Whereupon the next morning they departed from us, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we understood that there were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the West of Potis, by whom we passed, & arrived at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike untill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the river of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came unto us, telling us that they met at cavo das Palmas a great ship and a carvell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gave chase unto them, and shot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards cavo de tres puntas to have put them from the castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the Minion went neere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called Anta, where beforetime we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the caravell a good way to sea-boord of us. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the formost of them, hoping to have got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small griefe unto us all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at us freely, and we at them, and the castle at us; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we set saile & came to the town

Rio de Potis.

Rio de S. Andre.

Cavo das palmas.

Cavo de tres puntas.

Anta.

Equi. of Don Juan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a shore to traffike, but the Negros would not untill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Juan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne [II. ii. 55.] and Pacheco minding to traffike with us, at which said *Two galies.* day came two galies rowing along the shore from the castle, minding to keepe us from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the galies to the castle againe. The Negros being glad of that required us to goe to *Mowre.* Mowre, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the castle againe unto us, the weather being very calme, they shot at us and hit us 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we descried the ship, & the caravell comming towards us, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere unto them as we could: but it was night or ever wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, *Cormantin.* at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 galies, having no wind at all, and the caravell hard aboord the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the sterne of the Minion, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the *Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrel of gunpouder.* Minions steward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners; which the galies perceiving, began to be more fierce upon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently upon this the great ship sent her boat to the galies, who suddenly departed from us. And after their departure we went aboord the Minion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were sore discomfited. Whereupon we devised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the galies were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selves to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and sent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water untill the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of overthrowing our blacke pinnasse. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, where we arrived the 2 of June, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arrived (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We have not at this present above 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we have of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall receive a briefe of all the goods sold by us, & also what commodities we have received for the same. Thus I leave to trouble your worship, reserving all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primerose the 6 of August 1563.

They returne.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke pinnasse.

Rio de Sesto.

Your obedient servant
William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

[A meeting

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queens, the John Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson.

AT this meeting were these chiefe adventurers, Sir William Gerard, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion upon the Queenes majesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorthwith call upon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10s. 6d. for every 100 li. value.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premisses.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson give his consent that the Merline shall be brought about from Bristoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand shall be, before order be given for the same.

A.D. 1564.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I have used all possible indevour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth. [II. ii. 56.]

MAster John Hawkins, with the Jesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ship of 7 score, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queens Majesties, whereof was captaine David Carlet, & also her consort the John Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort.

The Minion of the Queene.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at Northeast about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued so 23 houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the company of the John Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinnasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being sore beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no small rejoicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, having put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at Southwest. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The firing and sinking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The 26 day the Minion came in also where he was, for the rejoycing whereof he gave them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, whom at their departure from M. Hawkins upon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Minion having now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anker, and set saile on their voiage having a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to have bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of us kept on her course to Teneriffa,

A.D. 1564.

having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The aforesaid Sir John Hawkins passing on his voiage by Cavo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing over the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata upon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the evill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned unto the Minion: also, that captaine David Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorowfull for us to understand.

[The voyage

[II. ii. 57.]

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere of 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called the Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinnasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.

THe 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Ushant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before us.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell us newes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres wee had sight of another Iland called Madera which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat, and fet master Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord us, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent us.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from us.

The 29 day the May Flower for that she could not fet into ye road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare more roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with us, and came at last to an anker by us. And about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to understand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliver the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conveid to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter which they would very gladly have conveid unto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conveiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed us to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, until they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards unraied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we received. And he saluted us, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessary for us, do here mind to stay untill he come.

Concerning our letter he made us answere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliver it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and delivered it unto him, and also gave him foure roials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should have answere of it, he tooke his leave and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receive him. And after that they had talked with him, and understood our meaning, some of them threw up their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made us very curteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Governours brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with sixe or seven Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at [II. ii. 58.] their departure gave them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed upon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Governours brother promised our Captaine that hee should have sufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of January our captaine sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Iland is a marveilous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that ever any man could goe up to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in January, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before us, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

They meet their Admirall againe.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very joyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the said towne for our provision, 14 buts of wine, which cost 15 duckats a but, which were offred us at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

A good caveat.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But having no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe and white sand. Upon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East, & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed unto us as if it had bene a great number of shippes under saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water.

Cape Verde.

Passing along this coast we might see two small round hils, seeming to us about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hils.

The foolish rashnes of Wil. Bats perswading the company to land unarmed.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hils in 10 fadome of water where you may ride in five or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall have the winde off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord us, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of us being in the George, wherein was Captaine John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from us: and by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and divers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were civill: so that hee would needs give the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, John Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

[II. ii. 59.] At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or upward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliver 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tomson, & John Curtise: these were delivered them, and we received 3 Negros into our Admirals skiffe.

Civet, muske, gold & grains, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a shore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negros answered againe, they had civet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to have a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith sent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staied in the other boat by the sea side, having the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gave unto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselves sicke, desiring to goe a shore, promising to send other two for them.

Captaine Haiward perceiving that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes unto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would have staied him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to cover them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarse set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is uncurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison bee presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoever it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marveilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros trecherie.

The Negros having used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats and John Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate or skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd John Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell.

A French interpreter for Cape Verde.

The cause of sending them was to learne what ransome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at us with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would have died.

The danger of poisoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, but they would not deliver them: giving us this answere: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and untill wee did bring or send them againe, wee should not have our men although wee would give our three shippes with their furniture.

The answere of the Negros.

[II. ii. 60.]

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to save his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

Bona vista.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Iland is full of white sandie hils and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point, and found in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in five or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found five or sixe small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & simple, and gave each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & sailed into a Bay within a smal Iland about a league from us, and tooke plentie of divers sortes of fishe. The foresayd Iland lieth in sixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may borow in foure or five fadome of the Southermost point of the sayd Iland, which you may see when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water over them.

A good admonition.

The last day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shore in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not above 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for more yeeres, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine.

Banished Portugals.

They live upon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they have none, saving fish, which they esteeme not, neither have they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was given by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats skinnes. For by their speaches there hath bene sent foorth of the sayd Iland into Portugall 40000 skins in one yeere.

Great store of goates.

We were to these men marveilously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gave us the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would have, and tooke much paines for us in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains upon their asses.

They have there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midst of July to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine have bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and drought they have died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the same day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midst of the way between these two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be seene.

The Ile of Maiyo.

We ankred in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but here we staied not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Iland called S. Jago, which lieth off the said Iland of Maiyo East and by South, and about five leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westermost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platforme by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at us two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

S. Jago.

[II. ii. 61.] Within an houre after we had ankered we might see divers horsemen and footmen on the land right against us riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horsemen and footemen appeared on the shoare side, unto whom our Generall sent to understande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should have any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answere was brought unto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receive them. Our Generall marveiled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answere the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bases, curriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off five or sixe pieces of great ordinance, and so came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, saving those that were left to watch and to receive the note, which about foure or five a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was received. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray us (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treason of the Portugals in S. Jago to our men.

There was to the Westwards of us and about two leagues from us, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine Caravels, or shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure Caravels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes us: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the way close under the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so that they made a sure account either to have taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villanous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other, and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare us from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere us that they were within gunshot of us, & then one of our men chanced to see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at us all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gave a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approching neerer and neerer unto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and [II. ii. 62.] shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at us freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at us, we had made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might have shot a sheafe arrowe to them. Whereupon we having a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at us, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Isle of Fuego.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle towards an Iland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Island of S. Jago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Island, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the uttermost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a marveilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mill.

Cotton in Fuego.

About a league from the said chappel to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they have none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they have here good store of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

The inhabitants are Portugals which have commandement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

The Isle of Brava.

There lieth off this Island another called Ilha Brava, which is not passing two leagues over, it hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

They returne. March. The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cuervo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cuervo over against a village of about twelve simple houses; but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused us to drawe our anker after us, we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cuervo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seven or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to have recovered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and never wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selves much beholding to the honest Portugales.

Aprill. The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and having ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there *Woad.* groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

May. The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused us to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great shippe and two Caravels, which we judged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selves for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Galiasse of 400 tunnes.

[II. ii. 63.] As soone as they were within shotte of us, they waved us amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at us freely and the caravell also, and we prepared our selves, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at us all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Caravels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses full of men, and delivered them aboord the great shippe, and so went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Caravell gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resolving our selves rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches.

A fight betweene one English ship and 7 Portugals.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Caravels more which made seven, of which 4 three of them were at the least 100 tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men.

All these together came bearing with us being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caravels came to lay us aboorde (as we judged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came up in our larboord side, and the Caravell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and Master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Caravell came up, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at us as much ordinance as they could, thinking to have layde us presently aboord: whereupon we gave them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of us, & so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all asterne of us, & then went to counsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to us, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Caravels were comming to us againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of us and so to come up againe, fell quickly upon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Caravels were come up to us, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not fetch us: then 5 of the Caravels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Caravell to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere us. So when night againe was come, they gave over their fight and followed us all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indevour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came up to us, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to hoyse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde us or els to sinke us: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see us any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and boorde us if they durst, but that they would not, seeing us still so couragious: and having given us that day foure fights, at night they forsooke us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with shame from one English ship.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to us, and brought us sixe men in her boate which did us much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of June we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard.

June.

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with us, and at his comming to us [II. ii. 64.] (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoyse foorth his boate to come aboord to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made answere that their lading was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them five Negroes that we had, and asked them whether they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to give for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small having not above 26 loaves in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch five of the chestes and delivered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with us a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rovers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selves readie for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them) to give him above the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her: so at last the foresaid ship bare with us, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gave us over. And the next morning came two others bearing with us, and seeing us not about to flie a jot from them forsooke us also.

A Portugall ship (notwithstanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rovers.

The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe.

I Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Majestie to the above named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and servants from London the two and twentie day of Aprill 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arrived in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare with my letters directed to John Williams and John Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

M. Hogan his arrival at Azafi in Barbarie. May.

They with all speede gave the king understanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other provision to Azafi: so that upon Whitsunday at night the said Captaines with John Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arrived in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitsunday, came aboord the Gallion John Bampton, and others, giving me to understande how much the King rejoyced of my safe arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished which he used himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, having to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ships being foure appointed themselves in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Governour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Jennet of the kings, and received mee from the boate declaring how glad his Majestie was of my safe arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie my Mistresse, and that hee had sent them to attend upon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on shoare five or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

[II. ii. 65.] So being mounted upon the Jennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde upon the Sea-side where was a tent provided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other convenient tents for my servants.

The souldiers environed the tents, and watched about us day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

In Barbary they have no Innes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and traveiled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traveiled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traveiled as long as day light would suffer about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traveiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a River being about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & divers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring unto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Majestie, and that his pleasure was I should be received into his countrey as never any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed John Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The singular humanitie of the king to our Ambassadour.

About seven of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traveiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receive me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselves: for some of them although they speake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portugales were commanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadour.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then John Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not devise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Majestie, and her Realme.

His counsellers met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order given unto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliverie of the Queenes Majesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Majestie great thankes, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed unto mee from her Majestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to urge her Majestie with any demaundes, more then conveniently shee might willingly consent unto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better served with lackes, then hee in comparison from us.

The king of Spaine sought to disgrace the Queene & her Ambassadour.

Further he gave me to understand, that the king of Spaine had sent unto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes majesty of England sent any unto him, that he would not give him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so governed by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth upon the licence which I have granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes majestie of England.

He shall not come to my presence as you have done, and shall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message. [II. ii. 66.]

After the end of this speech I delivered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie sent into England for Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to provide them, and that I did not doubt but upon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to give them good intertainment with provision of victuall, and to let them live according to their law and conscience wherein he urgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liveth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift bestowed upon our Ambassadour.

The same night being the first of June, I continued with him till twelve of the clocke, and he seemed to have so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a short dagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it upon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd upon a silke bed complayning of a sore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, where as having a faire banketting-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eighteene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I have not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

June.

The 13 of June at sixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, having debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes majesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subjects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prises and to make sales as occasion should serve, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

The offers of the king to our English merchants.

Likewise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thorow the straites into the Levant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Levant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well using of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captives, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes majesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should have need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

A good proviso.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his majestie to have special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle store of salt-peter in readinesse in John Bamptons hands. He answered me that I should have all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to have some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I mooved him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

[II. ii. 67.]

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of John Bamptons which he had made for provision of Salt-peter: also two bils for the quiet traffique of our English Marchants, and bils for sugars to be made by the Jewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I mooved him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed upon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and upon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre upon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Upon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came unto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with John Bampton for divers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of July, I got the King to forgive all to John Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me upon Munday.

Upon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Upon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that upon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart upon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of July.

The Emperor of Maroco his privileges to the English.

So the friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the privileges which were on the behalfe of our English marchants requested, were with great favour and readinesse yeelded unto. And whereas the Jewes there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

And touching the private affaires intreated upon betwixt her Majestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, having received the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriving not long after in England, I repaired to her Majesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my service performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Johannes Thomas Freigius in Historia de cæde Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniæ.

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vlissiponem tribus instructis navibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promisit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum divisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eosqùe ducebat Alvarus Peresius de Tavara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prælio ceciderunt, fuerunt, præter regem Sebastianum, dux de Avero, Episcopi Conimbricensis & Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Irlandiæ, Christophorus de Tavora, & plures alii. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

THere came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent under the conduct of the *Marques of Irland: who being arrived at Lisbone with three tall ships, proffered his service to the king, and promised to attend upon him in the warres, &c.

Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title.

[II. ii. 68.] He divided the whole Armie into 4. squadrons: upon the right wing stood the first squadron, consisting of men lightly armed or skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Alvaro Perez de Tavara: the left or midle squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, under the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battell (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Avero, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Irland sent by the Pope as his Commissary generall, Christopher de Tavara, and many others. cap. 13.

IT is further also to be remembred, that divers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captive, and was there long detained in miserable servitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed afterward in divers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize upon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the province of China learned through the Portugals there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

This land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they have bene all subject unto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seven are reasonably great, the best knowen whereof unto the Portugals is Cinceo, in respect of a certaine haven joyning thereunto, whither in time past they were wont for marchandise to resort. *Fuquien.* *Cinceo.*

Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer unto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals before any other shire in that province: this shire hath in it seven Cities. *Cantan.*

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therin are too too many to be spoken of. *Chequeam.*

The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil say nothing. *Xutiamfu.*

The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of *Chelim.*

ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, until the whole region became one kingdome.

Quianci, or, Quinzi.

The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceived that the standing of Quinzi more neere unto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinci shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Urnan, the 11. Sichiva. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. have, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China province may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would say, a governour, and a Chian, that is a visiter, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see justice exactly done. By these meanes so uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed provinces in all the world.

Pachin.
[II. ii. 69.]

The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am advertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that under five monethes you are not able to travaile from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not under three monethes in poste at your urgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are litle of body, but swift of foote. Many doe traveile the greater part of this journey by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Rivers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

Their moneths.

The King, notwithstanding the hugenesse of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that every Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole province being divided into shires, and ech shire having in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in every chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth every Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once every moneth arrive one Poste out of the shire. Who so commeth before the new moone stayeth for the delivery of his letters until the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee have to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shal see some Towne, borough or hostry, the which are so aboundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they live civily. Neverthelesse such as dwel abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them every where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come unto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I have never seene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and overflowed ever as the sea water encreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned unto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraved after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most marveile at was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did see many set up in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vauted with sundry stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one piller to an other, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serve also for the high way. I have bene astonied to beholde the hugenesse of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and upward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paved with foure-square stone, except it be where for want of stone they use to lay bricke: in this voyage wee travailed over certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paved then in the plaine ground. This causeth us to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left untilled: small store of cattell have we seene this day, we saw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countreymen do plow their ground.

One oxe draweth the plough alone, not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfermers seek in every streete by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers have they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, d.ob.sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the seacoast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We have had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like unto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they [II. ii. 70.] would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is unto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I have set downe, better cheape shal you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are solde at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other uncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere unto the gates, the which are marveilously great, and covered with iron. The gatehouses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls upward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie have they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we have seene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with stone: in ech side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke under: the breadth of the streets is neverthelesse such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe under many high arches of triumph that crosse over the streetes made of timber, and carved diversly, covered with tiles of fine clay: under these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen have these arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall have occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil first therefore *Loutea.* expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongst them the degrees are divers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principals, being not able to advertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giving of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common unto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe serve their prince in weightie matters for justice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serve in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, receivers and such like, whereof there be in every citie, as also in this, very many, are made for favour: the chiefe Louteas are served kneeling.

The whole province of China is divided, as I have said, into 13. shires, in every shire at the least is one governour called there Tutan, in some shires there be two.

Chian, or, Chaen.

Chiefe in office next unto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call unto an accompt the Tutans themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Neverthelesse in every shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come unto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do justice there: finally busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receive the order of Louteas, whereof more shalbe said in another place.

Ponchiassi.

Over and besides these officers, in the cheife City of ech one of these aforesaid 13. provinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings revenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasourer of the revenues in that province, & to send these revenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining unto justice.

Anchiassi, or Hexasi.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of justice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie unto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of justice, whosoever seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might judge this Anchiassi to be the greater.

Tuzi. Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging unto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

Taissu. There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Ech one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay evill doers in prison, & deliver them out againe, except ye fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deserveth [II. ii. 71.] death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made unto the Chian wheresoever hee be, or to the Tutan: and eftsoones it falleth out, that the case is referred unto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they resort unto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to give these degrees, as to sit in judgement over the prisoners.

The Chians go in circuit every yere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere *Licentiates.* accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the *Doctors.* king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as have taken their degree wont to be given them with all ceremonies, use to banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king service in matters of learning. The other examinates founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceived to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yeere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demaunding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answere unto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see how these Louteas are served and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they give, all the servitors belonging unto justice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moove, be it but even to the gate, these servitors doe take them up, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroade, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they have, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is ushered by two men at the least, that cry unto the people to give place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reverence the common people have unto them. They have also in their company certaine Sergeants with their Maces either silvered or altogether silver, some two, some foure, other sixe, other eight, conveniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas have going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staves, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paved, you may heare afarre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellowes serve also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare livery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine tables hanged at staves endes, wherein is written in silver letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they have borne after them hattes agreeable unto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he be of the better sort, then may he have two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may have all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithstanding have yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, have besides all this before them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate sitting on stooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they use neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoever is set downe upon the boord is first carved before that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, even as we do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only civill at meate, but also in conversation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Likewise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating even when the other do draw to shoot. The pricke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heavens: and, as wee are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at every word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The heavens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the

We, that is the Italians and Spaniards.

[II. ii. 72.]

Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they have a great altar in the same place as we have, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they up the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they have in great reverence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the divel much more ugly painted then we doe use to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they have of him, that he is malicious and able to do evil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answere that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a divel if hee have lived well in this world, if otherwise, that the same divel changeth him into a bufle, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this divel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like unto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They have moreover another sort of temples, wherein both upon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed: these beare name Omithofon, accompted of them spirits, but such as in heaven do neither good nor evill, thought to be such men and women as have chastly lived in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that divel they make some accompt: for these spirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heavens will give him many temporall blessings, but if he doe evil, then shall he have infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to live and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good unto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truely

After the Dutch fashion.

Pythagorean like.

they are well ynough disposed to receive the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought us to write for them somewhat as concerning heaven, the which we did to their contentation w^t such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselves. If at any time this countrey might be joyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone converted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were joyned in league with us.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their days in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of jewels or money, receiving againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had unto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe observe in doing of justice, that it may be knowen how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden then they to deale justly and in trueth. Because the Chinish king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome so great, & the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the governours and rulers, much like unto our Shiriffes, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they have no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that governe one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leave their wives, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, servants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well served without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Divers other Louteas have the managing of justice, and receiving of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof unto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no evil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoveth him. Generally [II. ii. 73.] all these doe imprison malefactours, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them up and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very usuall there, and accompted no shame. These Louteas do use great diligence in the apprehending of theeves, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Upon the sea neere unto the shoare many are taken, and looke even as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time

The Italians call it the strapado.

when we were in prison, there died of them above threescore and ten. If happely any one, having the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and provided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shalbe said.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth grovelong on the ground: upon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas observe moreover this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence never so great. Thus did they also behave themselves with us: For this cause amongst them can there be no false witnesse, as dayly amongst us it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Judge to heare the evidence, and beare witnesse, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with us. The Moores, Gentiles, and Jewes have all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heaven, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in judgement neverthelesse they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be used of any one, by and by with the least evidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleeved without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of torments and whips. Besides this order observed of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they have, not trusting any others, do write all great processes and matters of importance themselves. Moreover one vertue they have worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient above measure in giving audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the usuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how litle any advocate or Judge is wont in our Countrey to beare with us. For wheresoever in any Towne of Christendome should be accused unknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would have: but we in a heathen Countrey, having our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great adversaries cast into prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and honour for not doing justice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I have bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proved, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeves and murderers are imprisoned as I have said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely escape by bribing the Gailer to give him meate, his processe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being given, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord

A pillory boord.

at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose up therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth up behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do live. The bord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & eke letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons under that boord, so that in fine there [II. ii. 74.] is no remedy but death. In the chiefe Cities of every shire, as we have erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal prison then in any of the rest: and although in every City there be many, neverthelesse in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we have seene in this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Justice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he delivereth some of them, declaring ye boord to have bene wrongfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he choseth out seven or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the use of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as have committed enormious offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streetes and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea some prisoners live by that kinde of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly delivered, wherefore this place is never void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three yron gates, the court paved and vauted round about, and open above as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein every night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are losed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bels answering one another five times every night, and giving warning so lowd, that the Loutea resting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15, other 20. yeres imprisoned, not executed, for the love of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their lives. Many of these prisoners be shoomakers, and have from the king a certaine allowance of rise: some of them worke for the keeper, who suffreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liveries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The prisoner being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions striketh him thrise on the head with an yron sledge, that done he is delivered unto his friends, if he have any, otherwise the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeves are used. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there until it be paied. The Taissu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who understanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debters in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiver. The same order is kept in paying legacies: the last named receiveth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew favour to such a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that have litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore

Of like the first lenders be the more wealthie.

pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were judged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the [II. ii. 75.] Tutan, who out of hand giveth sentence. Other not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. Theeves being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest upon mens shoulders, hired therfore by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the cover of the chest is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to moove or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole journey: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do jogge or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being unto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried from Cinceo, 7. daies journey, never taking any rest as afterward they told us, & their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & *Fuquieo.* were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wives, for that they had never seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked us of our Country, and our fashions, & did write every thing, for they be curious in novelties above measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie unto strangers, and so *Hereof tofore.*

did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme by the breadth therof, filled up in the middle with earth, layd over with brick & covered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The staires they use are so easily made, that one may go them up and downe a hors-backe, as eftsoones they do: the streets are paved, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, every one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner every artisane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth upon water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serve for streets to the cities use. Over the streams are sundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made level with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they have, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed up with gates, so do they shut up al the gates of the City. These streames and barges do ennoblish very much the City, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are even, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built even, as I have said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made us al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, over a porch at the comming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in every shire for his governors, as I have

Parai.

erst said, standeth a tower built upon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of us did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be moreover cornered, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made us all to wonder very much.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they understood us not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occasion they are so called, whether peradventure any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, yt they have no such name, nor ever had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answere being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al under one, ech kingdom nevertheles enjoyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the provinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in yt country. I thinke that the neernesse of another province therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochinesses, first discovered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did give occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I have heard moreover that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to [II. ii. 76.]

keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, covered alwayes, except it be on some of their festivall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, covered neverthelesse as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it every day reverence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reverence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

Pochan, or, Pachin.

I have likewise understood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pase. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great store of fish, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Theirenemies

Mariage of the kings children.

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neverthelesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he observeth in the marriage of his sonnes.

They have moreover one thing very good, and that which made us all to marveile at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we never saw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this: answered it was, that in every City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to travaile for age, nor having any other meanes to live. These folke have in the aforesaid houses ever plentie of rice during their lives, but nothing else. Such as be received into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proving that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liveth: besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieved without going a begging.

He speaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you have seene already, swarming out of trees.

I said before that China was full of rivers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the rivers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the rivers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serve they for other then to take small fish. By the rivers sides they make leyres of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfuls under water, and one above to keepe and nourish their fish in, untill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish up and downe the river, every day renuing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in every City, towne and village where they passe, unto the people as they neede it: most of them have net leyres to keepe fish in alwayes for their provision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole

Countrey is very well watered, there is so great plenty of divers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their provision. *Meanes to fat fish.* Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Bufles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neverthelesse they told us that they fished at all times, for that usually they do feed on fish, wherefore it behoveth them to make their provision continually.

He speaketh of Fuquien shire. When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay vessell is made, as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built upon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a river navigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech side of the river we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this river Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere unto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight dayes, for our journey lay downe the streame. [II. ii. 77.] Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a governour, as you have seene, though some Tutans do governe two or three shires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he governed Foquien shire: nothing it availed him to be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. *Aliàs Cenchi.* At the Citie Quanchi whither we came, the river was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, overlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we untill it was late, but we saw not one go either up thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went up the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the bridge, then was it shut up againe. We heare say that every day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome unto the king, specially for salt, whereof the greatest revenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bridge where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are used certaine iron instruments. The bridge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we untill the evening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see us, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke untill such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were neverthelesse thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate upon us, that it was needfull to withdraw our selves: yet were we here much more molested for the number of people: & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie unto another place so wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie until it was night, and then met we with an other river that joyned with this, we rowed up that by the walls untill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge over the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more

The Kings revenues.

quiet, being out of the preasse of the people. These rivers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be above three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser river, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serve for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other rivers that joyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I have erst said, all this Countrey is full of rivers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Parai.

Quiacim shire, as farre as I can perceive, lieth upon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry thereinto, travayling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theeves & men of a strange language. And because that unto sundry places neere this river the mountaines doe approch, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim shire. To guard this river whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught with salt, fish poudred with peper, and other necessaries for that countrey, they do lay in divers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the river, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the travailers never go but many in company. In every rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept usually untill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City upward,

Fish poudered with peper.

where the river waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they live untill the divel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinish [II. ii. 78.] Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellowes be, I enfourmed my selfe of them, and learned the trueth.

Great ships comming from the North.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted unto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a litle Towne standing in the havens mouth, in time converted unto their sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, every one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heede thereto, untill such time as the Moores perceiving that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea favoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of swines flesh. But all these countreymen and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leave off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all have to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do live thereby: and therefore the people complained unto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea against their king.

In this countrey, as no suspition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily advertised thereof, who gave commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaves unto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to five men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, have their *Moscheas, whereunto they all resort every Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe live that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they have nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof privily. They tell mee that their native Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well knowen unto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our servants (our servants were Preuzaretes) they judged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded upon the Persian tongue, but none of us coulde understand them. I asked them whether they converted any of the Chinish nation unto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they converted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with us, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselves do laugh when they do their idolatry.

** That is their temples.*

It should seeme by their voyage to be Cardandan in Ortelius.

☞ *A Northerne Sea.*

I have learned moreover that the Sea, whereby these

Moores that came to China were wont to travaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leaving on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is even so, because that these Moores, the which we have seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the rivers are frosen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe over them.

It seemeth they came up the river from the Caspian Sea.

At Cacan.

Rivers overfrosen in China.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes. Over them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to have warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, untill the second yeere of our imprisonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are advertised that of one side they border upon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee sawe in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the Northparts, as many times I have heard say, confining with Germanie.

Ali Avoins.

Tartars.

Mount Usont.

Mogores.

Blewes of great price in China.

As for the Brames we have seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, having as yet her haire tied up after the Pegues fashion: this woman,

Brames.

and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did understand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, [II. ii. 79.] imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid us to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence above five dayes journey, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for us home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first three daies the way lieth over certaine great mountaines & wildernesse, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes journey more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie said, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the province of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Southward from Chenchi to the sea.

Avoins.

Chenchi.

This citie chiefe of other sixteene is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much store, that the market places are never emptie. The walles of this city are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof go upon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might have gone three & three. We have seene moreover, that within this aforesayd Citie the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in divers partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerenesse in blood unto the king, as soone as they be married receive their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liveth, the king appointeth them their wives and familie, allowing them by the

A.D. c. 1565.

moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his governours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liveth any charge or governement at all. They give themselves to eating and drinking, and be for the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his cosin. They be neverthelesse very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid us to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found us not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our servants and slaves, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen have, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they never goe abroad. The cause, as I did understand, wherefore the king so useth his cosins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them up in three or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar unto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe live be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the avoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great estates and governours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they have not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well provided for, as afterward also lodged at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they live, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you have seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, even as his other cousins do, remayning alwayes within doores, served by Eunuches, never dealing with any matters. On their festivall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magistrates make great bankets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in every square a gate, and over each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high streete no Loutea, be he never so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house are glased greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle set with savage trees, as Okes, Chestnuts, Cypresse, Pineapples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation never going abroad as I have sayd. One preheminence this citie hath above the rest where we have bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through every streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, freshfish, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, rise: in summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses neede no servants, every thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbes, for that the cities are shut up every night, as I have sayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbes then within

Goa is a city of the Portugals in the East Indies.

[II. ii. 80.]

the citie. I have seene in this river a pretie kinde of fishing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many rivers good store of barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine provision of rise. These barges the king bestoweth upon his greatest magistrates, giving to some two, to some three of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the river is shalow, and the crowes tyed together under the wings are let leape downe into the water, some under, some above, woorth the looking upon: each one as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his own barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus having taken good store of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that citie where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost every day to see them, yet could I never be throughly satisfied to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland Japan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean. By R. Willes.

THe extreame part of the knowen world unto us is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwise Japon and Japan. This Island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the travaile thither, both for civill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, so far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vineger, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-branne the Ilanders doe use in stead of salt: medicinable things holsome for the bodie have they none at all. Neverthelesse in that Iland sundry fruites doe growe, not much unlike the fruites of Spaine: and great store of Silver mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, civill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conversation exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing upon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murther: even for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, absteine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoever stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be theft is so severely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that even for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They live chiefely by fish, hearbes, and fruites, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his povertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there match his childe with the baser sort for any gaine, so much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they have is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowesse, putting not up one injurie be it never so small in worde or deede, among themselves. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The use of vines they knowe not, their

Great store of Silver mynes.

A.D. c. 1565.

drinke they make of Rice, utterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to give himselfe unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, fot that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may so much the sooner be brought unto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all desirous to learne, & naturally inclined unto honesty & courtesie: godly talke they listen unto willingly, especially when they understand it throughly. Their government consisteth of 3 estates. The first place is due unto the high Priest, by whose lawes & decrees all publike and private matters [II. ii. 81.] appertayning to religion are decided. The sects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authoritie except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe give benefices unto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh upon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like privileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisedome and learning, made in Japan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and revenues so great, that eftsones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This gentleman never toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he never goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in woodden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed over with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like unto a Bishops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Japan the diverse titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly seene in sealing up their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo every Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they strive among themselves who may bribe him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee have neither land nor any revenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Japan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie unto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Judge, his office is to take up and to end matters in controversie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to assist him upon paine of forfeiting their goods: neverthelesse at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controversies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it seemeth good unto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giveth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, wheresoever he be, is advertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may bee lawfull for him to kill himselfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparel and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserve them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his servants, and friends home to his house, to preserve his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out unto his chiefe Judge, who first setteth upon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, untill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a haven towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Japonish. In Meaco are sayd to be ninetie thousande houses inhabited and upward, a famous Universitie, and in it five principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other five notable Universities there be in Japan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure have in them at the least three thousand & five hundred schollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu province is very great and possessed with sixe princes, five whereof are vassals unto the sixt, yet he himselfe subject unto the Japonish king, usually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in divers places of this Ilande. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Iland, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, have I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters

[II. ii. 82.] than famous travellers. For confirmation wherof, as also for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premisses, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made latine, by Petrus Maffeius my olde acquainted friend, entituling the same, De rebus Japonicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I have done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Japonicis.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

THe last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote unto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to travaile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the harvest was great, the labourers few, and that I should have for my companion in that journey Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, having by the helpe of God ended so long a voiage, to signifie unto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt us, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Japans maners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me upon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, under the pretext of religion, that craftie adversary of mankind leadeth and draweth unto perdition the Japanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Japan, as men that never had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography divided the whole world into three parts, Japan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Japans received out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they neverthelesse contemne all other nations in comparison of themselves, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselves before all other sorts of people in wisedome and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, unto the things eftsoones erst written, this one thing I wil adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, having no way to come foorth except they breake up the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Japans dread such kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of silver mines otherwise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slouthfulnesse of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is holesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and teares, eftsoones rooting up with pinsars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Even from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they use to lay under their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparel diversely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made hansomely like unto a vaile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eschue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they never so poore, retaine their place: most precisely they stande upon their honour and woorthinesse, ceremoniously striving among themselves in courtesies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, even for a trifle many times he getteth evill will. Want, though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, especially girles, do many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other likewise of meaner calling generally have but one wife a peece, by whom although they have issue, yet for a trifle they divorse themselves from their wives, and the wives also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much used among them. In great townes most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their usuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they use great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe use to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning unto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they [II. ii. 83.] drinke water as hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all over with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of stooles, and lie in their clothes with billets under their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, musicke, & vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good store of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared unto our pues.

In bringing up their children they use words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and advisedly boyes of sixe or seven yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are given very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they love to aske even in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly persuade them. They detest all kinde of theft, whosoever is taken in that fault may be slaine freely of any bodie. No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Justicers: privately each housholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserve death without delay. Thus usually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Japan was subject unto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Japonish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle have taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth, and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superior. Thus the Empyre of Japan, in times past but one alone, is now divided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of civill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilest the kings that dwell neare together invade one another, each one coveting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whereof by course is every night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people so holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe upon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he looseth his office. He is not served very sumptuously he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shaven, they have name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Japan. The Cubucama useth them for Embassadors to

But his almes are very good.

decide controversies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent favouring the king of Bungo his cause more then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo above 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the devill hath deceived the Japonish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and utterly abolished out of the Japans hearts. Moreover their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best: but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonziæ women diversly attired, for some doe weare white under, and blacke upper garments, other goe apparelled in ash colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and have great revenues. These fellowes are chaste by commaundement, marry they may not upon paine of death. In the midst of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a woodden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle upward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a woodden rose goodly to behold. They have great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup together, and bels wherwith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the evening the Superintendent giveth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Mattens as it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giveth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shave their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct therof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Japanish Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Japanish nobility charged with [II. ii. 84.] many children, use to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leave for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most covetously bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell unto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the devils. They borrow likewise money to be repayed with great usury in an other worlde, giving by obligation unto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

Inambuxu. There is another great company of such as are called Inambuxu, with curled and staring haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the devill invadeth, called up thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to prevaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell unto the people. The novices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thousand in a company, up a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threescore dayes voluntarily punishing themselves. In this time the devill sheweth himselfe unto them in sundry shapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set foorth with white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely cover any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Japan, to set out themselves and their cunning to sale, each one beating his bason which he carieth alwayes about with him, to give notice of their comming in al townes where they passe.

Genguis. There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stollen things are, and who were the theeves. These dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe up most high rockes and hilles, and go over very great rivers by the onely arte of the devill, who to bring those wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe up a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the devill appointeth them. At the length at nonetide or in the evening commeth that devil, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe unto them: this shew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The devill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe unto the Japanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heaven and to enjoy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and having seene the devill followed him (so by the devill perswaded) into a denne untill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the devill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceived. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne disswaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him privily into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the devill gallantly appeared unto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man falleth downe to worshippe the devill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a Foxe in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne tracking the Foxe so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceived by the devill after that sort in time past. Thus delivered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for ye multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii have therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a suttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether devillish: he is said to have found out the Japanish letters used at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim suttle buried himselfe in a fouresquare grave, foure cubites deepe, severely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, untill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Japan, and then would he rise up out of his grave againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diverse provinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoever is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as give themselves to worship him, live in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shaven heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence upon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochaiti. They teach a great multitude [II. ii. 85.]

of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, those do they instruct in al the petigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chivalrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other provinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themselves to be nobly borne, they may with great summes of money borowed under the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Japan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neverthelesse these cousiners leave not daily to use their woonted wickednesse and knaverie.

A warrelike people 300 *leagues to the North of Meaco.*

North from Japan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of savage men clothed in beasts skinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold up with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Japans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie have they none. In their breasts they are sayd to cary looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest upon their shoulders. Service and ceremonies have they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heaven. To Aquita a great towne in that Japonish kingdom, which we call Gevano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes likewise doe travell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabiters.

The Japanish funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to avoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Japans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselves to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before unto the fire, with them goe their kinswomen and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed up in white mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dressed. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, bravely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke upper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he sheweth the dead body the way unto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him singing the name of that devill the which the partie deceassed chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great bason is beaten even to the place of fire in stead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staves endes full of paper roses diversly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking ever now and then their staves, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shower say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, overcast with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two yoong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serve to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the

They burne their dead.

same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threesquare, blacke lethren caps tied fast under their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the devill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, covered with a very fine white vaile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an upper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to have made, when he lived in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saved. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set foorth, the yongest wherof carieth likewise a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all foloweth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

When they are al come to ye place appointed for the [II. ii. 86.] obsequie, al the Bonzii w^t^ the whole multitude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call upon the name of that devill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably unto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good store of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waved roofe: before that stand two tables furnished with divers kindes of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good store, but neither Fish nor Flesh: upon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present strive to take the rope in their handes, using their aforesayd clamours, which done,

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they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thrise. Then setting the litter on the wood built up ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is master of the ceremonies, saieth a verse that no bodie there understandeth, whirling thrise about over his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall have at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it up againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reverence reach it to each other thrise over the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they have plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpes to ashes: his children in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part five duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest have tenne Julies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as served at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering up his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set up in the same pot covered with cloth, in the middest of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these private funerals, and so doe they againe the seventh day: then cary they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the stone, the name of that devil the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Every day afterward his children resort unto the grave with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. Nor the seventh day onely, but the seventh moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or three hundred. Such as for povertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkelong without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They have another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellowes are such, as having religiously with much devotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselves. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeves, then preach they in publique a sermon unto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for every body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heaven, and so embarke themselves in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselves over-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, sixe men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging up many shreds of paper in stickes all the roofe over, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore unto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened even then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee traveiled that way at what time foure or five olde women came foorth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the devill counterfaiteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at us for [II. ii. 87.] follie, partly frowned and taunted at our small devotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reverence or worship done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well provided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie over it, therein standeth a costly seate, before the seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Japans resorteth to their owne doctors in divers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought under the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the more happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diversities thereof amongst themselves: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe travell so to perswade their Novices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by everlasting salvation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtleties, as in going gravitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Japans mindes are so nousled in wicked opinions, & doe conceive thereby such trust and hope of everlasting salvation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in every corner of the towne continually almost they run over their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and everlasting joyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiving it brought unto them, doe forsake idolatrie and joine themselves with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the devill, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so injuriously, so hardly, so sharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe us, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in jeopardie. So much the more it standeth you upon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Japanish flocks unto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of January: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staied there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Januarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haires shew him to be seventie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Japanish so skilfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speach, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserve us all continually, and to give us ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my judgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke upon me to do it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Japan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

AMongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Cantan a Chinish haven in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan *Ainan.* standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chinish nation have their provision for shipping and other necessaries requisite for their Navie. There staied Balthasar Gagus a great traveiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this *De reb. Jap. li. 4.* maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals, besides great store of jewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in divers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not [II. ii. 88.] understand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the devil in the forme of a brute beast, offring themselves up to him.

Santianum is an Ile neere unto the haven Cantan in *Santianum.* the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that woorthy traveiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xavier, who after great labours, many injuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular joy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes upon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially travell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not so litle, but they may right wel be written of at laisure) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

LINUS.

Concerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we have heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waxen stale among us, we will right gladly give diligent eare unto it.

MICHAEL. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among us, reducing divers and manifold particulars into order, I will especially aime at the trueth of things received from the fathers of the societie, which even now at this present are conversant in China. First of all therefore it is not unknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our native Japon, & the Ile of Manilia stand more Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the first towards ye West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adjoining unto this Ile trendeth towardes the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth foorth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole elevated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps more also: whereupon a man may easilie conjecture (that I may speake like an Astronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ye longitude. This kingdom therfore is, without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit divers other kings under their jurisdiction containing in dimensions more length & breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant asunder: yet none of them all enjoieth any one kingdom so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquirie into his revenues and tributes, true it is, that this king of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & also by reason of the severe collection and exaction

The situation and limites of China.

Chinian Cosmographers.

The rich revenues of the king of China.

of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed upon his subjects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for every person in each family. It is likewise to be understood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to levie unto himselfe any peculiar revenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his seigniories, al such power belonging onely unto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we have before signified. In this most large kingdom are conteined 15 provinces, every one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of these provinces do border upon the sea, namely (y^{t} I may use the names of the Chinians themselves) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land provinces, namely, Quiansi, Huquam, Honan, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Junan, Coansi. Amongst all the foresayd provinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be resident altogether at the South court: but afterward, by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooved by the Tartars, they were constrained to defixe their princely seate and habitation in that extreme province of the North. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that those Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of souldiers.

Fifteene great provinces in China.

The seats roiall of the king of China.
[II. ii. 89.]

The warlike munitions of China, & a marveilous wall.

Leo. I have heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe represse and drive backe the Tartars attempting to invade their territories.

Michael. Certes that wall which you have heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie provinces, Xiensi, Xansi, and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any rivers, their chanels being overthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not unlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and environed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heigth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemie.

Linus. Tell us (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee have often bene informed, or no?

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

Michael. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom, as I have bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who having seene sundry provinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and confusively dispersed over the land, but most conveniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are divers kindes among the Chinians. For they have certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not privileged with the dignities and prerogatives of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere unto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the province, then a word of their proper imposition. Unto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher unto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians Hiansanhien. Al the foresayd provinces therefore have their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu, unto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreover, in every pro-

Cities and townes.

vince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates have their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole province called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued with the privileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garrisons can scarce be numbred: over & besides the which convents it is incredible what a number of countrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the sea, in rivers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that even the Europæans themselves doe greatly wonder thereat: insomuch that some (albeit beyond measure) have bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling upon the water as upon the land. Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious rivers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being every-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of watermen was equal unto the land-inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be understood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so ful with citizens & the countrie with peasants.

The Chinian rivers greatly inhabited.

LEO. The abundance of people which you tell us of seemeth very strange: whereupon I conjecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be holesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace.

Holesome aire, plenty & peace in China.

MICHAEL. You have (friend Leo) ful judicially conjectured those three: for they do all so excel, y^t which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rife among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was never visited with those three most heavy & sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there have bene most terrible intestine and civile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some provinces of the sayd kingdom, even in these our dayes, have bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. *Chinian stories.* Howbeit, that the foresaid three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselves are witnesses, that [II. ii. 90.] scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that live unto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and grave personages: neither doe they use so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they have no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Japon, are atchieved by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let every nation please themselves with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulnes of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable unto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I have declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large & full of navigable rivers, so that commodities may easilie be conveyed out of one province into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perswaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with marchandise: which notwithstanding is to be understood of the Orientall regions: albeit there *The city of Coanchefu, alias Cantam.*

are some kindes of marchandise, wherewith the land of China is better stored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Japon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaves, were brought unto us for marchandise: and one of these loaves is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried upon their servaunts backes. Neither are these golden loaves onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold-twine and leaves of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaves. There is also great store of silver, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that every yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the least 400 Sestertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conveied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitive or desirous of any marchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Silver mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection used in digging the silver thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre up the covetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their silver which they put to uses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all drosse, and therefore in trying it they use great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-silver? Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into divers countreys. Hereunto may bee

Great abundance of gold in China.

Great store of silver.

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added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Divers, and doe much enlarge the kings revenues. But now let us proceed unto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that even as the husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice; so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preserving of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weaving of Silke. Hence it is that every yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaves whereof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women unto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one every yeere comming unto us, are laden especially with this fraight, and it is used not onely in India, but caried even unto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also divers & sundry stuffes woven thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weaving, and do very much resemble our weavers of Europe. Moreover the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & muske, which is very principal & good. Muske deriveth his name from a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Bever) from the parts whereof brused & putrified proceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like unto the gorges of foules) Papos, & convey great plenty of them into India, & to us of Japon. But who would beleeve,

Pearles.

Great store of silke in China.

Silke brought into Japon.

Spices, Camphire, & muske.

[II. ii. 91.]

Cotton wooll, whereof Calicut-cloth is made.

Three qualities of porcellan.

Plants.

that there were so much gossipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like unto linnen; which we our selves do so often use, & which also is conveied by sea into so many regions? Let us now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world: wherof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleannesse, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from uncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene provinces called Quiansi, wherein continually very many artificers are imployed about the same matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and such like, but also certaine huge tunnes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are used onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours upon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to us of Japon and into India, but also into sundry provinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize above-mentioned may be added divers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought unto our Iles of Japon, and unto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a synechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is conveyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. My speeches uttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itselfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertaine to yerely sustenance and common food, they can scarse be numbred; albeit, of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and olives the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Olive tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The province of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not unpleasant liquours, which may serve in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat sowen in all the provinces, howbeit rise is in farre more use and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Japon may be compared together.

Sugar.

China in a maner destitute of corne, wine, & oile.

Leo. You have discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulnesse of China, whereof I have often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant than fruitful, and I have bene especially induced so to thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps.

Chinian maps.

Michael. The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that have seene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of rivers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; divers of which rivers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are derived into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I have spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They use one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betweene the apparell of the magistrate & of the common subject. They all of them do weare long haire upon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, having twined and bound them up, they cover them with calles, wearing sundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It seemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the provinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is divided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the divers provinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of judgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language used thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I have sayd) the speech of ech province differeth not a little. Moreover this people is most loyall and obedient unto the king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselves unto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires unto that levell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of justice all of them do leade their lives, and how orderly the publike lawes are administred. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the government.

The dispositions & maners of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyaltie unto their superiours.
[II. ii. 92.]

Their laborious industry.

Linus. Tell us now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we have heard great reports.

Michael. Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry devices out of golde, silver, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood, and other matters convenient for mans use, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine workemanship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, using either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine upon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conveyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gunpowder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with marvellous facilitie they dayly publish huge multitudes of books. Unto these mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to say, navigation and discipline of warre; both of which have bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we have before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing even as farre as India, subdued some part therof unto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many provinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselves within their owne limits: within which limits (as I have sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselves, and also against the Tartarian king, who invaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his suc-

Painting.

Gunnes.

Printing.

Navigation.

The Tartars tyrannized over China.

cessours, for a long season, usurped the government thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their stocke and family being utterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift up their heads, and to advance themselves, injoying for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the province of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would proove notable and brave souldiers, if they joyned use and exercise unto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily observe in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruel Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and governours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in every province, are subject unto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subject unto the Tutan or viceroy. Let us now come unto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not unfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall sciences, and especially naturall and morall phylosophy are studied in China, and that they have Universities there, wherein such ingenuous artes are delivered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, upon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, above all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselves a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages also, there are

Military discipline.

The literature of China.

certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Japon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole even from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are judged to be unfit for the same purpose, and are trained up to marchandise or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselves to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conversant in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be conteined in every page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences: that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Siusai, of the second Quiugin, and of the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publique house called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded unto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire unto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the province, whereunto, they of the first degree, every third yere, have recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe undergo a more severe examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden under foot, and quelled to death, as we have bene most certainly informed. Moreover they that sue for the highest degree are subject

Three degrees in learning.

[II. ii. 93.]

The first degree.

The second degree.

The third and highest degree.

unto a most severe and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also every third yere next insuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in ech province, and, a certaine number being prescribed unto every particular province, they do ascend unto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled even with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they have attained unto this third degree, being a while trained up in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of urbanity, they are admitted unto divers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conversant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such grave and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospell, more can not be desired. They have books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that aswell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chivalry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to every moneth are truely disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoever knowledge in this arte we of Japon have, it is derived from them.

Note the extraordinary honor vouchsafed by the great King of China upon his learned graduates.

Morall philosophy.

Naturall philosophy.

Excellent astronomers in China.

Leo. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) sithens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China.

The politike government of China.

But now, instruct you us as touching their maner of government, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell.

MICHAEL. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and unto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule over so many provinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to administer publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City have jurisdiction over the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in every province. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchasu: the second is the Kings Fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant-generall for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore have their place of residence in the chiefe City of the province: and the two former have certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in divers Cities and Townes, unto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Governours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magistrates are in subjection unto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech province. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the governing of ech province, not any of the same province, but strangers, that is, men of another province, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Judges may give sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinsefolke and allies. Over and besides all these, there is an annuall or yeerely Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, every yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for ech province, one; and going over all

Three principall magistrates in ech province.

the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and upon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them unpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in [II. ii. 94.] question by the Chaien are well kept within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable assembly of grave counsellours, unto the which, out of all provinces, according to the neerenesse and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority divers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed unto the Senate of Paquin. Moreover there are every yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in ech province, to goe unto the king: and every third yeere all the Governours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire unto the third degree: upon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one under another, it can scarse be imagined, what sweet peace and tranquility flourisheth thorowout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the punishment of the bastonado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, unto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they have attained unto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and duetifull the common sort are unto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them have fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending upon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of

Two Senates or Counsels continually holden in China.

The causes of peace in China.

Learning the only step to honour in China.

them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: some trailing yron chaines upon the ground: others holding great roddes or staves of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings seale peculiar for ech office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles unto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and showtes, which betweene whiles they utter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magistrates themselves, being carried in a throne upon the backs of foure men, sixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a brave and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one above another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Japon also are not ordinarily used for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty turrets of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes these buildings doe shew foorth no small magnificence: for they have their cisternes for the receit of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they have also their places designed for the administration of justice, and divers other convenient roomes to bestow their wives and families in. Within the doores of the foresayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, having cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes give their attendance; and so long as matters of judgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constraine them to tell the trueth. The sayd Magistrates also have their peculiar barges wherein to

The stately & formidable procession of the Chinian magistrates.

The houses of the Chinian magistrates.

The magistrates barges.

take the water; being in breadth and length not much unlike to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour unto them. The rowers, sitting upon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe moove it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselves to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as convenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchins, and such other places necessary for the provision and stowage of victuals.

Leo. All these things agree right well with the reports, which we have heard of the stately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is observed in the obtaining of magistracies.

The maner of electing magistrates in China.

Michael. You have enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe use a kinde of gradation in advancing men unto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made Judges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend unto the superiour, untill they have attained unto the highest dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same province, but in changing their offices they change places and provinces also. Moreover, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senatours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and

Degrees unto honour.

[II. ii. 95.]

methode observed in the ascending unto these dignities, that all men may easily conjecture, what office any one is to undertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity used for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, upon swift post-horses, unto divers provinces, almost twenty dayes journey from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such district severity in degrading those that unjustly or negligently demeane themselves, from an honourable unto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriving them of the kings authority: that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The same order, almost, is observed among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as have in times past atchieved brave exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Governours, untill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole province: who notwithstanding (as I have sayd) are in all things subject unto the Viceroy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace have a set number of attendants allotted unto them, enjoying a stipend, and carying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) wheresoever any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking upon a cymball of brasse, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumspect and continuall watch and ward about his person.

Riding post.

Martiall dignities.

LINUS. You have (Michael) sufficiently discoursed of the Magistrates: informe us now of the king himselfe, whose name is so renowmed and spread abroad.

MICHAEL. Concerning this matter I will say so much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge: for of matters appertaining unto the kings Court we have no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society have not as yet proceeded unto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arrived, will by their letters more fully advertise us. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reverence and submission thorowout his whole Realme: and whensoever any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh unto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres unto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth upon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne borne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers decease: neither doe they deprive themselves of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Japon) but the custome of Europe is there observed. Now, that the safety and life of the king may stand in more security, his yoonger brethren, and the rest borne of concubines are not permitted to live in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned unto them in divers provinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable unto kings for their buildings and revenues: howbeit they exercise no authority over the people, but all the government of those Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding have the sayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe visit them twise in a moneth, and salute them kneeling upon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing unto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they derive their houses and revenues unto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preserved. But to returne unto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in observing the Chinian lawes and customes,

The king of China.

Van-Svi.

The succession of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe dayly unto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seldome takes his progresse; and whensoever he doeth so, there are twelve chariots brought foorth, all of them most like one to another both in workemanship and in value, that no man may discerne in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing divine power unto heaven and earth as unto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing unto them. He hath divers most sumptuous Temples dedicated unto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth divine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to favour Priests of other sects, yea hee erecteth Temples unto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich revenues; and so often as any urgent necessity requireth, he enjoynes continuall fastings and prayers unto them: and after this sort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoever, he liveth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may easily conjecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not unto rude and unskilfull persons, but unto such as have beene conversant in the use and exercise or learning, yea, and in promoting learned men unto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisedome, justice, and of other vertues esteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enjoy exceeding peace and tranquillity.

Twelve chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

[II. ii. 96.]

The civill government of China most agreeable to the instinct of nature.

LEO. I would nowe (Michael) right gladly understand, what kinde of urbanity or civill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe use one towardes another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of justice is, common civility, which so well beseemeth all men, should be wanting.

The five vertues principally esteemed among the Chinians.

MICHAEL. You have hit even the very naile on the head: for among the five vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, urbanity or courtesy is one; the rest are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisedome in atchieving of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their urbanity, it is much unlike unto ours in Japan, and unto that of Europe: howbeit under two principall kindes the rule of their urbanity or courtesie may be comprehended: whereof one is observed betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twise, or sometimes thrise. Now, when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I will say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they use towards their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of three whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but even by all the Magistrates themselves, and that most curiously and diligently. And, that all men may wholly give their attendance unto this businesse, it is provided by a most

Urbanity.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

inviolable law among the Chinians, that Magistrates, upon the death of their parents, must foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselves unto a private kinde of living: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as upon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet having heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himselfe immediatly home to solemnize their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out even so. For whenas a certain king most familiarly used a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and understanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, have retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller unto the Chinian lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, objected the transgression of the law against him. The king waxing wroth menaced present death unto the man: but when the party being no wit danted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he advanced him unto an higher dignity.

A memorable story.

Linus. I perceive (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect brevity: yet let it not seeme troublesome unto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue.

The religion of China.

Michael. I confesse indeed that I endevour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for feare least I have bene over tedious unto you: howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I have undertaken, and (according to your request) adde somewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes lived in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifolde sects. And among these sects there are three more famous then the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most upright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which above all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that give their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to have invented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, upon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselves at the common Schoole, which I have above mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thrise bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endevour to attaine unto the vertues by me before mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly government of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-woorthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much unto the heavens, and unto fatall necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated

[II. ii. 97.]

Three principall sectes among the Chinians.

Confucius authour of the first sect.

The summe of Confucius his doctrine.

of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approcheth so neere unto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose opinions, because they are well knowen amongst us, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; especially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our grave visitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with us at Japon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way give you to understand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more sillables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shave their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with divers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession have in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certaine prayers after their maner, either upon books or beads, using other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men have some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errours. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other observations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted unto learning, their religion prevailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and servile life amongst the Chinians, insomuch that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and

Xequiam author of the second sect, whose followers are called Cen or Bonzi.

Note.

The third sect.

are not permitted to sit beside them, and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased unto the punishment of the bastonado: whereas in our Iles of Japon it is farre otherwise, Priests, even of false religion, being had in so great honour among us.

Leo. I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolve us.

The superstition of the Saracens.

Michael. That forren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars invaded the kingdome, and usurped the government thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not utterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining still there, have propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are souldiers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is nowe become stale and almost worne out, they doe live altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessours being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe.

Linus. Now (Michael) let us heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome.

Christian religion planted in China.

Michael. I could say much concerning those most wished and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Japon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearsall of all things, that I may not seeme altogether to have abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arrived in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort most carefull how they might insinuate themselves into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the middest of this endevour and travell Francis Xavier, a most devout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call

[II. ii. 98.]

Sangiam) leaving an example unto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who used all meanes, and left no practise unattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings unto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which having a long time executed the office of ambassadours doe ordinarily every third yeere present themselves before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is marvellous care used, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Heereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and most constant observers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed above thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, untill in the yeere one thousand five hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, utterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending upon the providence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Viceroy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the novelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie accesse unto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their journey for the inner provinces, to convert more people unto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approoving of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin

An ancient custome worthy ye observation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

(being more then five yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seventy persons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication unto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to have the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing unto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they used great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard unto the estate of their Commonwealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers unto him, and (to let passe other accidents) using courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not convenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted unto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or unto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the province of Coantum, assigned unto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, hied themselves, and as we are informed by

A.D. 1579.

their last letters, they have even now layed the foundation of their first building, and have also written that they are like to live much more peaceably and conveniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, even as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladnesse.

Leo. It is even as you have sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selves much bounden unto you.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Stevens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Stevens: Anno 1579. [II. ii. 99.]

AFter most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I have the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neverthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings provision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neverthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no marvell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting foorth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere unto Madera, where an English shippe set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, unto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such evill weather we had untill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neverthelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they have passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so unholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged up, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course aswell as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise up, and saile excellent well, unlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde served us so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they have not written, which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make [II. ii. 100.] with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations they have, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and thence swarveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe unto the North, and that place passed, it swarveth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes, as the Mariners sayd. A marvellous thing to see how God provided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some propriety which they have: some they call Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some Velvet sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth

The variation of the compasse.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speransa.

neerest the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to give occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely serving men: and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave alwayes unto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neverthelesse, they draw them up with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet he giveth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe under the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of

Fishes on the sea coast of Africa.

the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. *Note.* With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point, so famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our Pilot was a little overseene: for whereas commonly al other never come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to have winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waves being exceeding great, rolled us so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly cast away: for under us were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so evill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are savage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancres, hoising up the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they served all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a corall of great bignesse and price. *Corall.* [II. ii. 101.] For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within *Two wayes beyond ye cape of Good hope.*

the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seven and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and service. This way is full of privy rockes and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleventh degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they served our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our navigation growing so long that it drew neere to seven moneths, where as commonly they goe it

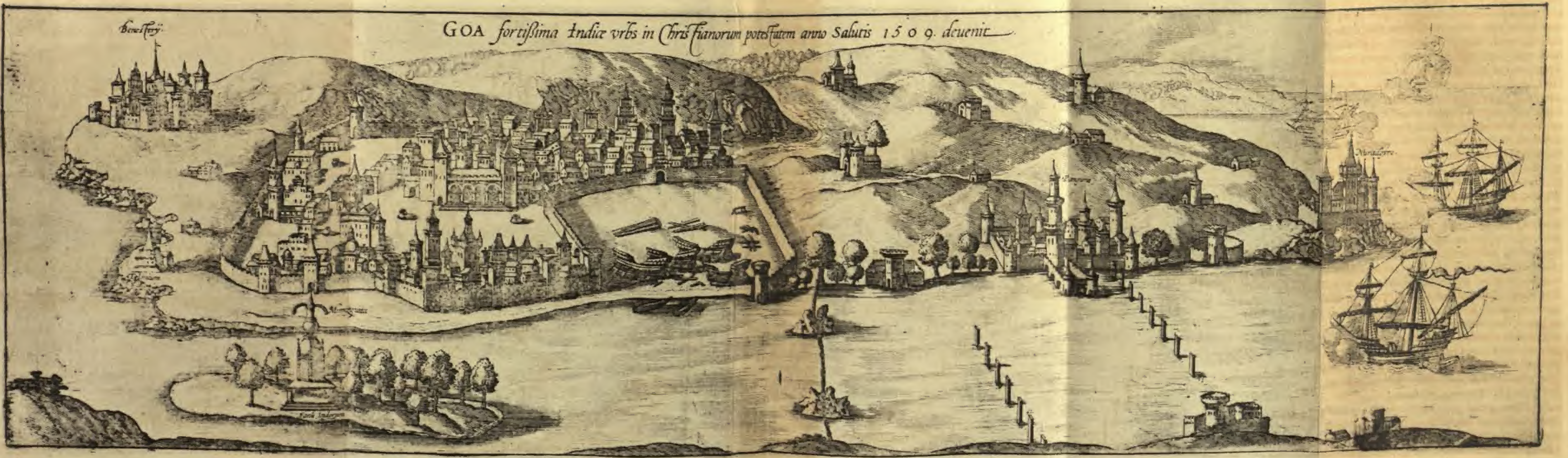
They commonly saile from Lisbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

in five, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent us great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their errour: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen us to this other danger, had not God sent us this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceive the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarve, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like unto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile us. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signs of land.

They arrived at Goa the 24 of October.


GOA fortiſsima Indiæ vrbs in Chriſtianorum poteſtatem anno Salutis 1509. deuenit
Beneſtery

part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neverthelesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of November, 1579. Your loving sonne Thomas Stevens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

[II. ii. 102.]

I Received your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a caravell of advise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other provision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble us very sore. At that instant when I received your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these

The coast of India greatly troubled with Moores.

countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, above a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought unto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that ever was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and of justice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Jesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gave his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our perverse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaines should be knowen unto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so unwilling that the building of this Church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people then the Gentiles. I preached divers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleeved so they will beleeve: for if their forefathers went to the divell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father provinciall of the estate of this New found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

Abundance of golde, silver, pearles, & precious stones in Pegu.

The great gaine of the Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the best & richest countrey in all the East India.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Majesty hath with England will be the utter undoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with civill warres, which the Moores have against the Gentiles: for the kings here are up in armes all the countrey over. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

A prophesie of an Indian against Spaine.

Your good cousin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonaventure Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backeside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

OUr fleet of the three tall ships abovenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeast, alwayes before the winde untill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea untill the sixt of June, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay [II. ii. 103.] thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Caravel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Caravel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 jarres of oyle, about 100 jarres of olives, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peason, with divers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to us then gold. We had two men died before wee passed the line, and divers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderful unholesome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude unto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which caried us along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came up to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off us East and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil unto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is upon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: untill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & so to have gone seventie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would have sought to have put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare up with

Three occasions of sicknes neere the line.

the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there came unto them certaine blacke Salvages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shel-fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse unto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguines & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading unto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with us, making signs to bring us some cattell; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negroes, brought us downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of them. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought some 24 oxen with as many sheepe. We bought an oxe for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they have no woll on their backs but haire, and have great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be divers sorts of wild beasts, as the Antilope, (wherof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beasts unknowen unto

Agoada de Saldanha.

Great store of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxen, and sheepe, dog-cheape.

us. Here are also great store of over-growen monkeis. As touching our proceeding upon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three evill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recovered, of which ship was master and governour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath bene the skurvie. Our souldiers which have not bene used to the Sea, have best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my judgement) proceedeth of their evill diet at home.

Cape de Buona Speransa doubled. Cape dos Corrientes. Here they are severed from the Penelope.

Sixe dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. James Lancaster in the Edward Bonaventure, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of September we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreeme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could never heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endevour to seeke him up and downe a long while, and staied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure dayes after this uncomfortable seperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one untouched, whereof some were striken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recovered saving

Foure men slaine with a clap of thunder.

[II. ii. 104.]

onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torne very grievously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate theereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the Northeast, and not long after we fell upon the Northwest end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the evening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eftsoones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea upon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to avoyd the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to over-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the provision of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeast of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selves with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on shore in our boate: whom the people suffred quietly to land and water, and divers of them with their king came aboord our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, using our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse, &

The Shoulds of S. Laurence.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selves furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing overagainst our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From hence with heavie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of November, where shortly after wee arrived and made us a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road untill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe divers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with woodden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they have a small Factorie, sent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought us a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio upon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answere they returned, and would not any more come at us. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we used very curteously: which the king tooke in very good part, having his priests in great estimation, and for his deliverance furnished us with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with us. These Moores informed us of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards us, which made them beleeve that we were cruell

32 of our men betraied at the Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Iland.

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

The treason of the Portugals towards the English.

people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loved their safetie in no case to come neere us. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of November until the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set upon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but because it was very litle, & our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought us by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could have taken at any time advantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were advertised by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar divers times unto us about the deliverie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with us: for wheresoever we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Moreover, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foot high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly

An excellent place for refreshing.

A gallie Frigate.

[II. ii. 105.]

Another thunder-clap.

Heat in the head deadly.

Letting of blood very necessary.

died, which might have bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin setled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like unto frankincense, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 jarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter unto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a jarre of wine, and a jarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with us because we understood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were advertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Junco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and service of that kingdome. Thus having trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to have reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malavar, and there to have lien off and on for such ships as should have passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceived by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening upon us to the Northeast and Easterly, kept us that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set us in further unto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our

A Junco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents set to the Northwards.

Zocotora.

determined course and expectation. But here we never wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes. Now while we found our selves thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selves, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried us directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should have doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had advertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelve degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not have bene able to have doubled the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded our casting away upon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast until August. Nevertheles it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, & so in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus having doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori unto the aforesayd Ilands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of windes. These Ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due observation of the South starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard upon the great Iland of Sumatra the first of June, and at the Northeast side of

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to have had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming upon us with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arrived about the beginning of June, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay untill the Winter were overpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some five leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these uninhabited Ilands for their health, neverthelesse 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Islands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and having watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left us but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were sound for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went over to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master James Lancaster our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shore to see what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we

Sumatra.

The Iles of Pulo Pinaou.

[II. ii. 106.]

Trees fit for mastes.

Malacca.

sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, save a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere unto us, but would not come aboord us, having in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neverthelesse going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe haven towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but having this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelve, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leaving their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiving her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Three ships of Pegu laden with pepper. Martabam.

Pera.

Thus having staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam,

Pulo Sambilam.

which are some five and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arrived, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus having spent some five dayes, upon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India over-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seven more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her up, until we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here untill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seven hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboord us. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come

A ship of Negapatan taken.

A ship of S. Thome.

The galeon of Malacca of 700 taken.

unlesse he went for them: but being gotten from us in the edge of the evening, he with all the people which [II. ii. 107.] were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a shore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kind of Haberdasher wares, as hats, *Wares fit to cary into the East India.* red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, velvets, taffataes, chamlets, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to unlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her drive at Sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Junsalaom, which is betweene *The kingdom of Junsalaom.* Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured us some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto us. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof *Amber-greese.* the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now *The hornes of Abath.* this Abath is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicorne, and *The female Unicorne.* is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soveraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise: but he to get aboord us, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arrived and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboord us in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought unto us roials of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diving for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Hen Jam, a Fish Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of November to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arrived there about the third of December 1592. and ankered upon the Southside in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southwest part of the sayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to have remained untill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seven or eight ships, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ships, by divers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serve the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pavillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twise

Some small quantitie hereof may be caried to pleasure those kings.

They arrive at the Iles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward.

They arrive at Zeilan.

Tanaseri in the kingdom of Siam.

Commodities of Bengala.

in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like unto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like unto Aqua vitæ. Being shot up to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left us, which were unstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke more like to die then to live. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie up to the Northward and there to keepe our selves to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would have set us off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus having set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answere that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to give his consent to returne, leaving all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee set sayle for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiva, and leaving the mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the starreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage over from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish: of which our captain, being now recovered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would serve fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of five or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to us. In February 1593. we fell with the Eastermost land of

Commodities of Pegu.

Commodities of Tanaseri.

A great current to the Southward.

[II. ii. 108.]

A notable reliefe of fishes taken

Baia de Agoa.

They double the Cape of Buona Speransa.

S. Helena.

John Segar an Englishman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of santa Helena.

A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme joy.

The description of the commodities of the ile of santa Helena.

Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the Northeast of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or five weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arrived there the third day of Aprill, where wee staied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of us tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arrivall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on shore with foure or five Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one John Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the Iland, being otherwise like to have perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceived: for whether he were put in fright of us, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden joy when he understood we were his olde consorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skurvie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Iland, recovered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holesome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and having some provision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because he was desirous to goe for Phernambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling upon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that unlesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept untill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and somtimes to the Eastward, & somtimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made us doubt to keepe our course: and some of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake up other mens chests, to the overthrow of our victuals and all our selves, for every man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine seeking to prevent this mischiefe, being advertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to have refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of June, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out until the current had put us over to the Westernside under the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore every night did helpe us out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or five dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gave us some refreshing.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone passed.

A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

And in the meane space there arrived a French ship of Cane in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought some two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on us as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And having thus made ready our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put us from an anker and forced us to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke upon an Iland called Savona, which is environed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare us of them, & so we directed our course Westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare us no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike upon those Ilands, wherewith we were content and gave him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind: which continued with us some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had sixe foote water in holde, and having freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the Northwest and became dullerd: but presently upon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with

The Ile of Savona environed with flats.

Cape de Tiberon.

[II. ii. 109.]

The old chanel passed.

the labouring of the ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to save our lives. Our victuals now being utterly spent, & having eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adjoyning, knowing that there we might have some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted upon us, which did greatly endanger us for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare up to the Westward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Juan de porto Rico, where at our arrivall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here having refreshed our selves some 17 or 18 dayes, and having gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolved to returne againe for Mona: upon which our determination five of our men left us, remaining still on the Iles of Nueblas for all perswasions that we could use to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Iles we departed and arrived at Mona about the twentieth of November 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to have gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further untill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking provision to cary aboord to relieve the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed untill the next morning, think-

They returne backe to the West Indies.

Five English men left on the Nueblas.

ing to have had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelve of the clocke our ship did drive away with five men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leaving nineteene of us on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured us in our greatest extremities, we contented our selves with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserve our lives. And because one place was not able to sustaine us, we tooke our leaves one of another, dividing our selves into severall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who upon this our second arrivall with his three sonnes stole from us, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we understood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Mounsieur Felix, unto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed us his flagge, whereby we judged him French: so comming along to the Westerne ende of the Island there be ankered, we making downe with all speede unto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came done to our Captaine Master James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gave him good entertainement, and the next day fetched eleven more of us aboord entreating us all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there untill night expecting our other seven mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being devided sixe into

The ship lost by driving away.

Great famine.

Two ships of Diepe.

one ship, and sixe into another, and leaving this Island, departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained untill Aprill following 1594, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-haven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seven men which wee left behinde us at the Isle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules upon the cliffes, other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, upon knowledge given by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-haven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one John La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leaving the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on sunday the seventh of Aprill 1594 they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Cajicos from thence arrived safely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had stayed two dayes to refresh our selves, and given humble thankes unto God, and unto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, having spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely because wee lost our fit time and season to set foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

The French trafike to S. Domingo.

[II. ii. 110.]

M. Lancaster returneth to Diepe, and so to England.

We understood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they have lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giving great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnesse Master James Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the River of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southhampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio grande in Guinie, the 17 of July 1583.

ARticles of Covenants agreed upon betweene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, John Hooper his Lieutenant, John Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheesman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO observe and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and urgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for saving of the hides to be kept aboord, & the same salt to be provided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abovenamed.

4 Item, upon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld unto any

such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not above 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship above named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indevor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction given by the above named officers, upon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be divided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any devise or devises whatsoever, to alter the voiage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to revictuall and traffike, and from thence to the river of Plate to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, [II. ii. 111.] with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with divers that have government in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, upon due proofe made, shall loose their whole intertainement due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adjudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at al times to serve the marchants turne upon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to give due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer under the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdemeanor to be adjudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of three of them at the least.

10 Item, that upon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Maister and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like urgent cause.

William Huddie. John Foster.
John Hooper. William Cheesman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheesman Marchant, for the voyage to the river of Plate.

The Isle of S. Sebastian.

AT your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, upon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the river of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell up of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve drie, in such quantitie as conveniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preserving of the hides, I leave it wholly to the order and the discretion of

A.D. 1583.

the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride upon the coast of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, under two lockes, either of them to have a key to his owne locke, and that a true inventorie be delivered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other jewels of price gotten in the said voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing upon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reveale it unto the officers above named. Also to doe your best indevour to try for the best Ore of golde, silver, or other rich mettals whatsoever. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serve God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes upon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle upon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished upon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

[The confession

[II. ii. 112.]

The confession of William Bends Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21 of October, Ann. 1584.

HE sayth, that the 17 day of July, Anno 1583. having some lacke of fresh water, they put roome upon the coast of Guinie, where they were set upon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arrived in an Island, being desolate of people, and five miles in compasse, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, having nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

Rio grande.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, & stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an olde man alive, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and skrikings: the rest having Rice and water allowed them, lived there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Caravel comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leave of his master to goe in the same Caravell, & by that meanes arrived at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leaving behinde him of his companie alive, Richard Hacker, John Baker, John Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he judgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One Coxe an old English man buried alive by the Moores of Rio grande in Guinea.

The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Province, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.

IT is not unknowen unto the world what danger our English shippes have lately escaped, how sharpely they have beene intreated, and howe hardly they have beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obteined renowne, I have taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie adventure to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselves: The maner whereof was as followeth.

UPon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, having beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboord the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise bad them welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maister, foure of the seven departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gave speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neverthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Foorthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were seventie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselves since confessed. [II. ii. 113.] These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboord, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neverthelesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe, every Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore.

A.D. 1585.

Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves readie to be conveyed even to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their javelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and having five Calievers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches or the grate did shoote up at the Spaniards that were over their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at every stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne lives, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing foorth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast over boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was John Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to save their lives. Foure of them taking holde of the shippe were for pities sake taken up againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuft with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure having some wounds were drest by the surgion of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is governour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his living by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yerely. This skirmish happened in the evening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell, and John Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniardes, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set up sayles, and by Gods providence avoyded all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England neere London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered five hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craved mercie at their hands. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings

A.D. 1585.

Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English, &c.

[II. ii. 114.]

Licentiat de Escober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I have caused a great fleete to be put in readinesse in the haven of Lisbone, and the river of Sivill. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee imployed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of service, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, upon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require you, that presently upon the arrivall of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen untill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found upon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of Holand, Zeland, Easterland, Germanie, England, and other Provinces that are in rebellion against mee, saving those of France which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought unfit to serve the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall have a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes have brought, whether they be all or part unladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall advertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall have so stayed in that coast and partes, whence every one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in every of them, and what quantitie they have of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessaries, to the end that upon sight hereof, having made choise of such as shall be fit for the service, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, using therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great service. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus have you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the loving hearts of the servants to save their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to save so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may never travell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his servantes: for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe torments which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselves, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with love, unitie, and concord, our shippes have ever beene favourable unto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subjectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priviledges granted by her Majestie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere 1585.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to al Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our havens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to al our officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other whosoever to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to every of them greeting. Whereas it is made evidently and apparantly knowen unto us, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloved councellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our loving and naturall subjects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter [II. ii. 115.] Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, John Cartwright, Henry Paiton, John Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, under the government of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Marocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, have sustained great and grievous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be prevented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that divers Marchandize of the same Countries are very necessary and convenient for the use and defence of this our Realme of England, and for divers other causes us specially moving, minding the reliefe and benefite of our said subjects, and the quiet trafique and good government to be had, and used among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe give and grant unto the saide Earles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, John Cartwright, Henry Payton, John Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and every of them by themselves or by their factors or servants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeeres, have and enjoy the whole freedome and libertie in the saide trafique or trade, unto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatsoever, that now or accustomably heretofore have bene brought or transported, from, or to the said country of Barbary, or from or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, havens, harbors or creeks of the said country of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or privileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and governing of the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abovesaid, their factors, servants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for us our heires and successors, doe by these presents give and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaide, and to every of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelve yeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient within our citie of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in ure and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then living and trading, shall finde convenient.

Provided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of trafique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subjects whatsoever, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme have trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and every our Subjects whatsoever, other then only the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and every of them by themselves, or by their Factors or servants during the saide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or trafique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our privilege and prohibition, unlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Straper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, [II. ii. 116.] William Bond, Henry Farington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expresse licence and consent of the more part of them then living and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee living.

And we further for us our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and to every of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the said trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them aforesaid should not be prevented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for us, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soever, as our owne Subjects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoever growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then living, first had and obtained, so alwayes y^t the sayd Erle of Leicester (if hee be living) be one, under the paine that every one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last above mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe provided: the one moitie of all and every which said forfaitures whatsoever mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shalbe to us our heires & successors: And the other moity of al and every the said forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholy for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, upon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall have to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things whatsoever mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the said terme of twelve yeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to every of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatsoever, as they tender our favour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and every of them, that they ne any of them take or perceive, or cause, or suffer to be taken, received, or perceived for us & in our name, or to our use, or to ye uses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoever during the said terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any custome, subsidy & other thing or duties to us, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoever growing, being made or comming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs & subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants, saving onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and every of them will answere at their uttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure observation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for us our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court, at al & every time & times during the said terme of 12.

yeres, at & upon request made unto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then living and trading, shall and may make & direct under the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, unto every or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and every, or to any port or ports, creeke, haven, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas [II. ii. 117.] Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and every of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoever, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receive or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

[The Ambassage

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sus, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.

Upon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Majesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent unto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Fesse, and Sus. And after I had received my Commission, instructions, and her Majesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arrived in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) received mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to advertise the Emperour of my arrivall: who immediatly gave order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Evans, Edward Salcot, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the river of Tensist, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents under the Olive trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselves, and the French and Flemish, and divers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arrived the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Judaria or Jurie, which is the place where the Jewes have their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3. dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, delivered my message and her Majesties letters, and was received with all humanitie, and had favourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Majesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoever I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Majestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person, and the chiefest about his Majestie. The particulers of my service, for divers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leave obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour upon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, upon some occasion I was stayed until the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending upon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes journey from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arrived the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of November I embarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee upon an Ambassage to her Majestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Ives in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together up towards London, we were met [II. ii. 118.] without the citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of January 1589.

Este es un traslado bien y fielmente sacado da una carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.

Con el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El siervo de Dios soberano, el conquistador per su causa, el successor ensalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Jariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue su honra, y ensalçe su estado. Se pone este nuestro real mandado en manos de los criados de nuestras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleses; para que por el sepan todos los que la presente vieren, come nuestro alto Conseio les anpara con el favor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captivarà en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el anporo de nuestro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemistad, ni se darà causa, de que se agravien en qualquiera manera con el favor de Dios y de su amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto serà necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel, segundo anno de nueve çientos, y noventa y seys.

Concorda el dia d'esta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per su Magestad saquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho ut supra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copy well and truely translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: to wit, that no Englishmen should be molested or made slaves in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henry Roberts.

The same in English.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The servant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor advanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Jariffe, the Haçeny, whose honour God long increase and advance his estate. This our princely commandement is delivered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present writing, may understand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the favor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soever they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soever they shall travaile, no man shall take them captives in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong unto us, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoever: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand upon them, and shall not give occasion that they may be grieved in any sort by the favour and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our havens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and likewise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inviolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interpretour for his Majestie, have translated and turned out of the Arabian into Spanish word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnesse thereof have subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piadador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Mully Hamet to the Erle of Leicester.

EL siervo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Jarif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enhalse sus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado, el Conde de Leycester, despues de dar las loores [II. ii. 119.] devidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y saludes devidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Servirà esta por os hazer saber que llegò a qui à nuestrà real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual descuento reçebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos escriveys por causa de Juan Herman, y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegasse vuestra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que se avia quexado del, ya aviamos mandado prender lo, y assi que da aora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la justicia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Sennor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light upon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient unto him.

THe servant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the son of Myra Momanyn, the Jariff, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine and advance his authoritie: Unto the right famous, right noble, & right highly esteemed Erle of Leicester, after due praises given unto God, & due blessings and salutations rendred unto the prophet Mahumet. These are to give you to understand, that your letters arrived here in our royal Court, and we wel perceive the contents thereof. And your Ambassador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges until this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selves as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write unto us concerning John Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken upon the complaint which your Ambassadour had made of him, whereupon he stil remaineth in hold, and shal so continue until further justice be done upon him accord-

ing to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno || 996.

|| *Which is with us* 1587.

The Queenes Majesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

Muy alto, y muy poderoso Sennor,

Aviendo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y favor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo uno y de lo otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion: y assy no podemos dexar de agradesceroslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de un Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseays ser os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente complazer, como pidiz, ha succedido, que las guerras, en que stamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la necessitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y conforme al animo, con que os lo concedemos. Y porque nos ha sido referido, que aveys prometido de proceder contra un Juan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha gravemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, avemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas parcularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys assi complir: y que seays servido de favorescer siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora aveys hecho, sin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar

de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran levantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Sennor guarde vostra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Julio 1587.

The same in English.

RIght high and mightie Prince, Having understood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare us, and how great honour and favor you shew him for our sake, to the end to give us more ample testimonie of your friendship, we have received very great contentment & satisfaction, aswel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We have also received your letters, and do not a litle rejoyce thereof, because they come from a prince unto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written unto us concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent unto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherin at this present we be busied, wil not suffer us fully to doe the same: neverthelesse, wee have commaunded to satisfie you in part, and [II. ii. 120.] according as the present necessitie doeth permit us, as our Agent will declare unto you more particularly, hoping you will receive it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified unto us that you have promised to proceed in justice against one John Herman our subject, which hath grievously offended us, in such sort as wee have sent word unto you, wee have given order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to command the same to be

John Herman an English rebel.

put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to favour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you have done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserve your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of July 1587.

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh, written by John Evesham Gentleman, wherein were taken the governour, of the Isle of Sainct Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento governour of the Straits of Magalanes, in the yeere 1586.

THe 10. of June 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Ralegh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, & from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we tooke a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the governour of S. Michaels Island, being a Portugal, having other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa, to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whom we tooke, so that we might have enriched our selves, which was the cause of this our travaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of

The governor of S. Michael taken prisoner.

what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, and thereupon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, governour of the Straights of Magelan, which saide Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our soveraigne Lady the Queene.

Pedro Sarmiento the governour of the Straights of Magelan taken prisoner.

After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we discried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Caravel, to whom we gave chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in under the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and having the winde of us we could not hurt them with our ships, but we having a small boate, which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Calivers, and foure that rowed, came neere unto the shore against the winde, which when they saw us come towards them they caried a great part of their marchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soone as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at us with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we

A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.

One of the ships taken, and sent away with 2. persons.

boorded one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of us passed more neere unto the shoare, and boorded the Caravel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at us, but yet in despight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed under the land, we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting at us, and the people on land with Musquets and calivers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, even as he was giving levell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, having taken these five sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Maste to serve our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (saving that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leaving them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The Caravel is taken.

[II. ii. 121.]

The prises sent home.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not above 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had discried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the rest were small shippes and Caravels all

Two Caracks, 10. Gallions, 12 small ships.

laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with us, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleete and us, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to give them over against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling us, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitie of number) at length we gave them over. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before us, where wee were received with triumphant joy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded us with our shares.

The 2. pinasses returne for England.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of John Evesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, John Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

[A briefe

A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the River of Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that ever was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HEr Majestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the invasion of England, by good advise of her grave and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient proofe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Navie royall to be delivered, to wit, The Bonaventure wherein himselfe went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Navie; the Dreadnought under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: unto which 4 ships two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good service the Generall made particular mention in his private Letters directed to her Majestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of

A.D. 1587.

Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were assailed over against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortresse. [II. ii. 122.]

There were in the Road 60. ships and divers other small vessels under the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port-Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first comming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Raguza of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them under the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugenesse in burthen above 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings provision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horse-shooes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings provision, which wee caried out to the Sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe unladen by us in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with us, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our judgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of us at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places convenient they planted new ordinance to offend us with: besides the inconvenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which neverthelesse was a pleasant sight for us to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemie. Thus by the assistance of the Almightie, and the invincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bread such a corrasive in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he never enjoyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may justly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

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Right Honorable. These are to geve to understand that on the secounde of this month we departed out of the sounde of Plemmouthe, we had sighte of the Cape Finister the 10th: we were dismembred with a violente storme, duringe the space of five dayes, by which meanes our fleete was spilt a sunder, and a greate leake spronge uppon the Dreadnoughte: the 16th we mette all together at the Rocke. The 19th we arrived into the roade of Cales in Spaigne: where we founde sixtie greate shippes, some laden, some halfe laden and some readie to be laden with the kings provisions for England, we stayde there untill the 21th in which meane tyme, we sanke a Biskaine of 1200 tonnes, burnte a shipp of the Marquesse of Santa Cruse of 1500 tonnes and 31 shippes more, of 1000: 900: 600: 400: to 200 tonnes the peice, carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, and departed thence at our pleasure, with as much honor as we could wishe, notwithstandinge that duringe the tyme of our abode there we were both oftentymes fought withall by 12 of the kings gallies, of whome we sanke two and alwaies repulsed the reste, ~~and~~ were (without any hurte) vehemently shott at from the shore, but to our little harme, god be thanked. At our departure we were curteouslie written unto by one Don Pedro generall of those gallies: I assure your honor the like preparation was never hearde of nor knowen, as the kinge of Spaigne hathe and dailie maketh to invade England, his allies which mightie Princes and Dukes in the straite, of whome some (besides the forces in his owne domynions) he is to have greate aide, is greate. And his provisions of bread and wynes are so greate as will suffice 40000 men a whole yeare, which, if they be not impeached before they ioyne, willbe verie perillous. Our intente therefore is, by gods helpe to interrupte their meetinges, by all possible meanes we maye, which I hope shall have such good successe as shall tende to the advauncement of gods glorie, the safetie of her gracious royall person, the quiet of her countrie and the annoyance of the enemye. This service which by gods sufferance we have done, will (without doubte) breed some alteration of their pretences, howbeit all possible preparation of defence are verie expediente to be made. [illegible] more [illegible] contentes and [illegible] be intende in this action [illegible] I have thought meete to signifie unto your honor [illegible] larger discourse but that [illegible] causes me to leave the same to the reporte of this bearer. And so in verie greate haste with remembraunce of my humble dutie, I take my leave. [illegible] from aboarde her Maiesties good shipp the Elizabeth Bonaventure the 27th of Aprill 1587.

I leave the reporte of Robert Flicke to the bearer herof, and pray pardon for not writinge with my owne hand. I am [illegible] busynesse. [illegible]

Fra: Drake

Your honors [illegible] redye allwayes to be commaunded

Fra: Drake

I dare not almost writ unto your ho: of the great forses we here the [illegible] of Spayne hath out of the straytes. prepare in England strongly, and most by sea: stopp him now and stopp him ever. Looke well to the cost of Sussex. I will shortly writ yo more at large as occasion shalbe ministred, and by the grace of God will kepe [illegible] for it is the Lord that gevethe victory.

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(141)

1587
27 April
Sr Fra: Drake

To the righte honorable
Sr Frauncis walsingham
knighte principall secretary
to her Matie with all

haste haste
poste haste

21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of us, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted upon us, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to anker within a league of the towne; where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred us to ride quietly

We now have had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Majesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their advantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driven to maintaine the same, untill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive cleare off us. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for divers moneths (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto her Majestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at severall times of ships, barkes, and Caravels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staves, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, having delt favorably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on [II. ii. 123.] land; and the better to enjoy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon ankering nere unto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing us chase his ships a shoare, & take and cary away his barks and Caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one Canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passsing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance hee tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that ever was taken comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an evil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travel: and thereupon they all resolved to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arrived in

Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Navigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

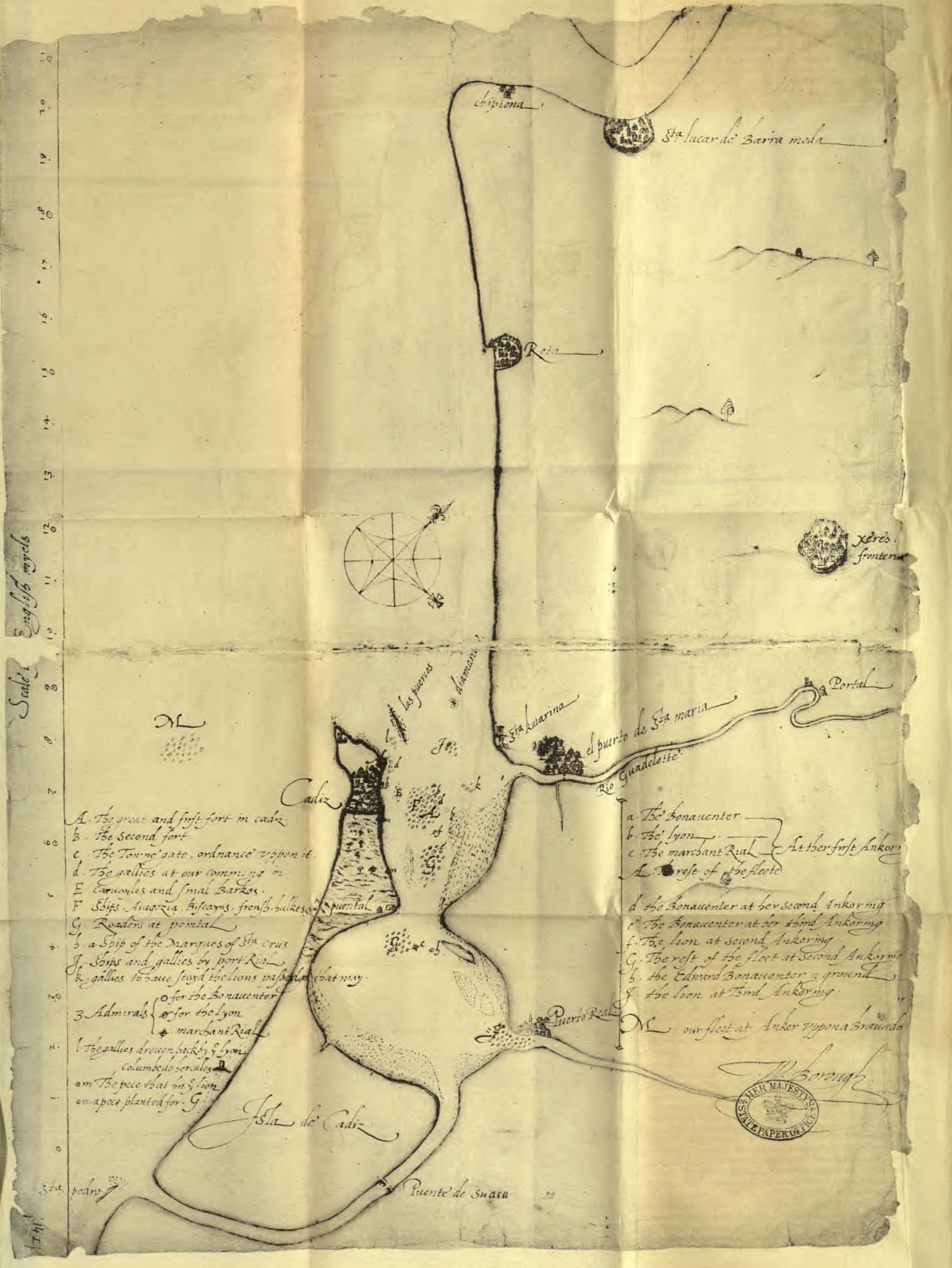
A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the River of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, 1588.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and every our Officers, ministers and subjects whatsoever, greeting. Whereas our welbeloved subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and John Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, John Yong of Coliton in our county of Devon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Devon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, have bene perswaded and earnestly moved by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to undertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermost part of the River commonly called by the name of the River of Senega, and from and within that River all along that coast unto the Southermost part of another River commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that River: which, as we are informed, they have already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly given to understand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into those Countreis, wil not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe unto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely favour live and continue here under our protection: And considering that the adventuring and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning: we have therefore thought it convenient, that our said loving subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide adventure and trade in the said Countreis, shal have the sole use and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations us specially mooving, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and graunt unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner, and to every of them, and to such other our Subjects as they or the most part of them shall thinke convenient to receive into their Company and society, to be the traders with them into the said Countreis, that they and every of them by themselves or by their servants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during

A former voyage to Gambra.

[II. ii. 124.]

the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, have and enjoy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Senega: and from and within that River all along the coast of Guinea, unto the Southermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Gambra, and within that River also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & every of them, by themselves or by their servants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their Company and societie, to be traders with them into the sayd Countreis (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, have and enjoy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afore limitted and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, partes & coastes of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or privileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, & governing of the said societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exercise of the same, We for us, our heires, and successors, do by these presents give and graunt full license and authoritie unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receive into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is aforesaid, and to every of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all convenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient, aswell within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in ure and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaide, shall be thought necessary and convenient. Unto all and every which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and every of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be received into the saide societie and Company, shall submit themselves, and shall well and duely observe, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such uses & intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the Company of our Marchants, named Adventurers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoever, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, use, or have trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and commaund, that no person, or persons whatsoever, by themselves, or by their factors, or servants, during the said terme of 10. yeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receive into their societie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them shal, during the said terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from [II. ii. 125.] the said Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation above mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by these presents give and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Braily, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receive into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and every of them, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeres, attach, arrest, take, and sease all, and all maner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and every which said forfaitures whatsoever, the one third part shall be unto us, our heires, and successors, and another thirde part thereof we give and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here under our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other third part of al the same forfaitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant cleerely and wholy unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliver, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the use of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaide, to their owne proper use and behoofe: which said allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoever. And we do straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and every of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, which have or shall have any



dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselves, their clearks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receive, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or received for us, or in our name, or to our use, or for, or in the names or to the uses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoever, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to us, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee sent to, or returned from any the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, saving onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Provided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selves, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our privie Counsell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shal receive into their Companie and society, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and trafique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coasts and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe moneths [II. ii. 126.] next insuing, after such signification & notification so to be given to any of the said Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be utterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse; Written by James Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

UPon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather unto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Rio del oro is in 22. degrees, and 47. min.

Thursday the second of January wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

The thirde of January wee had sight of Cavo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast five leagues off.

Cavo de las Barbas.

The 4. we had sight of the Crosiers in the morning.

Crosiers.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cavo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare.

Cavo Verde, in 14. deg. 43. m.

Friday the 17. Cavo de Monte bare off us North Northeast, we sounded and had 50. fathom blacke oase, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northwest 8. leagues off. And Cavo Mensurado bare of us East and by South, and wee went Northeast with the maine: here the currant setteth to the East Southeast alongst the shoare, and at midnight wee sounded and had 26. fathome blacke oase.

Cavo de Monte.

Cavo Mensurado.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cavo verde, and it is as I judge 9. leagues from Cavo Mensurado; it is a hill sadlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we saw a row of hils sadlebacked also, and from Cavo Mensurado are many mountaines.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cavo dos Baixos was North & by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabanoo. And towards evening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Southerboord: we sounded and had 35 fathomes.

Rio de Sestos.

Cavo dos Baixos.

Tabanoo.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeast off us, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from us to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set us to the Southward a good pase alongst the shoare South Southeast.

A French ship at Ratire.

Crua.

A currant to the Southeastward.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did set East Northeast.

The 28. we lay sixe glasses a hull tarying for the pinesse.

Cape de tres puntas. The last of January the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of us three leagues at seven of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinesse came to an anker: and wee prooved that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at sixe at night the uttermost lande bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southwest, and Southwest and by South.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the said Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The Castle of Mina. The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looke-out was spent, we spied under our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in [II. ii. 127.] the Boate, wee would have had him to come aboord, but he would not. And over the castle upon the hie rockes *Two white watch-houses.* we did see as it might be two watch-houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and up into the lande were more high ragged hilles, *Monte Redondo.* and those I reckoned to be but little short of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hilles within the land, these hils I take to be 7 leagues from the first hils. And to sea-ward of these hilles is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shore.

Villa longa. The 6 we were short of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Caravell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we set saile, and all alongst the shore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a river, & to the Eastward of the river a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leaves, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather. *Rio de Lagos.*

The 10 we set sayle and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shoare, which was so full of thicke woods, that in my judgement a man should have much to doe to passe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we sayled East and by South, and three leagues from the shore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood upon the land was as even as if it had beene cut with a paire of gardeners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we descerned a high tuft of trees upon the brow of a land, which shewed like a Porpose head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in five fadom thwart the river of Jaya, in the rivers mouth. *Very shallow water.*

The 12 in the morning we road still in the rivers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe untill the next morning. The shallowest part of this river is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they also said it was Rio de Jaya. Here the currant setteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westermost. *Rio de Jaya.*

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shore, where the trees are wonderfull even, and the East shore is higher then the West shore, and when wee had sayled 18 leagues we had sight of a great river, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This river is the river of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the river with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starbord tacke aboord untill we came to five fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went more to the Eastward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarie untill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

A currant Westward.

The 16 of Februarie we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to us againe out of the river, and told us that there was but ten foote water upon the barre. All that night was drowsie, and yet reasonable temperate.

Ten foote water upon the barre of Rio de Benin.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinnesse to goe into the river, and there came a great currant out of the river and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the river with their commodities. This day was close and drowsie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to us out of the river from our marchants.

Tuesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the river.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest.

[II. ii. 128.] *Sicknesse among our men.*

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnesse went into the river againe, and caried the Purser and the Surgion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the river.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought sorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemsted was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Cerons or sackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

The death of the Captaine. Pepper & Elephants teeth.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the river of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

A good note.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile homewards in the name of Jesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it prooved calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the river of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cavo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place M. Towrson was in like maner deceived with the currant.

A deceitpfull currant.

The 9 we had sight of Cavo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowsie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of June we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Rockweed or Saragasso all along the sea.

The 12 of July in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with us untill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Isle of Pike, it bare North and by East from us, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told us good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cuervo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Britons, and three of them followed us untill noone, and then gave us over.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Causon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed untill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set sayle from Plimouth, and arrived at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corrall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their money is pretie white shels, for golde and silver we saw none. They have also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leave our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men upon fish-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They have good store of sope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with divers proportions of foules and beasts made upon them. There is upon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I never hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble under our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and loving, and they goe naked both men and women untill they be married, and then they goe covered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great store of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth upon a tree, and is very like unto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his merceifull goodnesse to give me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water with little cost, which did serve us sixe moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plim-

[II. ii. 129.]

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preservative is wrought by casting into an hogshead of water an handful of bay-salt, as the author told me.

mouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimouth. Thus doth God provide for his creatures, unto whom be praise now and for evermore, Amen.

The voiage set forth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird marchants of London to the kindome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefely set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arrivall at Plimouth.

WOrshipful Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my comming up to you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arrived in the haven of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship over the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which we had put the chiefest of our marchandise, we went up the river to a place called Goto, where we arrived the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the neerest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arrivall, and of the cause of our comming thither: who returned to us againe the 22 day with a noble man in their

Goto in Benin.

company to bring us up to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we delivered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The sixe & twenty day we went to the Court to have spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered us, that we should have all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

The great citie of Benin.

The first of March we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made us the like courteous answere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed us one basket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee desired to have it plucked from the stalks and made cleane, who answered, that it would aske time, but yet it should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found it so unprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had ever resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent us 12 baskets, and so a litle every day untill the 9 of March at which time we had made upon 64 serons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of us into the disease of the fever, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we alreadie had received, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arrived, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to convey the pinnesse and goods downe to the place where our ship road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came up from the ship,

[II. ii. 130.]

to see how all things stood with us, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent up Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would use all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst us all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get up our ankers, but yet at the last by the mercie of God having gotten them up, but leaving our pinnesse behinde us, we got to sea, and set saile, which was upon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather up their crums and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores upon the 25 of July, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and divers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained living were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so wel out, by Gods good providence, that we met with your ship the Barke Burre, on this side the North cape, which did not only keepe us good companie, but also sent us sixe fresh men aboord, without whose helpe, we should surely have tasted of many inconveniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arrived in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund
Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set foorth by Master John Newton, and Master John Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the Richard of Arundell of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master James Welsh was chiefe Maister.

THe third of September 1590 we set saile from Ratcliffe, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into Plimouth sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the Lisart, and so passed on our voyage untill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of Forteventura one of the Canarie Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I never saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put up his head to the steepe tubs where ye cooke was in shifting the victuals, whom I thought the fish would have caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is also.

The 24 we had sight of Cavo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the winde will be Northerly, and so it prooved.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 15 of November we met with three currants out of the West and Northwest, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

Great currants.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southwest, and the 20 we saw another current out of the Northeast, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southsouthwest, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe every watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league every watch for the space of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the South.

[II. ii. 131.] The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East Northeast, and Northeast, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost us wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the southerboord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shore the currant set Southeast along the shore with a billow still out of the southerboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Mewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from us, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not above a mile from the shore, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken

Two rocks.

ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shore, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards evening we were thwart of a river, and right over the river was a high tuft of trees.

A French ship of Hunfleur.

The 17 we ankered in the rivers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cavo de las Palmas, and betweene us & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceive no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the river of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

Cavo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne of us West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the east of Cavo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The 20 we were thwart of a river called Rio de los Barbos.

Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the shore East, & 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cavos de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

The 24 still going by the shore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the river called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shore with the mar-

Rio de Boila

chants, but they durst not put into the river because of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance upon the barre.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shore, and ankered at night in seven fadom because a great current would have put us backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas.

Papuas.

Arda.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Caravel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with us, where they communed about the buying of the Caravell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should have for the Caravell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gave us one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring us the rest the next day.

Januarie.

The first of Januarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboord againe, and presently we unrigged the Caravell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast upon the water side, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Villa longa.

Rio de Lagoa.

The third we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shore and upon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this river a Date tree higher then all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and every night ankered, & al the shore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared up, & then we found our selves thwart of the river of Jaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in five fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the river of Benin in foure fadom water.

The river of Jaya.

The river of Benin.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy every day untill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off us, wee riding in foure fadome water.

[II. ii. 132.]

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

Goto.

The 23 came the Caravell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The Caravell bringeth teeth aboord.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Caravell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto.

298. *sacks of pepper.*

The 5 of March ye Caravel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Caravell came aboord with water for our provision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

The 17 a drowsie rainie day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at us, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Caravell to go with us to the sea.

Three spouts.

The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde

They returned homeward.

at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the river of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from us.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and split our fore saile, and also the Caravels fore-sayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from Cavo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

Brava.

The first of July we had sight of the Island of Brava, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cavo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greenevill Viceadmirall. They kept us in their company untill the 15 day at night, themselves lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

We departed in company of a prise.

The 15 we had leave to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gave me great charge, not to leave her untill she were harbored in England.

Corvo.

The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Corvo bare off us East and by South sixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell us no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Ivie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of Newcastle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had three fadom upon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-sand, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd untill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron unwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horsetailes, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable unto us then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we have very good water in the shippe which we brought out of the river of Benin the [II. ii. 133.] first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of June 1592.) to be seen aboord the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

It is more temperate under the equinoctiall, then on the coast of Guinie & Benin.

In this voiage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And under the line wee did kill great store of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing unto us, and the fish never forsooke us, until we were to the Northwards of the Ilands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort unto us, being five moneths before at Sea without any companie.

By me James Welsh master of the Richard
of Arundell, in both these voyages to
the river of Benin.

An Advertisement sent to Philip the second king of Spaine from Angola by one Baltazar Almeida de Sousa, touching the state of the foresayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

Paulo Dias Governour of Angola.

The king of Matamba.

114 Portugals slain in Angola.

Amasanguano the Portugals abode in Angola.

THe 26 of July I certified your majestie by John Frere de Bendanha your majesties pay-master and commissioner, with the governour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it convenient to advertise your majestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The governour Luis Serrano encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabasa, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal souldiers: & afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Matamba sent a strong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with strange inventions for the sayd purpose. So the king of Angola gave this other king battell, and the governour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the said king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was overthrowen and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this overthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your majestie. Hereupon the Governour assembling the rest of his Portugall souldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreover, besides the manifold losses which have befallen the Portugals in this realme, your majestie hath sustained other great misfortunes both in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your majestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your majestie may understand the estate of this countrey. This realme, for the most part thereof hath twise bene wonne, and twise lost for want of good government. For here have bene many governours which have pretended to do justice, but have pitifully neglected the same, and practised the cleane contrary. And this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recover this realme, and to augment your majesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some noble and mighty man to rule here, which must bring authoritie from your majestie, and by taking streight order that every captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your majestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient store of provision for them. And by this means your highnesse shall know what yeerely revenue Angola will yeeld unto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your majestie shall reape but litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your majestie any service in giving information of the state of this realme, as one which have had experience thereof, and have seene the order of it, upon the understanding of your majesties pleasure herein, I will doe my best indevour. And the cause wherefore I have not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Governours of this realme would suffer none of the captaines which have conquered this countrey to informe your majestie of that which is needfull for your service, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preserve your catholique person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of youre crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdom unto obedience.

An usuall trick of lewd governours.

Your majesties most loiall subject,
Baltazar Almeida de Souza.

[A true

[II. ii. 134.]

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield emploied in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced by particular report, have entred into conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.

ALthough the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you used to hold me at home, & the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that advise, which in love I know you gave me: yet in respect of the many assurances you have yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either love or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therfore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall have passed since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of July. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in ye wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her majestie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an adventure of her and many honorable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade: from whence could have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid upon him, or what could have bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell? Even, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giveth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which have still laied the fame of all warres upon the Invader. And do not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a towne by escalade, battred & assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 several places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Invader, and in such an action as every day giveth new experience, I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders.

Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you used with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you received them from others, you must give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were led into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safetie of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this journey, will judicially convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easie for us alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, & almost 30000 foot, beat Don John de Austria out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? & shall it now be laid upon her majesties shoulders to remoove so mightie an enemie, who hath left us but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? It is not a journey of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spaine in those places where we shall meet at every 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by rivers which have no passage unfortified, and where [II. ii. 135.] most of the best souldiers of Christendom that be on our adverse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her majestie much above the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, wherof one was ye second in the last yeres expedition called S. Juan de Colorado, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships wel manned fit and readie to serve him for men of war against us, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few adventures discovered how easily her majestie may without any great adventure in short time pull the Tirant of the world upon his knees, as wel by the disquieting his usurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subject to those extremities which we have endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be inforced thereunto, then by any force that can be used there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the journey (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthily of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake: And therfore did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe therof.

The chances of wars be things most uncertaine: for what people soever undertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that have made their name so terrible, we shal find them to have bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name then act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united & alwayes held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their invincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voiage hath sufficiently made knowen what they are even upon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demaund, it might have made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised unto the Adventure, lost her majestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left unattempted?

It was also resolved to have sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran us 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should have had from thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may justly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not upon the first thinking of the journey divers gallant Courtiers put in their names for adventurers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey?

Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in levying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the service of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a service of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should have bene the 1 of February, did lay upon us, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do live by, had not God given us in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse windes, that held us two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it should [II. ii. 136.] come by having their men on shore: in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

These burdens layed upon our Generals before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour: for having done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their adventure, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their ful complement?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by them, whom many have sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the service at land, as would have made a mighty subject stoope under them, I do not see how any man could justly have layd any reproch upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable endevors, but mightily hindred, even to ye impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guiltie of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shal understand that General Norris from his booke was trained up in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men under the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leave to the report of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all ye English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was sent for, & sent Generall of the English forces which her majestie then lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going over. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being upon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should have bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which never any Englishman successively attained unto in forren wars, and the high places her majestie had thought him

A.D. 1589.

woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his journy about the world, by his adventures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of ye same, & beseech you considering the waighty matters they have in all the course of their lives with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especially having gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, & disappointed of those agreements which led them ye rather to undertake the service. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, y^t labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & wants that have bene amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I have conceived a great opinion of the journey, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders have bene received home with triumph for lesse merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for adventures unequal to this: it might therfore in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to give every man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence every vertue findeth her direct opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enviously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, & not without grieving at the injury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answere the reports which have bene given out in reproch of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first advise of some occasion that should move them thereunto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

[II. ii. 137.] Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many yong men have gone over and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in having learned some wordes of Arte used in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst us: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst us.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon divining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home againe.

These men have either conceived wel of their owne wits (who by observing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at) or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the journey. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him to morow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but y^t every place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fal sicke, y^t fearing to be infected by them they might justly desire to go home.

Answere to the first.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoever they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? have they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, even in their garrisons? Have there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeere (who had all provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) avoyd sicknes amongst their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee have lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves wee have? It hath bene prooved by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were never in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor above 2500. Marriners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I have truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we never being 13000. in all, and having brought home above 6000. with us, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleeving that we have lost 16000. men by sicknes.

Answere to the second.

To them that have made question of the government of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst us) I answere, that in their government of shires and parishes, yea in their very housholdes, themselves can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles unfrequented: And we observe that though any man having any disordered persons in their houses, do locke up their drinke and set Butlers upon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Justices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for every pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could never reach to in England, and having it there without mony even in their houses where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for every drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that have runne into these disorders? Even our newest men, our yongest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slovenly prest men, whom the Justices, (who have alwayes thought unwoorthily of any warre) have sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with these hote wines, have brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recoverie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which have either recovered, or past without sicknesse will proove most fit for Martiall services. [II. ii. 138.]

Answere to the third.

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the captaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then upon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that every captaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit every captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing never the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those y^t^ hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

Answere to the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may conjecture in y^t^ we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to cary men upon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane apparel & necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men upon them. Of whose honorable deservings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter give me occasion to observe the same.

Answere to the fift.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed upon good bieves, muttons & goats, be to want, they have endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they never wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starve then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had served for it, might have seen in many campes in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not having money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in every place affoord the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some have most injuriously exclaimed against the smal provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same upon an evil that might have fallen, then any that did light upon us: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoever made not very large provisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very improvident, where was plentiful store of wine, biefe and fish, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the journey supplie the wants of such as were lesse provident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would have used his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme unto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I wil addresse me to the true report of those actions that have passed therein: wherin I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against us, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the just occasions thereof lead me unto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left undone by the Generals which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should have reaped the fruit of our adventure.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the evening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mils next adjoining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate upon us and upon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris having that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Iland) with a wall upon a dry ditch: whereupon he resolved to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the meane time advised [II. ii. 139.] for the landing of some artillery to beat upon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy us: which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed upon the next shore, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other provisions ready for the surprise of the base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting us by water in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat upon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Umpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twise beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entred in two places at their backs, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Juan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolved in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore upon the discovery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither:

but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on every side.

Then the towne being entred in three several places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themselves in chambers and sellers, which were every day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiers being in seven companies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England, namely:

Under Don Juan de Luna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
Don Jeronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Juan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
Captaine Manço Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Juan de Mosalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order given for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batansas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come unto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 jarres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

[II. ii. 140.] And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others also found favour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found every celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of provision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And having overcharged the artillery of ye gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and overcharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entred by us, which joyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, even to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Gener all had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded upon their wall, opening towards us, which would have given us great advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily seene unto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted under the gard of the cloister two demy-canons, and two colverings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed unto him, never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should have bene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to have faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seventh after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. [II. ii. 141.] Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen up by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was over the horsemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of divers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be given in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backewards in a place where the cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every company into the countrey for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in provisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort upon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was given to the traine of the mine, which blew up halfe the tower under which the powder was planted. The assailants having in charge upon the effecting of the mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly: but too soone: for having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell upon our men: under which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being under that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from under their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattered. For let no man thinke that culverin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who served very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best judgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was unlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the upper towne, having no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their lives by the displeasure of their king in giving it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the towne, and many other houses adjoyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the journey, and not performed, might have made her Majesty mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would have held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the first assault given: which had bene more then I have heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes [II. ii. 142.] endured, who never entred any place at the first assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie; in that there was a greater leavie readie to come thither under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieve the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discovering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who divided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giving the first charge upon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they having very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone upon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others, who found the way cleare over the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing the proud approch we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in overthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also having his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves unto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men having given over the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper, and one private souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong baricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an army so strongly lodged. After the

The notable overthrow given to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might have seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Iland next adjoyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned [II. ii. 143.] to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might have given us any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against us, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into every house of the low towne, insomuch as I may justly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to have done; for that without doubt they would have attempted something against us in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against us that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, wherewithall they might either besiege us in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene us and our place of imbarking, to fight with us upon the advantage; for they had above 15000 souldiers under their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not under nine dayes recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle having put himselfe into the journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all services make him to be woondered at amongst us) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would avoid the importunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and brought them unto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the river which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard upon that coast, would not abide, but fled up into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, under the shot of the castle, and above the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which overthrew one boat, wherein five and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five companies of Spaniards under the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against us, and in our landing made their approch close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, having landed sufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other over the Sandhils; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall under Captaine Jackson, they stood the same even to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being unfortified in any place, we found undefended by any man against us. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same; which he honestly performed. *Peniche taken.* There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friers and other poore men came unto their new king, promising in the name of their country [II. ii. 144.] next adjoyning, that within two dayes he should have a good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals there fully resolved, that the Armie should march over land to Lisbone under the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the river therof with the Fleete; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the ships: also that the sicke & hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battell: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Umptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with us, stood upon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leave severally of the Commanders of every regiment, wishing us all most happy successe in our journey over the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the weather did not hinder him, meet us in the river of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition upon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Provost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrivall in Portugall) had broken up an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providently given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectivly regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against us at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would have held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectively observed, then I thinke would have bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for us, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarsity. Which mooved the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to advise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to advertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieved.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Cavalleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, & himselfe thorow more then 200 with some forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers intelligences that the enemy would tary us there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place, which he might have done adva tageously; for we had a bridge to passe over in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should have bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves upon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therfore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselves into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against us in foure dayes [II. ii. 145.] before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that regiment, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but having got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute maner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the towne, and having layed the same very neere, sent some to give the alarme unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to have given an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the evening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the streets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut up: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of corne and other provisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the neerest streets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the towne, and would have bene a very evill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy having more easie entry into it then we gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approch in three severall streets upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant major Captaine Wilson slew in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants [II. ii. 146.] at their discovery of our navy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the army he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed up the river, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant major of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuvel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the

Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, saving that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with us: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselves, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leave any occasion of blotte to be layed upon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soever happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should have that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolve to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not convenient to divide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally upon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected more supplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our navy should meet us in the river of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements he received from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came unto him promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two [II. ii. 147.] dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you have heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in every place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, having done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and given credit to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might have engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against us, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly lover, who promiseth himselfe favor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such devotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly unto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet sent they under hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and us try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subject themselves to any government, where they may live free from blowes, and have liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they have put on any minds thorowly to revolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not above 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might have prevailed against the rest, any man may conceive. But upon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made upon us by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they have kept them out, or have given us the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against us as farre as S. Julians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their devotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would have fought with them upon that advantage, having sought them in Galitia upon disadvantage to beat them: and having taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gave sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them upon any hazzard.

For, what civill countrey hath ever suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized over thus long, but they? And what countrey, living in slavery under a stranger whom they naturally hate, having an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke upon their necks, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could have had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, have reported [II. ii. 148.] him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to give credit to their promises without any adventure? Let no frivolous questionist therefore further enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, every battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed us at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the river) attended us till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant majors moile under him. The horsemen also followed us afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generals, as they offered every one of them to give the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come upon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their pasport, that if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that upon five or sixe shot of the canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a guard upon the same, least any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought unto them. But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culverings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, threescore and five Souldiours, very good store of munition, and victualles enough in the Castle; insomuch as he might have held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken [II. ii. 149.] out, and our army embarked; which without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen up by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of June, and so continued sixe dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings provision, to reinforce his decayed navy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two misnes, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small boat, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all services, and in their departure very unwilling to leave us: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, upon receit of letters from her Majesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came unto us two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant-Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton having received letters from the Generals that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not five dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Julians, durst never make any attempt against us) upon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Caverley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was overrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to have relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not wel discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who setting also upon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other hulke a league off, a sterne off us, they made towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

[II. ii. 150.] From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried us to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Ilands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembring how unprovided he was for that journey and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed up the river more then a mile above Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had cast many of our men overboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon every streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approch on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne, to beat upon the same with their artillery.

Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were sent 300 under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would give them leave to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gave them a respit to cary all away.

Vigo burned.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and sent in two troups to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shore, on the contrary side of the river from us for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Juan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the journey of England.

Under the leading of
- Capitan Puebla,
- Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Francisco de Cespedes.
- Cap. Juan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Cassava.
- Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layed upon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being under saile never strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed saving three and thirty, which being in the river further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her sir Edward Norris. [II. ii. 151.] And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks, sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage.

Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving 8 companies which are yet held together, giving every souldier five shillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due unto them: for they were not in service three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her majesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparel and furniture to his owne use, so as every common souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount unto.

Notwithstanding, there be even in the same place where those things have passed, that either do not or will not conceive the souldiers estate, by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there have bene some false prophets gone before us, telling strange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeving what any man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further then Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as every journey yeeldeth some) doe runne unto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeving every report: for you see there have bene many more beholders of these things that have passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought, that to lie hard, not to have their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so given their mindes to the service, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the journey (if they had with that judgement seene into it, which their places required) hath given them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home have made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of every thing, because I would not willingly have you miscaried in the judgements of them, wherein you shall give me leave somewhat to dilate upon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensive war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this journey, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey have given us.

A worthy question dilated.

There is no good subject that wil make question, whether it be behoofeful for us to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with us or against us; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the favour whereof our Navie may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst us, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy us withall, who being now distressed by our common enemie, I thinke it [II. ii. 152.] most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to give them a reentrie into that they have of late yeeres lost unto him. The one without doubt her majestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shal never be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conveniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alva, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Juan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him, how this wise enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with us, leave us occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leave us a spoyled field: where though our provision may bee such of our owne as we starve not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange countrey such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay upon us, in that to repossesse those countreys which have been lately lost, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home unto us? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recover those Low countries, but by bringing the warre upon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained

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upon our coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid upon him; no doubt if we shall give him respite to doe it, but he will mightily advance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of revenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish even in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an invasion. And having an armie of 20000 roially furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched us all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by us, I have herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Sivil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needfull to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee have discovered what kind of men they be, even such as will never abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that ever they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if upon this alarme that we have given him, he tendering his naturall and neerest soile before his further remmooved off governments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should have kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to prevent him of his provisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to live, nor the king able to maintaine his Navie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselves corne, yet are they never able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe mastes, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impoverish our countrey. Of whose mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby have the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for us in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall have a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receive our cloth, the necessary use thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from us with our sufficient commoditie.

[II. ii. 153.] And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall never be able to withstand us) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can judge, and have observed the difference of invading, and being invaded; the one giving courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he never the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Invader casteth up his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust unto. I will not say what I observed in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile us here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gave to the same people that frighted us, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to save himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Invader, began to practise against their owne king: or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the advise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, proove very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gave counsell rather by way of diversion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensive warre at home to remaine subject to the common spoiles of an assailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours have bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage us to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off:

whereas, if we give him leave quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to us all.

He taketh not armes against us by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her majesties Scepter is already given by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soever are offered for spoyle unto the common souldier. Let every man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for every Justice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the properest and most serviceable men at every muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder every officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of every mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulnesse to her Majestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, upon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Majesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to moove a stirring people? Who, though they have received some small checke by the sicknesse of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of

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a more ample provision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in love of such would affectionately folow their fortunes; some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoyles to be found in those countreys, having bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their lives agaynst them, whom every good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall slaverie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that every step we tread will yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong able men, who, (against the libertie they are borne unto) terme themselves Serving men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liverie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reversion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and crave pardon for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid upon a most grave and honorable counsell, who wil in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threatned agaynst us. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those [II. ii. 154.]

honest serving men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Provinces into a narow roume, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe in the principall havens of France, from whence he may front us at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reverencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our journey, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthy to talke.

The ancient grave degree of the Prelacie is upheld, though Martin raile never so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoever inveigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though never so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for us as he did the last yeere, or we be inchanted with some divelish opinions, that travell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, upon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemie must lie when occasion shall be offred. For whensoever he shall set foote upon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought unwoorthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her majestie, wherein were lost seven times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were never able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who have overthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should have bene the Generall of the Armie against us, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I have before declared) be unwoorthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receive their reward for looking upon an enemie, and ours in this time not receive so much as thanks for having beaten an enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal have more reputation, and live with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to use them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I chalenge some reputation, or diminish my love to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to use them: not regarding how some men in private con-

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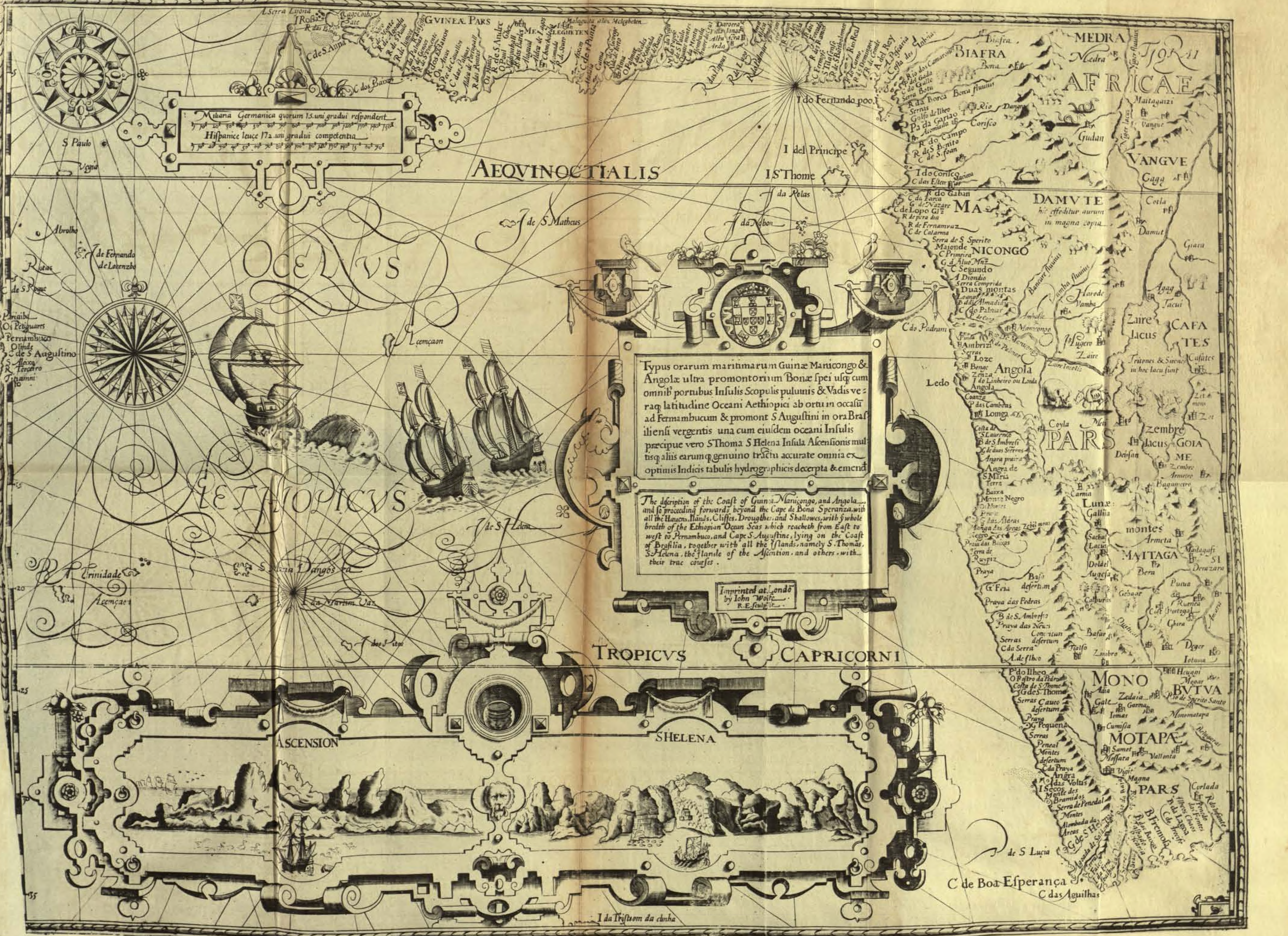
venticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how every popular person doeth give [II. ii. 155.] sentence on every mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soveraigne, who never yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending upon the justice of her most rare and grave advisors, who by their heedie looking into every mans worth, do give encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall never any thing happen more pleasing unto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable journey against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserve beyond me, patiently endure the unadvised censure of our malicious reproovers.

If I have seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome unto you, in the discovering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproches upon the Generals (having indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, & the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one having by the vertue of the other made our country more dreaded & renowmed, then any act that ever England undertooke before. Or if you have thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be delivered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat: which some particular men may seeme justly to do, in that having deserved very well, I should not herein give them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this private discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that have passed, wherein I have onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded every service, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my prejudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very unfit to deliver my censure of any matter in publique, & most unwilling to have my weaknesse discovered in private. And so I doe leave you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.



Miliaria Germanica quorum 15. uni gradui respondent
Hispanice leuce 17½ uni gradui competentia
AEQUINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
OCEANVS AETHIOPICVS
GVINEÆ PARS
MELEGINETEN
BIAFRA
MEDRA
AFRICAE
VANGVE
MA
DAMVTE
hic effoditur aurum in magna copia
NICONGO
Angola
PARS
CAFATES
Zaire lacus
Tritones & Sirenes in hoc lacu sunt
zembre lacus
GOIAME
Lunæ montes
MAITAGA
MONO MOTAPÆ PARS
BVTVA
I do Fernando poo
I del Principe
I S Thome
I de S Matheus
I de S Helena
Ascençaon
Trinidade
S Paulo
Abrolho
I de Fernando de Lorenzbo
C de S Roque
C de S Augustino
Pernambuco
C de Boa Esperança
C das Agulhas
I da Tristoom da cunha
ASCENSION
S HELENA

Typus orarum maritimarum Guinæ Manicongo & Angolæ ultra promontorium Bonæ ſpei uſq; cum omnib' portubus Inſulis Scopulis puluinis & Vadis vera q; latitudine Oceani Aethiopici ab ortu in occaſū ad Fernambucum & promont S Auguſtini in ora Braſiliensi vergentis una cum eiuſdem oceani Inſulis præcipue vero S Thoma S Helena Inſula Aſcenſionis multisq; aliis earumq; genuino tractu accurate omnia ex optimis Indicis tabulis hydrographicis decerpta & emend.

The deſcription of the Coaſt of Guinea, Manicongo, and Angola, and ſo proceeding forwards beyond the Cape de Bona Speranza, with all the Hauens, Ilands, Cliffes, Drougthes, and Shallowes, with ẏ whole bredth of the Ethiopian Ocean Seas which reacheth from East to west to Pernambuco, and Cape S. Auguſtine, lying on the Coaſt of Braſilia, together with all the Iſlands, namely S. Thomas, S. Helena, the Ilande of the Aſcention, and others, with their true courſes.

Imprinted at Londō by Iohn Wolfe.
R. E. ſculpsit.

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The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

THe right honorable the Erle of Cumberland having at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Caravell, and having assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Devonshire, the 18 day of June 1589. being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, *aliâs* Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Mervin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Caravell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhaven, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers & lawful Prises, we tooke them and sent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fish for the most part from New-found-land, saving that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day & the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceived plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met divers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieved with victuals. The 13 day of July being Sonday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of ye coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee presently prepared for, & provided to meet them, having first set forth captaine Mounson in the Meg, before us, to descry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, [II. ii. 156.] whereby, as also by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting foorth their flags, we perceived that some fight was likely to follow. Having therefore fitted our selves for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came up to them with the Victory. But after some few shot & some litle fight passed betwixt us, they yeelded themselves, & the masters of them all came aboord us, shewing their several Pasports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Synamom, which they confessed to be the goods of a Jew in Lisbon, which should have bene caried by them into their country to his Factor there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawful Prise, the same was soone after taken and devided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with us for sailers, we tooke to helpe us, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night having put foorth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect us, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hausers, and let them drive into the sea. Our men comming to them, found y^t one of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there under a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other smal ships that lay neere under the castle there, our men let loose and towed them away unto us, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping over-boord and swimming to shore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an uprore, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did us no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, & some other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offring their service, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Sivil.

3 ships forcibly towed out of harbour

The same day our Caravel chased a Spanish Caravel to shore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a litle ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinnasse (the weather being calme) and towards evening we overtooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, taffata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gave them to understand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to injury them, but that he ment onely to have some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some provision that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, & sent some of their company for beeves and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their usuall maner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At evening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued us for the space well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part from the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke upon him, the tips of whose finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times above the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his jawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put us in feare of overturning the pinnasse, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ship called the Drake, brought us word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & sped us thitherward with all the speed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seven and twentieth day of August, [II. ii. 157.] after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker, to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Captaine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discover the roaders: and least any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawsie Jacke and the small Caravell; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neverthelesse the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre untill the comming up of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hause, wee entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept overboord on the other, save Juan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was mored to the Castle which shot at us all this while: the onely hurt which we received of all this shot was this, that the master of our Caravell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Juan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the castle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out five small ships more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let drive in the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these Prizes were consorted with us some other small men of warre, as Maister John Davis, with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consorted with us before.

An escape of 8. Englishmen from Tercera.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming towards us, a small boat under saile, which seemed somewhat strange unto us, being so farre from land, and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong: but comming neere, they put us out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately beene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselves to the sea, under Gods providence, having no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staves tyed together by the endes, and no more provision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bosomes. Having taken them all into the Victorie, they gave us certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

Thus beeing without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolved to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but untill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring up and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciosa (whom Captaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gave this choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any injurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come unto him and compound for the ransome of the Towne; or else to stand to the hazard of warre.

With these words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and allegeance to king Philip to give over without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of every ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the sandie shoare, under the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: upon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselves, and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne upon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter us; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would have come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time, they in the platforme also played upon us with great Ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (having set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, upon the sands, betwixt the sea & the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, & then the shore growing rockie, & permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & passed through the street without resistance, unto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance. [II. ii. 158.]

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing upon the Forefront thereof.

A description of the towne of Faial.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that island, & is situate directly over against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West Northwest from that mountaine, being devided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some three hundred housholds, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double covered with hollow tyles much like our roofe-tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Every house almost had a cisterne or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowen and used in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orenges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, even for building and firing.

My Lord having possessed himselfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preservation of the towne, gave commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inviolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle & prey, was rifled, & ransacked by the souldiers & mariners, who scarcely left any house unsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chestes of sweete wood, chaires, cloth, coverlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciscan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixe. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were alwayes covered, as readie at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, untill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thousand duckats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted upon their carriages, betweene Barricadoes, upon a platforme towardes the sea-side, all which Ordinance wee tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord having invited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (save onely Diego Gomes the Governour, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and solemnely dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord delivered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a request to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, save onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Jago who was cousin to a servant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with us.

On Munday we sent our boates a shore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwise have beene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise having not yet sufficiently served our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and so departed Northwest and by west, alongst the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboord to us this day, tolde us that alwayes about that time of the yeere such windes West Southwest blew on that coast.

This day, as we sayled neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle under water, or rather even therewith, appeared hard by a head of us, the sea breaking upon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had beene a rocke, and the [II. ii. 159.] ship stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him move out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haste and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on shore to see the towne, the people (as we thought) having now setled themselves there againe, but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of us: untill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to injury them, but especially to have fresh water, and some other things needefull for us, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill us in fresh water, receiving for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight raysed our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himselfe also together with them haling at the Capsten, and after chearing them up with wine.

The next day we sent our Caravell and the Sawsie-Jacke to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie: we following after them upon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driven to leewarde, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee sayled alongst Tercera, and even against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardes them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped us.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord foorthwith sent Captain Lister to the Ilanders, to let them understand that his desire was onely to have water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could give no resolute answere to this demaund, untill the Governors of the Iland had consulted therupon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Upon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Caske, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Davis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consortes. But when our men would have landed, the Ilanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared upon land, with ensignes displayed to resist us: So our boates rowed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disadvantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their lives, and so were constrayned to retire without receiving any answere, as was promised the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whilest our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not only to the overthrow of our voiage, but also put the Queenes ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle marvell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him unto them in peaceable manner to receive their answere which they had promised to give the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his sake, he could not put up so great injury at their hands, without just revengement upon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answere: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answere from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their peeces, which was charged with pouder onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: [II. ii. 160.] and that the next morning they would send my Lord a

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resolute answere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Governours minde herein. The next morning there came unto us a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lorde that hee should have of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not satisfie our neede therein, having themselves little or none, saving such as they saved in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather give us two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselves would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted, we keeping one of them aboord with us untill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caske, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other provision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Davis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our provision. This shippe of Weymouth came to us the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteene thousand pound, which brought us newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and upon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the unholy league) loden with fish from Newfoundland: which had beene in so great a tempest, that she was constrayned to cut her mayne mast overboord for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remayned unto us. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Upon the Sunday following at night, all our promised provision was brought unto us from Gratiosa: and we friendly dismissed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Upon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Islandes, being very rough weather. And upon Thursday at night, being driven some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw fifteene saile of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Haven at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arrived. Upon Munday we came very neere the Havens mouth, being minded to have runne in amongst them, and to have fetched out some of them if it had beene possible: But in the end this enterprise was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approching, and lying under the protection of the Castle of Brasill, on the one side (having in it five and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde prooved too scant for us to attempt any such enterprise.

Upon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any ankoring place for us, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to us, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned having found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer us to come neere it, and againe if we could have ankored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselves a ground to save their lives and liberties, and some of their goods, then come foorth to loose their liberties and goods to us their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth so long as we watched for them before the havens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of five dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring us word if they should come foorth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and tolde us that those ships in the Haven had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe mastes: so that wee supposed they would never come foorth, till they perceived us to bee quite gone.

Wherefore upon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some five or sixe buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serve our turne.

Upon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shore for fresh water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants espying us came downe with two [II. ii. 161.] Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men having spent all their pouder upon them in attempting to land, and not being able to prevaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.

From hence we departed towardes Saint Maries Island, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore upon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to us out of his owne shippe, and she loosing us in the night, hee was forced to tarry still with us) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some sixtie or seventie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant us leave to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freshly untill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two ships ryding at anker hard under the towne, whereupon having shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Davis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with us some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towardes them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men in their shirtes swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceived afterwardes, were labouring to set those shippes fast on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselves for the defence of those roaders, their Iland, and themselves. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, untill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiving or regarding what he sayd, immediatly upon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortefied places unseene, to their owne best advantage: who immediatly shot likewise at us, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselves: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to shrinke at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entring one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we spedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And having cut in sunder her Cables and Hausers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Davis his boate overtooke us and entred into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrayned to leave her & to come againe into their boate (whilest shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a grounde, that they could not stire her: which the Townesmen also perceiving, and seeing that they were but fewe in number, and us (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to have come and taken them. But they returned unto us, and so together we came away towards the Victory, towing after us the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasill, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were builded one above another hard by the sea side, upon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne stoode betwixt two valleyes. Upon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Iland, but not knowing before the inconvenience and disadvantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for fresh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and having espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent under the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant us leave to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of us hid themselves amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, whereof they brought only sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking [II. ii. 162.] (as it was supposed) that my Lord having no more provision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was unwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to have taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and unwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much provision unspent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought give some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being uncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboord also uncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more sufficiently provided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that every mease should bee allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make up our voyage.

Upon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Brasile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or otherwise sicke were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we seldome had. And upon Twesday following being the 4 of Novemb. we espied a saile right before us, which we chased till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we overtaking her, she stroke sayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Brasile. She was a ship of som 110 tuns burden, fraighted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Brasill-wood, every Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent unto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told us that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Having therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid and left our long boat with Captaine Davis, taking his lesser boat with us, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giving order to Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize that they should follow us due East, and that if they had sight of us the morning following they should follow us still: if not, they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize were behinde us out of sight: but the next Thursday the sixt of November (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or three leagues a head of us, after which we presently hastened our chase, and overtooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, having beene before at Brasill loden with Sugar and Brasile. Having sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meane time whilest they were in comming to us one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from us. So immediately upon the returne of our boate, having sent her backe againe with some of our men aboord the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone overtooke her: she had made provision to fight with us, having hanged the sides of the ship so thicke with hides (wherewith especially she was loden) that musket shot could not have pearced them: but yer we had discharged two great pieces of our Ordinance at her, she stroke sayle, and approching neerer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint John de Lowe (truely called Ulhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seven hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: sixe chests of Cochinell, every chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and every pound worth sixe and twentie shillings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and silver.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behaviour seemed to be a grave, wise, and civill man: he had put an adventure in this shippe five and twentie thousand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with so manie other of [II. ii. 163.] the chiefest of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or there abouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came up to us. And nowe wee had our hands full and with joy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, having now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst us, that if we should have taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to have manned them without endangering our selves. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had overtaken us) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare us company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to rowle and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to us, but, as it was thought, would also have put the maine Maste in danger of falling overboord: having acquainted them with these inconveniences, we gave them direction to keepe their courses together, folowing us, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from The Rocke.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the haven at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde us, that whilest wee were plying up and downe before that haven, as before was shewed, expecting the comming foorth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Governour of Terçera, were unloden of their treasure and marchandize. And in every of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to have come to lay the Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this should have bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that is sevenscore English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accompt they would see what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall upon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:) For soone after the wind scanting came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heavens for us, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough before, was yet more more scanted, because of the scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happie estate in comparison of that which followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by reason of this great scarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safelyer bring our ship into some convenient harbour there) we were driven so farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heavie hearts and sad cheare, wee were constreined to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send us a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed every man three or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, saving onely at two or three meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very litle) wee continued for the space of a fourtnight or thereabouts: Saving that now and then wee feasted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered up and did eate them more pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The raine-drops were so carefully saved, that so neere as wee coulde, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged up sheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe thither, and so be received into some vessell set or hanged underneth: Some that wanted sheetes, hanged up nakins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soyling of the shippe, trod under foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it raineth, was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at every scupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, cannes, and Jarres, whereof some drunke hearty draughts even as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clense or settle it: Others clensed it first, but not often, for it was so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards under feete, the sides, railes, and Masts of the shippe: others that were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the [II. ii. 164.] Mastes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maste (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maste, might meete together at that place, and there be received.

Hee that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and envied as a rich man. Quàm pulchrum digito monstrari & dicier hic est? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and crave of us, for the love of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie in stead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to us and other nations heretofore.

They put also bullets of lead into their mouthes to slake their thirst.

Now in every corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: having before this time bene so well and sufficiently provided for, that we lived in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly every day some were cast overboord.

But the second day of December 1589. was a festivall day with us, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saved some pretie store of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, & streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accompted some poore soules whom we had seene driven for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now have thought our selves if we might have had our fills of the same: yet should wee have fared the better with this our poore feasting, if we might have had our meate and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before us: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that every man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all under feete.

Herewith our maine saile was torne from the yarde and blowne overboord quite away into the sea without recovery, and our other sailes so rent and torne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waves and foming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and overraked the waste of the shippe like a mightie river running over it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote above the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount up to heaven, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would have shaken in sunder, so that now also we had just cause to pray a litle otherwise then the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris & Cœli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
 Solvere quassatæ parcito membra ratis.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliver us out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, so that againe we were like to have lost our new maine saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along upon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railes) to gather it up out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked over head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had never seene the like, and vowed that if ever they returned safe home, they would never come to Sea againe.

The last of November at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should have had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was al the provision of drink they had, save only [II. ii. 165.] a But or two, which they must needs reserve for their owne use: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground upon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might have spared us much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel have relieved our great necessities, and have had sufficient for themselves besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to carry us into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so serving.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes under the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but having some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to give over and leave it behinde, holding on our course to Ventrie haven, where wee safely arrived the same day, that place being a very safe and convenient harbor for us, that now wee might sing as we had just cause, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went foorthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, having a little fresh water left him

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remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried up. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant from the foresaide haven, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend upon them. Here we wel refreshed our selves whilest the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our lives (as it were) restored unto us againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like unto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they used their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, save foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond. These foure houses fortified themselves against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth overthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilest they thus defended themselves, as some of them yet alive confessed, they were driven to as great extremities as the Jewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they have no chimneis in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublesom to us, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they have very good, and whinnes or furres. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they have neede thereof. But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones: Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings or five groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a piece.

The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can provide sufficient to serve from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Mines in Ireland.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds.

That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The naturall hardnesse of that Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne usually in the middest of Winter up and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare- [II. ii. 166.] legged, with no other apparell (many times) save onely a mantell to cover their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soveraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors have with us in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend upon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were first intertained at the Soveraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion. They have the same forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we have here in England. Upon the Sunday the Soveraigne commeth into the Church with the Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe every man by himselfe privately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the service belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, over head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soveraigne come, and then they that have any devotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proved like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we loosed from hence, having well provided our selves of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for us, brought us newes that there were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

Captaine Lister drowned.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought us joyful news of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place upon the coast of Cornwal which the Cornish men cal Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, save 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saved themselves with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saved, and reserved for us, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to have saved his life.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde us the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Terçera haven. But the Admiral was sunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth over against Plimouth sound, and the men were saved.

This ship also certified us that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with silver. My Lord entred presently into this ship, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night we came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driven so much to leewards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth haven, where wee strucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe upon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed our selves with keeping part of Christmas upon our native soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.

IT is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted & rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, & some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, having before escaped all other danger. The first whereof was the Salomon apperteining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went foorth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and John belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of Master Cordal: The sixt the Violet: the seventh the Samuel: the eight the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All these ships being of notable and approved service, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelve tall Gallies bravely furnished and strongly provided with men and munition, ready to seaze upon these English ships: which being perceived by the Captaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selves,

[II. ii. 167.]

February 1590.

still waiting all the night long for the approching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590. according to our usual customes, we said Service and made our prayers unto Almightie God, beseeching him to save us from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we justly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies upon the Sea. And having finished our prayers, and set our selves in a readinesse, we perceived them to come towards us, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay under the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer unto us, they waved us a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waved them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almightie God greatly to incourage us all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among us, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker & smallest ships formost, and so it was performed, every man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

At the first encounter the Gallies came upon us very fiercely, yet God so strengthened us, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and having sundry cast pieces in her, gave the first shotte in such a sowre sort, as that it shared away so many men as sate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was ready to sinke, which made them to assault us the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and John, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gave a hot charge upon them, and they at us, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would have offered themselves to have fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to have bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of service began to vaile his sailes, and intended to have yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked foorth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English Fleete, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should have found at their handes.

A fight of sixe houres long.

A faint hearted Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gave us the upper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselves from us, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended us all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of us slaine. And in all this fierce assault made upon us by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backestay of the Salomon, who gave the first and last shot, and galled the enemie shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane striken off.

The battel being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waft up and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous favourable to us, who being but Moores and heathen people shewed us where to have fresh water and al other necessaries for us. And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The governour was one that favoured us greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed for want of winde before Gibraltar, untill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and [II. ii. 168.] therefore looked every houre when they would have sent foorth some fresh supply against us, but they were farre unable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so sore battered, that they durst not come foorth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had received. Yet were they greatly urged thereunto by the Governour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discerne any thing at all by reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelve Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we assayed to depart the Straight three severall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde untill wee came upon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of July 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

IN the moneth of November 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to severall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together having winde and weather, which ofttime fell out very uncertaine, arrived safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely arrived at Marseils, where after they had delivered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, untill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Upon which reasonable perswasion, notwithstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those litle shippes, according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were upon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies bravely apparelled in silke coates, with their silver whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Calivers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to give them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon having prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called upon God, on whom onely they trusted: and having made their prayers, and cheered up one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordinance upon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while five Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the sterne, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her maine Maste was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and sterne made almost unserviceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the [II. ii. 169.] Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of silver, which they sounded foorth to their owne contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they

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in multitudes came crauling and hung upon the side of the shippe, intending to have entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the Sea, being remedilesse for ever to get up alive. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemie, that many a brave and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired five severall times, with wilde fire and other provision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In every of the Gallies there were about 200. souldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Maste, and slew 4. of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their provision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their slaves, and yet God bee thanked, they received no more domage: but by spoyling and overwearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other fresh shippe or succour to have relieved and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, suncke, or taken all those Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loofe off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes fledde away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set upon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen unto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide unto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Five houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselves, but when the Spaniards were gone, they never durst returne to fight: yet the next day sixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God delivered them from the handes of their enemies, and gave them the victory: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arrived in London.

☞ There were present at this fight Master John Hawes Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.

A report of the trueth of the fight about the Isles of Açores, the last of August 1591. betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; Penned by the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight.

BEcause the rumours are diversly spred, as well in England as in the Lowe countreis and elsewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Majesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their usuall maner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possesse the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falshood and untrueth; that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenvil, and other her Majesties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truely set downe and published without partialitie or false imaginations. And it is no marveile that the Spaniard should seeke by false and slanderous pamphlets, advisoes and Letters, to cover their owne losse, and to derogate from others their due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the invasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleaded to have obteined against this Realme; and spred the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to al Nations, how their Navy which they termed invincible, consisting of 140. saile of shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Majesties owne ships of war, and a few of our owne Marchants, by the wise, valiant, [II. ii. 170.] and advantagious conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and shuffled together; even from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallias of which he was Captaine, and from Cales, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slaine, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England. Where her Majestie of her Princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achievements of their invincible and dreadfull Navy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their shippes, the commanders names of every squadron, with all other their magasines of provisions, were put in print, as an Army and Navy unresistable, and disdaining prevention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sinke or take one shippe, Barke, Pinnesse, or Cockbote of ours: or ever burnt so much as one sheepecote of this land. Whenas on the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being above 40 English miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen braved the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promised partie, nor provision to batter; they made retrait by land, in despight of all their Garrisons, both of horse & foote. In this sort I have a little digressed from my first purpose, onely by the necessarie comparison of theirs and our actions: the one covetous of honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors to resist the blasts of their owne dishonours, as they will not onely not blush to spread all manner of untruthes: but even for the least advantage, be it but for the taking of one poore adventurer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonefires in every towne, alwayes spending more in faggots, then the purchase was worth they obtained. When as we never thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we have taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honorable actions, and frivolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Majesties shippes, sixe victualers of London, the Barke Ralegh, & two or three other Pinnases riding at anker neere unto Flores, one of the Westerly Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advise to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no sooner delivered the newes but the fleete was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some providing balast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging every thing out of order, very light for want of balast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one halfe part of the men of every shippe sicke, and utterly unserviceable: for in the Revenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonaventure, not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barke of sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in little better state. The names of her Majesties shippes were these as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Revenge Viceadmirall, the Bonaventure commaunded by Captaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vavasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight & the Crane being but smal ships; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Ralegh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approch by reason of the Island; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinvile was the last that wayed, to recover the men that were upon the Island, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinvile not being able to doe, [II. ii. 171.] was perswaded by the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the ship; for the squadron of Sivil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather choose to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Majesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despight of them, and enforce those of Sivil to give him way. Which hee performed upon divers of the formost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell under the lee of the Revenge. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well have bene answered in so great an impossibility of prevaling. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: so huge and high carged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundreth tuns. Who after layd the Revenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Brittandona. The sayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tire. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her sterne ports.

After the Revenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her; two on her larboord, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great San Philip having received the lower tire of the Revenge, discharged with crossebar-shot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainement. Some say that the shippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, unlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Revenge, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soulders and Musketters, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London having received some shot thorow her by the Armadas, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force: Sir Richard bid him save himselfe, and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recovered. But two of the Revenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was never so wounded as that hee forsooke the upper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent unto master William Killegrue, of her Majesties privy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the Revenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she having never lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene severall Armadas assayled her; and all so ill approved their entertainement, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the successe: but in the morning bearing with the Revenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the Revenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundreth free from sicknes, and fourescore & ten sicke, laid in hold upon the Ballast. A small troup to man such a ship, & a weake garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred al was susteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which [II. ii. 172.] beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with souldiers brought from every squadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will.

Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Mastes all beaten over boord, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper worke altogether rased, and in effect evened shee was with the water, but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left over head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteene houres fight, the assault of fifteene severall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and entries; and that himselfe and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him. (The Revenge not able to moove one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billow of the sea) commaunded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a Navie they were not able to take her, having had fifteene houres time, above ten thousand men, & fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themselves unto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not nowe shorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne lives for a few houres, or a fewe dayes. The Master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the Captaine and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable service hereafter. And

The Spanish 53 saile.

whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one shippe of her Majestie, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves; they answered, that the shippe had sixe foote water in holde, three shot under water, which were so weakely stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so crusht and brused, as shee could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons: the Master of the Revenge (while the Captaine wanne unto him the greater party) was convoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none over hastie to enter the Revenge againe, doubting least Sir Richard would have blowne them up and himselfe, and perceiving by the report of th Master of the Revenge his dangerous disposition) yeelded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, & the better sort to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gally or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as wel, as I have said, for feare of further losse and mischiefe to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Greenvil; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answere was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to disswade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slaine himselfe with a sword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the Revenge, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the

Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Baçan to remoove out of the Revenge, the shippe being marveilous unsavorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reviving againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall used Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recoverie, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution sildome approoved, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron, was Britandona. Of the squadron of Sivil, the Marques of Arumburch. [II. ii. 173.] The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant John, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captaine confesseth, besides divers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Sivil were both sunke by the side of the Revenge; one other recovered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his owne honour.

For the rest of her Majesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Revenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the Revenge ingaged past recovery: The Iland of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanish, divided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serve: the ships growne foule, unroomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of balast, having bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanish fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would have crusht them betweene them into shivers. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemie could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would have entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Majesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelyhood of prevailing: thereby to diminish the strength of her Majesties Navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foresight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vavisor performed a very great fight, and stayed two houres as neere the Revenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gave divers voleis of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemie, untill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleete was dispersed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrivall, of which 14. saile together with the Revenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away upon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowmed ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieved in her life time. On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set her selfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and five other taken by master Wats his ships of London, between the Havana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of November we received letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, saved out of the perished ships: & that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for us, and to defend the justice of our cause, against the ambicious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to devoure all nations, are themselves devoured. A manifest testimony how injust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his mislike of their bloody and injurious designes, purposed and practised against all Christian princes, over whom they seeke unlawfull and ungodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spanish fleete, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore upon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz John, sonne of olde John of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serve the King of Spaine. The arguments hee used [II. ii. 174.] to induce them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be trebled: advancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetie of their soules to all. For the first, even the beggerly and unnaturall behaviour of those English and Irish rebels, that served the King in that present action, was sufficient to answere that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrey men prisoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by sixe months service, and spared not to despoyle them even of their bloody shirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very shooes from their feete; A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of advancement if they served well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can bee so blockishly ignorant ever to expect place or honour from a forraine King, having no other argument or perswasion then his owne disloyaltie; to be unnaturall to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be imployed in all desperate enterprises, to bee helde in scorne and disdaine ever among those whom they serve. And that ever traitour was either trusted or advanced I could never yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man coulde have lesse becommed the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice of Desmond. For the Erle his cosen being one of the greatest subjects in that kingdom of Ireland, having almost whole Countreis in his possession; so many goodly Mannors, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, five hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left living, himselfe taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land given by a Parliament to her Majestie, and possessed by the English: His other cosen Sir John of Desmond taken by Master John Zouch, and his body hanged over the gates of his native Citie to be devoured by ravens: the thirde brother Sir James hanged, drawne, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall vaunted of his successe of his owne house, no doubt the argument would have mooved much, and wrought great effect: which because, hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particuler volume, if I should set downe how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambicious pretenses, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then invade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is unsought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to invade, they basely

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entertaine the traitours and vacabonds of all Nations: seeking by those and by their runnagate Jesuits to winne parts, and have by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and have extinguished both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune ever man yet by them atchieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they have no pretence of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captived; they shall finde that the obedience even of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slaverie and tyrannie of Spaine. What have they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all? And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entred by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselfe, but his money, plate, jewels, and goods, were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither have they at any time as they protest invaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they have wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might have bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as ever were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English blood, then after the lives of any other people of [II. ii. 175.] Europe, for the many overthrowes and dishonours they have received at our hands, whose weakenesse wee have discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, wee have even with handfulles of men and shippes, overthrowen and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what religion soever, have other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom hee seeketh to winne of our Nation, he esteemeth base and trayterous, unworthy persons, or unconstant fooles: and that he useth his pretence of religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch us from the obedience of our naturall Prince, thereby hoping in time to bring us to slavery and subjection, and then none shall be unto them so odious, and disdayned as the traitours themselves, who have solde their Countrey to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who have alwayes sustayned what labour soever, and embraced even death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Majestie, to breake the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworne traytors, and of injust practises and invasions. She hath ever beene honoured of the worthiest kings, served by faithfull subjects, and shall by the favour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred person or kingdome. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her vertues, shall alwayes love her, serve her, and obey her to the end of our lives.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to have come into Spaine this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes that are perished of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spaniards lately taken and brought into England by the ships of London.

THe fleete of Nova Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting foorth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Foure or five of the shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a peece, some five hundred, and some foure hundred and the least of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along the coast of Nova Hispania, so that of the same fleet there came to the Havana but 33 sailes.

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine, fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths sake, untill the time the treasure was readie they should take in, at the said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, some were gone by one or two at a time, so that onely 23 sayles of this fleete arrived in the Havana.

At the Havana there met
33 sailes of Nova Hispania.
23 sailes of Terra Firma.
12 sailes of San Domingo.
9 sailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 shippes, joyned and set sailes all together at the Havana, the 17 of July, according to our account, and kept together untill they came into the height of thirtie five degrees, which was about the tenth of August, where they found the winde at Southwest chaunged suddenly to the North, so that the sea comming out of the Southwest, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then first lost the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other storme rising, there were five or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet saving 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, untill they came in sight of the Islands of Corvo and Flores, about the fift or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fifteene or sixeteene were after seene by these Spanyards to ride at anchor under the Tercera; and twelve or foureteene more to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion is, that very few of the fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is otherwaies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that should have come into Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie [II. ii. 176.] and three sayle, there are arrived as yet but five and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniardes, that were brought into England by sixe of the ships of London, which tooke seven of the above named Indian Fleete, neere the Islands of Açores.

[A report

A report of Master Robert Flicke directed to Master Thomas Bromley, Master Richard Staper, and Master Cordall concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard to the Isles of the Azores, 1591.

Worshipfull, my heartie commendations unto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I advertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete untill then. It remayneth now to relate our endevours in accomplishing the order received for the joyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the successe wee have had. Our departure from hence was the seventeenth of August, the winde not serving before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Masters of every shippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commission, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Majesties Counsell, and with all the advertisements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of Fayal, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seven and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heighth to repaire to the Isles of Flores and Corvo, where a Pinnesse of purpose should stay our comming untill the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to ye coast of Spaine, about the heigth of The Rocke, some twentie or thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being advisedly considered of, having regard unto the shortnesse of time, by reason of our long abode in this place, and the uncertainety of the weather to favour us, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meete with my Lorde, to beare with the heigth of The Rocke, without making any stay upon the coast, and so directly for the Islands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde serving us, without any stay we directed our course West for the Islands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Rose, sometime called the Golden Dragon, separated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a storme: who certified us of 50 sayles of the Spanish kings Armadas to be gone for the Ilands, but could not informe us any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwise then upon presumption to remaine about the Islandes, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with us.

The 4 of September we recovered Tercera, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to understand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our course to the West from Fayal, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards we descried a sayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke having raysed her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and John doing the like. Upon this the sayle stood off againe, and the night approching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursute after the sayle the Centurion being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying up and downe seeking her. And for as much as every of the ships had received order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be severed from our Fleete, they should meete and joyne at Flores, we, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced us to the Isles of Flores and Corvo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also joyned againe with the Centurion, whose company before we had lost: who declared unto us that the 12 day, being the same day they lost us, they met with five and forty sailes of the Indian Fleete. The same night upon these newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Corvo, and the morow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out, the Captaines & Masters came abord me: where, for the desire to understand some tidings of my Lord, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shore, under the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was also ordered after our [II. ii. 177.] departure thence to range along the Southsides of the Islands to the end we might either understand of my Lord, or else light on the Indian fleete; and in the missing of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chaunced that The Costely ryding uttermost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe more neere among us for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discovered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceive: whereupon shee gave us a warning piece, which caused us to wave off our boates backe, and before they could recover our shippes, the discryed ships appeared unto us, towardes the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie houre, as it pleased God. In that wee had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristoll, who had also sought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of perishing: and the same extremely continued during the space of threescore houres. In which storme I was separated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Costely, which kept

A violent storme.

company with mee. And so sayling among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Isle Tercera.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming unto ye same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scanted the winde, that we could not seaze it: from the which being driven we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the sayde storme dispersed, and put them from the road: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gave severall chases, and thereby lost the company each of other.

A Portugall Prize taken.

A rich West-India Prize taken.

In following our chase above noone we made her to strike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, salsa-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prize with us followed her, and somewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. The same night a litle before day there happened another into our company, supposing us by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we untill the morning dissembled.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being shot somewhat a head of us, having a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we purposed to cause our Prizes to put out more sayle thereby to keepe them neere in giving chase to the other: unto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow us: by the which his wilfulnesse by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboord, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a sterne, and having gotten the winde of us, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chase of her: and had not the winde enlarged upon us we had lost her. In the pursute before we recovered her and brought our selves againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the oportunitie of that day, the weather fitly serving to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being readie to sinke, and, as we well perceived, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our judgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such sort as not to be kept along above water, I tooke and discharged out of her two and forty chestes of Cochonillio and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, unto the seas.

The other Prize which we have brought into the harborough is named Nostra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Alvares is Captaine, laden with 16 chests of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Upon the discharge of the goods your worships shall be particularly advertised thereof.

In the boording of the Prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloyne such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at convenient leasure to have gone aboord my selfe, and there in the presence of three or foure witnesses to have taken a just account thereof, and the same to have put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles received in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money [II. ii. 178.] taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeseled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboord my ship, amounting unto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due unto them demanded to have the same shared, which I refused, & openly at the maine maste read the articles firmed by my Lord Treasurer and my lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof untill the same were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutined and at last grew into such furie, as that they would have it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also readie to put in practise, whereby I was forced to yeeld, least the Spaniards which we had abord being many perceiving the same, might have had fit opportunitie to rise against us, which, after their brawles were appeased, they sought to have put in execution.

By the last advise from Castile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath received commaundement to joyne his Fleete with those of the Indies, and for to stay altogether at Tercera untill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their comming from Havana until January next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be knowen. These Pataches are said to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of brasse, and also of saile reported to have the advantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleete sunke in the sea before their comming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saved. And it is by the Spaniards themselves presupposed that the stormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera have devoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Havana, halfe of them will never arrive in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut over her maine maste: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had driven on shore: which was the most cause that moved me to put in here;

intending now here to discharge the goods without further adventure, and have certified thus much unto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to understande the direction of the Lords of the Counsell together with yours, insomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the rest of our consorts which were separated from us by weather have sped, or what Prizes they have taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answere, and for all other matters referring me unto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October. 1591.

Your worships loving friend
Robert Flicke.

A large testimony of John Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieved by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenvile, and divers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Açores, and upon the coasts of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiages to the East and West Indies. cap. 96. 97. and 99.

THe 22 of July 1589 about Evening, being by the Islands of Flores & Corvo, we perceived 3 ships that made towards us, which came from under the land, which put us in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot divers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, whereby we perceived them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge upon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be above 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Evening they followed after us, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciosa on our left hand, we espied the 3 English ships still following us y^t tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after us without company, & for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to ye other two, wherwith they tooke counsel & came all 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of al our ships, & had ye Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with us, that in ye end we should be constrained to run upon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their [II. ii. 179.] flagges openly displayed, came lustily towardes us, sounding their Trumpets, and sayled at the least three times about us, beating us with Musket and Caliver, and some great pieces, and did us no hurt in the body of our shippe, but spoyled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put foorth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, wee had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had so great a noise and crie in the shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselves beganne to mocke us, and with a thousand jesting words called unto us. In the meane time the other shippes hoised all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe us, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring for us, but thinking themselves to have done sufficiently so they saved their owne stakes, whereby it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiving small advantage against us, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left us, which made us not a litle to rejoyce, as thinking our selves to bee risen from death to life, although wee were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and under the safetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sailes we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the more, because we found no men of warre nor any Carvels of advise from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might convoy us from thence, or give us advise, as in that countrey ordinarily they use to do: and because the English men had bene so victorious in those parts, it made us suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse feare then we, for seeing our fleete, they thought us to bee Englishmen, and that wee came to overrun the Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound up their flags, and came in company with us: for the which cause the Island sent out two Carvels that lay there with advise from the king, for the Indians ships that should come thither. Those Carvels came to view us, and perceiving what we were, made after us, whereupon the English ships left us, and made towardes them, because the Carvels thought them to be friends, and shunned them not, as supposing them to bee of our company, but we shot foure or five times and made signes unto them that they should make towards the Island, which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiving that, did put forwards into the sea, & so the Carvels borded us telling us that the men of the Island were all in armes, as having received advise from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readinesse, and woulde come unto those Islands. They likewise brought us newes of the overthrow of the Spanish fleet before England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the king gave us commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie under the safety of the Castle until we received further advise what we should do, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for us to go to Lisbon. Those newes put our fleet in great feare, and made us looke upon eche other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely used to come thither, and to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commandement, and for that we understood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered close under the Castle, staying for advise and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of July, and S. James day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Tercera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselves in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, and with them they sayled towards Lisbon, having a good wind: so that within 11 daies after they arrived in the river of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer before they had entred the river, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ships came before Cascais at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the river of Lisbon, being garded thither by divers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to have it, but wounded both himselfe & divers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without having any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came unto the Isle of Graciosa, where himselfe in person, with seven or eight in his company went on land, asking [II. ii. 180.] certaine beastes, hens, and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gave him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayall, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controversie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordinance in the sea, taking with him certaine Caravels and ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the foretresse up againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

THe ninth of October 1589. there arrived in Tercera fourteene ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Golde, Silver, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Haven of Havana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleven sunke in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered and separated one from the other. The next day there came another ship of the same companie, that sailed close under the Island, so to get into the Roade: where she met with an English ship that had not above three cast peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Island might stand and behold: whereupon the Governour of Tercera sent two boates of Musketiers to helpe the shippe: but before they could come at her, the English ship had shot her under water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea with all her sayles up, and not any thing seene of her above the water. The Englishmen with their boate saved the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golde, Silver, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among the which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not save. Those that they had saved they set on land: and then they sayled away. The seven and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd fourteene ships having refreshed themselves in the Island departed from Tercera toward Sivill, and comming upon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and five or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close under the Island, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knewe such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the towne and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sayled round about the Islands, and landed in Graciosa and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I have alreadie declared. Here he tooke divers ships and Caravels, which he sent into

England: so that those of the Island durst not once put foorth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose Generall was one Juan Dorives: and there they discharged in the Iland 4 millions of golde and silver. And having with all speede refreshed their ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen they set sayle, and arrived safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the gold and silver was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them have it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the moneth of November there arrived in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Vice-admirall of the Fleete laden with silver, who with stormie weather were separated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and readie to sinke: for they were forced to use all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to have met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly have given their silver and all that ever they brought with them, onely to save their lives. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still [II. ii. 181.] about those Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they unladed and discharged above five millions of silver, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Kay lay covered with plates and chests of silver, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand duckats,) besides pearles, gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commaunder of those ships and Fleete called Alvaro

Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Sivillia. He brought with him the Kings broad seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder upon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ships, and of all places and Islands, or lands wheresoever he came: whereupon the governour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the shippes emptie with souldiers to convey them, either to Sivill or Lisbon, where they could first arrive, with advise unto his Majestie of all that had past, and that he would give order to fetch the silver with good and safe convoy. Whereupon the said Alvaro Flores stayed there, under colour of keeping the silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Alvaro Flores had alone for his owne part above 50000 Duckats in pearles which he shewed unto us, & sought to sell them or barter them with us for spices or bils of exchange. The said two ships set sayle with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well souldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, wherewith the Admiral burst and sunke in the sea, & not one man saved. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Setuval, where it burst in pieces, some of the men saving themselves by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within half a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an English shippe in Tercera, that under the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade woad, and being discovered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings use, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they up and downe the streetes to get their livings, by labouring like slaves, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had beene in prison. But in the ende upon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Erle of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed unto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Island well saw and behelde, yet durst not once goe foorth: so there remained no more on land but the Master and the Marchant of the said English ship. This Master had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who having newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recover his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Master of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking upon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand duckats, he sent al the men on land saving onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Governor of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he should deliver him his brother, & he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Governour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with us, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed us all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous using of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of Januarie 1590 there arrived one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred shippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driven upon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she having onely escaped, wherin there were great riches, & many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account, that of 220 ships that for certaine were knowen to have put out of Nova Spagna, S. Domingo, Havana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. [II. ii. 182.] in the yeere 1589. to saile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not above 14 or 15 of them arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same moneth of January there arrived in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Sivil, which were most Flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of souldiers, and wel appointed with munition, to lade the silver that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Alvares de Flores by the kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their mastes, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscaie ran against the land and was striken in pieces, but all the men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and seperate themselves one from the other, where wind and weather would drive them untill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not have one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, cursing both the silver and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set upon her and tooke her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the haven as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag upon her sterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland that paied her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in the sea: but because she got under the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and to put further into the sea, having slaine five or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put under hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne-bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to revenge his death, and withall to shew his manhood on the English captives that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe under the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poiniard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiving, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murthered by him, & threw themselves into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner unto Lisbon, where being arrived, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might use him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to be reversed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all favour be beheaded: but upon a good Friday the Cardinall going to masse, all the captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the bloody & dishonest minds of the Spaniards when they have men under their subjection.

The same two English ships which folowed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scattred by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done unto the foresayd English captives, I beleeve they would soone have revenged themselves, as afterward many an innocent soule paied for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisher boat (as I said before) and was sold unto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the silver in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meanest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, having laden the kings silver, and received in Alvaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good provision of necessaries, munition and souldiers that were fully resolved (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind drave them unto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Alvaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce have sailed to Saint Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and importunitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he [II. ii. 183.] was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the silver was by land caried unto Sivil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had served they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune or rather God was wholy against them: which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to give the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a navie of English ships was seen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countreys in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Governour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship.

They of Fayal did not onely refuse to give eare unto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in evill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves and stand upon their guard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Governour made them answere, that he was there in the behalfe of his majestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no litle feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with pouder and munition for warre, with some bisket and other necessary provision.

The 30 of August we received very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Navarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas over, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir John Hawkins, that staied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall upon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held streit watch, sending advise unto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the haven of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, having missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expresly under a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. sailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was never heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admiral was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arrived in Tercera a caravel of the Iland of Corvo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shore in the Iland of Corvo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ships, & a caravel with the king of Spaines letters of advise for the ships comming out of the Portugal Indies, & that with those which they had taken, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so y^t^ not one bark escaped them, but fel into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course under 40 & 42 degrees, and from thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not have had a prosperous journey of it, for that as then the sea was ful of English ships. Whereupon the king advised the fleet lying in Havana in ye Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fal into by ye Englishmen, which was no smal charge, & hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselves, and in a maner eat up one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of al things,

[II. ii. 184.]

so that many ships chose rather one by one to adventure themselves alone to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, wherof divers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pitie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen & their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to provoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

Great havock of Spaniards.

The 19 of the same moneth there came to Tercera a Caravel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cause the goods that were saved out of the ship which came from Malacca (for ye which we staied there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Baçan, with 40 great ships of warre to come unto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them all together into the river of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies having a contrary wind, they could not get unto the Ilands, onely two of them that were scattred from the fleet, arrived at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent worde unto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, saving onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Corvo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the haven the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ship, and trussed up againe, and forced to stay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arrived in Tercera a Caravel with advise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought over-land, having bin at the least 11 moneths at sea & never saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & surnames of every man, together with a description of his voiage, & the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their lives, & onely for want of provision, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ships did, he should have bin cassiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmure at him for his proud & lofty mind. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind above the gallery of his ship he caused Fortune to be painted, & his own picture w^t a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this posie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil have thee to overcome: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they above all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a souldier and a captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, & much honoured, and beloved of all men, as behaving himselfe curteously to every man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had received his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behavior, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are advanced unto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Januarie 1591. there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a ship that the king had sent into the Portugal-Indies, w^{t} advise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should have gone to India, & because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, having likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in roials of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of November 1590. & met with the Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, & he made this report unto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine laden with gold, & 2 ships laden with pepper & spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, & made good prise.

In the moneth of July 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued from the 26 of July, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, fasting & praying with great sorow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters & houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose up, and the cliffs [II. ii. 185.]

removed from one place to another, and some hils were defaced and made even with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would have turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, & after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder & noise under the earth, as if all the devils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune unto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & covered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arrived in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serve the king, besides other small ships & pataxos, that came to serve as messengers from place to place, and to discover the seas. This navie came to stay for, and convoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saved in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to convoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arrived at the Iland of Corvo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to have taken them. But when they perceived the kings army to be strong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal upon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, unlesse he gave commission so to do: notwithstanding the viceadmirall sir Richard Greenvil being in the ship called the Revenge, went into the

A.D. 1589-91.

Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the rest of the company would have folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & sailed away: the cause why could not be knowen. Which the Spaniards perceiving, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biscain: but in the end by reason of the number that came upon her, she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning above 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenvil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for y^{t} he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the houre of death to approch, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenvil with a joyful & quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most joyfull departeth out of this body, & shal alwayes leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant & true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gave up the Ghost, with great & stout courage, & no man could perceive any true signe of heavines in him.

This sir Rich. Greenvil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great yeerely revenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very unquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; insomuch as of his owne private motion he offred his service to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and knowen of every man, but of nature very severe, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, & spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough have sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiving that the other ships had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Greenvil threatned both him & al the rest that were in the ship, y^{t} if any man laid hand upon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a braverie take the glasses be- [II. ii. 186.] tweene his teeth and crash them in pieces & swalow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him: & this was told me by divers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into divers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would have the honour to have first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and every one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arrived, I and my chamber-felow, to heare some newes, went aboord one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. He seeing us called us up into the gallery, where with great curtesie he received us, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke velvet, but he could not tell us any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandono also could a litle speake. The English captaine got licence of the governour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The governour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea between Lisbon & the Ilands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the English marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English captaine comming unto Lisbon, was there wel received and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Setuval, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staied at the Iland of Corvo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard & cruell a storme, that those of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was never any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would have swalowed up the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them:

but the sea reached above them, and living fishes were throwen upon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compasse, at the lest twise or thrise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were above 12 ships cast away, and not onely upon the one side, but round about it in every corner, wherby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came driving on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Revenge, that was cast away upon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & sunke to the ground, having in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saved that got up upon the cliffes alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought us the newes desiring to be shriven, & thereupon presently died. The Revenge had in her divers faire brasse pieces that were all sunke in ye sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh up againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flieboat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serve the king, called the white Dove, the master of her was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in every one of the rest there were. He being over-ruled by the captaine that he could not be master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme drove him, in the end came within the sight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiving thought all their safetie

The wracke of the Revenge.

onely to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and utterly spoyled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe, commaunded him to doe as hee would have him. The Master seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: well then my Masters, seeing it is the desire of you all to bee cast away, I can but lose one life, [II. ii. 187.] and therewith desperately he sailed towards the shore, and was on that side of the Iland, where there was nothing els but hard stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to beholde, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe unto the men, that they might lay holde upon them, and save their lives: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship sailing in this maner (as I sayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the shore, the master being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and having imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father willed his sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to save himselfe; for (sayd he) sonne thou art yong, & mayest have some hope to save thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of these shedding many teares, as every loving father and kinde childe may well consider, the ship fell upon the cliffes, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, ech laying holde upon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saved themselves by swimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of joynt, among which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Master, were drowned. Whose heart would not melt with teares to beholde so grievous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlines and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene? Whereby may be considered how the other shippes sped, as we our selves did in part beholde, and by the men that were saved did heare more at large, as also some others of our countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Iland of Pico two ships: on the Iland of Gratiosa three ships: and besides those there came every where round about divers pieces of broken ships, and other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the sea was all covered most pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael there were foure ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out; whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the sea without masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arrived in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesayd. All the rest were cast away upon the Ilands, and overwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be considered what great losse and hindrance they received at that time: for by many mens judgements it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be sayd, the taking of the Revenge was justly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they

Above 100 *Spanish and Portugall ships drowned.*

beleeved verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks: saying further that so soone as they had throwen the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield over-boord, they verily thought that as he had a divellish faith and religion, and therefore the divels loved him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the sea, and downe into hell, where he raised up all the divels to the revenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments upon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike & Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter, without being reprooved of any man therein, nor for their false opinions: but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of trueth it must needs be so.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Nova Spagna, there were 35 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, comming out of the chanell of Havana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ships laden with golde and silver, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Corvo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

[A relation

[II. ii. 188.]

A relation sent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura at Lisbon, from the Iland and Castle of Arguin, standing a little to the Southward of Cape Blanco, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither: Anno 1591.

AS concerning the trade to this Castle and Iland of Arguin, your worship is to understand, that if it would please the kings majesty to send hither two or three caravels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spanish commodities, as Bracelets of glasse, Knives, Belles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glasses, with other kinds of small wares, his highnesse might do great good here. For 50 leagues up into the land the Moores have many exceeding rich golde mines; insomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Castle to traffique with us: and for a small trifle they will give us a great wedge of gold. And because here is no trade, the sayd Moores cary their golde to Fez being 250 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the foresayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes also his majesty might stop that passage, and keepe the king of Fez from so huge a masse of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in these parts. It is a most fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great store of Wheat, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his majesty, either himselfe to send a couple of caravels, or to give your worship leave to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride at ancre hard by the Castle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darha. In this kingdome are great store

Commodities fit for Arguin.

Wedges of golde given for small trifles.

Scarlet & fine Purple cloth greatly accepted.

A good harbor before the Castle of Arguin.

of cities and townes; and in every city and towne a Captaine with certaine souldiers; which Captaines are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeton, as also the cities of Tubguer, Azegue, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley and Dates. And here is such plenty of golde found upon the sands by the rivers side, that the sayd Moores usually carry the same Northward to Marocco, and Southward to the city of Tombuto in the land of Negros, which city standeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darha; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Castle of Arguin. Wherefore I beseech your worship to put his majesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes journey from hence. I heartily wish that his majesty would send two or three marchants to see the state of the Countrey, who might travell to the aforesayd cities, to understand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe and come safe from those places. And thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leave. From the Iland and Castle of Arguin the 20 of January 1591.

Concerning this kingdome reade Leo Africanus a little after the beginning of his 6 booke.

Your worships servant
Melchior Petoney.

[The voyage

The voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the rivers of Senega and Gambra adjoyning upon Guinea, 1591, with a discourse of the treasons of certain of Don Antonio his servants and followers.

BY vertue of her Majesties most gracious charter given in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highnesse reigne, certaine English marchants are granted to trade, in and from the river of Senega to and in the river of Gambra, on the Westerne coast of Africa. The chiefest places of traffique on that coast betweene these rivers, are these:

The names of the chiefe places of traffike betweene Senega & Gambra.

1 Senega river: The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, ostrich feathers, amber-griece, and some golde.

2 Beseguiache, a towne by Capo Verde * leagues from Senega river: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth.

3 Refisca Viejo, a towne 4 leagues from Beseguiache: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

4 Palmerin, a towne 2 leagues from Refisca: The commodities be small hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.

5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 5 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be small hides, teeth, amber-griece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

[II. ii. 189.] 6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d'Ally: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Joala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The

commodities be hides, waxe, elephants teeth, rice, and some golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambra river: The commodities are rice, waxe, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

Our trade hither begonne 1587.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-haven have traded thither above thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or five ships a yere, whereof two small barks go into the river of Senega. The other were woont (untill within these foure yeres, that our ships came thither) to ride with their ships in the road of Porto d'Ally and so sent their small shaloups of sixe or eight tunnes to some of these places on the Sea coast before repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloved and as courteously entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally borne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increasing of mutuall love and amity. Since our comming to that coast the Frenchmen ride with their shippes at Refisca Viejo, and suffer us to ancre with our shippes at Porto d'Ally. The Frenchmen never use to go into the river of Gambra: which is a river of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long since one Frenchman entred the river with a small barke which was betrayed, surprised, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Gambra a river of secret & rich trade concealed.

The second voyage.

Forty English men traiterously slaine and captived.

In our second voyage and second yeere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros consent in Porto d'Ally and Joala about forty Englishmen cruelly slaine and captived, and most or all of their goods confiscated: whereof there returned onely two, which were the marchants. And also by procurement of Pedro Gonsalves, one of Don Antonio the kings servants, Thomas Dassel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleased almighty God to reveale the same, whereby it was prevented.

From the South side of Senega river on the Sea coast unto about Palmerin is all one kingdome of Negros.

The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes journey within the land from Refisca.

The 12 of November 1591, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Dassel factors in a ship called the Nightingale of London of 125 tunnes, and a pinnesse called the Messenger of 40 tunnes arrived neere unto Capo Verde at a litle Iland called The Iland of liberty. At this Iland we set up a small pinnesse, with which we cary our marchandise on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Dassel went with the great pinnesse to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d'Ally or Joala. Over against the sayd Iland on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Besegueache. The alcaide or governor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoas to receive the kings dueties for ankerage and permitting the quiet setting up of our pinnesse: who liked passing well that no Portugall came in the shippe, saying, we should be better thought of by the king and people, if we never did bring Portugall, but come of our selves as the Frenchmen ever did and doe. And to purchase the more love, I Richard Rainolds gave him and all his company courteous entertainment. Also upon his intreaty, having sufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this instant there was great warre betweene this alcaide and another governor of the next province. Neverthelesse upon our arrivall truce was taken for a space; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the governors house in Besegueache, and were gently and friendly feasted after their maner, and with some presents returned safe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to wil me to send some yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and also requested me that I would go to Refisca with the ship; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poisoned arrowes, darts poisoned, and swords, (because that the enemies by

Cape Verde.

Besegueache.

Besegueache.

reason of the truce taken were there also to view the ship) who for the most part approched to him kneeling downe and kissed the backe of his hand.

The 17 of November we weyed anker; and by reason no French ship was yet come, I went to the road of Refisca: where I sent for the alcaides interpretors, who came thither aboord, and received of me the kings duties for to have free traffike with the Negros, with whom dayly I exchanged my yron & other wares for hides and some elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arrivall I went up into the land about three miles to the towne of Refisca, where I was friendly used and well entertained of the alcaide, and especially of a yoong nobleman called Conde Amar Pattay, who presented me with an oxe for my company, goats and some yoong kids, assuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arrivall of a Christians ship, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: especially of an English ship. And so dayly the yong Conde came with a small company of horsemen to the sea side, feasting me very kindly and courteously. And the fift of December he with his traine came aboord to see the ship; which to them seemed woonderfull, as people that seldome had seene the like: who tolde me that his messenger from the king was returned; and the king rejoyced much to heare that English men were come with a ship to trade in his ports; and being the first Englishman that ever came with a ship, I was the better welcome; promising that I or any Englishman hereafter should be wel intreated & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earnestly requested, that before my departure off the coast I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Englishmen: which I agreed unto. And so shewing him and his company the best friendship and courtesie I could, he went on shore, and should have had the honor of our

Refisca.

[II. ii. 190.]

ordinance but that he desired the contrary, being amazed at the sight of the ship and noise of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porte Dally.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arrived the 14 day at the road of Porto d'Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & sonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes journey and an halfe from Porto d'Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinsmen being governors, with all the officers of that towne came aboord to receive all duties for the ship & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally seemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ship out of England; saying it was the kings pleasure we should bring none hereafter; for that the king did esteeme them as people of no truth; and complained of one Francisco de Costa servant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the last yere also abused and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promising to bring him certaine things out of England, which he never performed, and deemed that to be the cause of his staying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide us, but reported very badly and gave out hard speeches tending to the defamation & great dishonor of England: and also affirmed that at the arrivall of an English ship called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonsalves a Portugall that came in the sayd ship from Don Antonio reported unto them, that we were fled out of England and come away upon intent to rob and do great spoile upon this coast to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Dassel had murdered Francisco de Acosta since our comming from England, who was comming to their king in our ship with great presents from Don Antonio, and desired that at our arrivall stay might be made of our goods and our selves in secret maner; which they denied, not giving credit to his report, having bene often abused by such frivolous and slanderous speeches by that nation; telling me their

The Comand a ship of Richard Kelley.

The monstrous lies of a Portugall.

king was sory for the former murder and captivity of our nation, and would never yeeld to the like, having the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred ever since, and conceiveth much better of our countrey, and us, then these our enemies report of. For which I yeelded them hearty thanks, assuring them they should finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and disloyalty of the other: and so payed their dueties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I shewed them how I was resolved to goe to their king with certaine presents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more honor and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward us.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

All this while Thomas Dassel was with our great pinnesse at the towne of Joala, being in the kingdome of king Jocoel Lamiockeric, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonsalves, which came out of England, was there also with other English marchants about the busines of Rich. Kelley; and as it should seeme, for that he could not obtaine his mischievous pretended purpose against Thomas Dassel and others at the towne of Porto d'Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with consent of other Portugals which were made privy to his intent to betray the sayd Thomas Dassel at this towne, & had with bribes seduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & most villanous practise: which as God would, was revealed to the sayd Thomas Dassel by Rich. Cape an Englishman and servant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this sayd Pedro Gonsalves had disclosed his secret treachery, willing him with all expedition to stand upon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Dassel went aboord a small English barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one John Payva a Portugall and servant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the sayd towne would have consented with Pedro Gonsalves, the sayd Thomas Dassel had bene betrayed long before. And upon this warning Thomas

Joala.

The Cherubin of Lime at Joala.

Dassel the next day having gotten three Portugals aboord, advised for our better securities to send two on land, & detained one with him called Villa nova, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bring [II. ii. 191.] Pedro Gonsalves aboord to him, he would release the sayd Villa nova, which they did not. And Thomas Dassel having intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden post over-land to Porto d'Ally with intent to have Richard Rainolds and his company stayd on land, being doubtfull what friendship soever the unconstant Negros professed (by reason they be often wavering being overcome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to prevent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better strength, the 24 of December he came with his pinnesse & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d'Ally, where our great shippe the Nightingall was: who was no sooner arrived but he had newes also from the shore from John Baily Anthony Dassels servant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that above 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Joala by land, and Pedro Gonsalves in their company, to take order for the releasing of Villa nova. So having had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, some Spaniards, and some Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros seeing how vilely Pedro Gonsalves had delt, he being in their power, sayd he should suffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompense of his cruelty pitied him and shewed mercy, desiring the Negros to intreat him well though undeserved: and thereupon the Commanders brought him aboord the pinnesse to Thomas Dassel to do with him what he would: where at his comming from the shore, for lavish speeches which he used of Princes, he was well buffetted by a Spaniard, and might have bene slaine, if for our sakes he had not bene rescued.

While I went on shore with Villa nova, the sayd Pedro Gonsalves confessed unto Thomas Dassel that he did

A.D. 1591.

enquire of some Negros and Portugals if he might not stay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commission from his king by his letters which he received from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we presumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a servant of his: and further, that he had power or procuration from Francisco de Costa the Portugall that stayed behinde in England to detaine the goods of Anthony Dassel in Guinea.

By consent of M. Francis Tucker, John Browbeare, and the rest of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonsalves came, for avoiding further mischiefe that might be practised, we agreed that the sayd Pedro Gonsalves should stay aboord our shippe, and not goe any more on land untill they departed. So the ninth of January he was delivered aboord to goe for England in the same ship wherein he came: who was all the time of his abode in our shippe both courteously and friendly used at my hands, much against the mariners willes, who could not abide such a wicked creature and caitive, that is nourished and relieved in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes sought the destruction of us all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be dissemblers and not to be trusted, when they perceived how king Amar Melicks Negros befriended and favored us, and that it would be prejudiciall to their trade for divers respects, if we should any way be injuried, renounced the sayd practises, detesting the author, and protested to defend us in such cases with all faithfulnesse: desiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded us, never bring Portugal with us more: using this phrase in disdaine of such as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in trueth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by us of late, they esteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we should bring out of England: who at their comming thither very subtilly disadvantage us, and doe great hurt to every party.

At the beginning of these broiles the king Amar Melick had sent his chiefe secretary and three horses for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reason of the hurley burley, though I might have had Negros of account for pledges aboord: yet we sent the presents unto the king; who so soone as he understood the cause why I came not to him, being sory and offended thereat, commanded presently by proclamation, that no injury should be offered us in his dominions by his owne people, or suffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros joyning to his kingdome should confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to molest or trouble us; that his subjects the Negros should be ready to ayde, succor and defend us. In which people appeared more confident love and goodwill towards us, then ever we shall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we should relieve them of the greatest misery that can be imagined.

In the river of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall use to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the river, who was maried to a kings daughter.

In the townes of Porto d'Ally and Joala, being townes of chiefest trade, and in the townes of Canton and Cassan in the river of Gambra are many Spaniards and Portugals resident by permission of the Negros; who have rich [II. ii. 192.] trades there along the coast, especially to San Domingo and Rio grande, not far distant from Gambra river; whither they transport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and us, and exchange it for Negros; which be caried continually to the West Indies in such ships as came from Spaine. Also by the governors order and Renters of Castel de Mina and other places, where golde is, upon the coast of Guinea, they have a place limited how farre they must go to trade within the river of Gambra; and further they may not go upon paine of confiscation of their goods, and losse of life: for that the Renters themselves send at certaine times their owne

San Domingo. Rio grande. Note this trade.

barks within the river to such places, where as they have great store of golde. And in all these places hereabouts, where we use to trade, they have no Fort, Castle, or place of strength, but onely trading by the Negros safe-conduct and permission. And the most part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be resident in these places be banished men or fugitives, for committing most hainous crimes and incestuous acts, their life & conversation being agreeable; and they are of the basest behaviour that we have ever seene of these nations in any other countrey.

A rich trade for golde in Rio grande.

A briefe relation concerning the estate of the cities and provinces of Tombuto and Gago written in Marocco the first of August 1594, and sent to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London.

MY hearty commendations premised: your letter of late I received, and found that you would have me discover unto you the estate & quality of the countreyes of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to slumber in this action, wherin you would be truely and perfectly resolved, you shall understand, that not ten dayes past here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall Moore, whom the king sent thither at the first with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I saw the same come into the Alcasava with mine owne eies: and these men themselves came not poore, but with such wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement: and for that cause the king will pay them no wages for the time they have beene there. On the other side they dare not aske the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode saw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not stay in Gago with him, he thought

Commodities for Gago.

good to send these thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king smelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cause of the kings displeasure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Jawdara, and Alcaide Bucthare. And here are in a readinesse to depart in the end of this next September Alcaide Monsor, Ben Abdrahaman Allies, Monsor Rico with five thousand men, most of the fettilase, that is to say, of fier-mach, & muskets. There is gone good store of reds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the same commodity; but I trust the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth prosper wel in those parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely three of the kings sonnes of Gago and the Justice; I saw them come in with the treasure. Now when Alcaide Monsor commeth to Gago, the which will be in January next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treasure, and Alcaide Monsor is to keepe Gago untill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not having any other thing to write at this present, I commend you to the mercifull tuition of the almighty. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Your assured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and provinces of Tombuto and Gago, written from Marocco the 30 August 1594, to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London aforesayd.

LOving friend M. Dassel, two of your letters I have received, one by the shippe called The Amity, the other by The Concord: the chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore these are to let you understand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for those parts seventeene hundred men: who passing over the sands, for want of water perished one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of Tombuto, the Negros made some resistance; but to small purpose, for that they had no defence but with their asagaies or javelings poisoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negros were in number infinite, and meant to stand to the uttermost for their countrey: but the Moores slew them so fast, that they were faine to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere; the goodnesse whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you shall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the cafelow or carovan, which is, as above is mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him such an infinite treasure as I never heard of: it doth appeare that they have more golde then any other part of the world beside. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe towards the sea coast. This king of Marocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account assoone as the king of Spaine hath quietnesse in Christendome, he wil thrust him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the speech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they have no defence of importance against an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in January or thereabout: for he stayeth but for the comming of the viceroy. Mulley Balasen the kings sonne of Marocco was slaine in Guinea by his owne men, and they were presently killed, because they should tell no tales. And thus leaving to trouble you, I commit you

Tombuto taken.

Gago taken.

[II. ii. 193.]

to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Yours to command for ever Laurence Madoc.

Of these two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his seventh booke of the description of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed into the end of this second volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the river of Nonnia and the rivers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea, in the yeere 1592.

IN May the 34 yeere of our gracious soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of speciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerset, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northermost part of the river of Nonnia to the Southermost parts of the rivers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts aswell to the Southeast as to the Northwest, for a certaine number of leagues therein specified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeeres: as appeareth at large in the sayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Majesties Chancery.

A.D. 1592.

The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quicksilver & the Popes bulles, bound for the West Indies, by M. Thomas White in the Amity of London. 1592.

THe 26 of July 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ship called the Amity of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had sight of two shippes, being distant from us about three or foure leagues: by seven of the clocke we fetched them up, and were within gunshot: whose boldnesse, having the king of Spaines armes displayed, did make us judge them rather ships of warre, then laden with marchandise. And as it appeared by their owne speeches, they made full account to have taken us: it being a question among them, whether it were best to cary us to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waved ech other a maine. They having placed themselves in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, so fast as we were able to charge and discharge, the space of five houres, being never a cables length distant either of us from other. In which time we received divers shot both in the hull of our ship, masts, and sailes, to the number of 32 great, besides 500 musket shot and harquebuzes a crocke at the least, which we tolde after the fight. And because we perceived them to be stout, we thought good to boord the Biscaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordinance and small shot; in the end we stowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roome with us, meaning to have layed us aboord, and so to have intrapped us betwixt them both: which we perceiving, fitted our ordinance so for him, as we quitted our selves of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from us. Then presently we kept our loofe, hoised our top-sailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord [II. ii. 194.] the flieboat with our ordinance prepared, and gave her our whole broad side, with the which we slew divers of their men; so as we might see the blood run out at the scupper holes. After that we cast about, and new charged all our ordinance, and came upon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would sinke them: wherupon the one would have yeelded, which was shot betweene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Unto whom we made answere, that if he would not yeeld presently also, we would sinke him first. And thereupon he understanding our determination, presently put out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refused to *Marke this othe.* strike their own sailes, for that they were sworne never to strike to any Englishman. We then commanded their captaines and masters to come aboord us; which they did. And after examination & stowing them, we sent certaine of our owne men aboord them, and strook their sailes, and manned their ships: finding in them both 126 persons living, & 8 dead, besides those which they themselves had cast overboord. So it pleased God to give us the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good successe we give God the only praise. These two rich prizes laden with 1400 chests of quicksilver with the armes of Castile and Leon fastened upon them, and with a great quantity of bulles or indulgences, and guilded Missals or Service books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought shortly after into the river of Thames up to Blacke-wall.

By the taking of this quicksilver, about 1400 chests, the king of Spaine loseth for every quintall of the same a quintall of silver, that should have beene delivered him by the masters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thousand for living and dead persons for the provinces of Nova Hispania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Phillipinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eighteene thousand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt missals and breviaries sent for the kings account.

So the hinderance that the king receiveth by the losse of his bulles and quicksilver amounteth as is abovesaid: besides the lacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is disappointed of a great part of their provision.

A true report of the honourable service at Sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon. Wherin chiefly the Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into Dartmouth the seventh of September, 1592.

SIr Walter Ralegh upon commission received from her Majesty for an expedition to be made to the West Indies, slacked not his uttermost diligence to make full provision of all things necessary, as both in his choise of good ships, and sufficient men to performe the action evidently appeared. For his shippes which were in number 14 or 15, those two of her Majesties, the Garland & the Foresight were the chiefest; the rest either his owne or his good friends or adventurers of London. For the gentlemen his consorts and officers, to give them their right, they were so well qualited in courage, experience, & discretion, as the greatest prince might repute himselfe happy to be served with their like. The honor of Lieutenant generall was imposed upon sir John Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought every way worthy of that commandement: with whom after sir W. R. returned was joyned in commission sir Martin Frobisher, who for his speciall skill & knowledge in marine causes had formerly caried imploiments of like or greater place. The rest of the captaines, souldiers, and sailers were men of notable resolution, and for the most part such as heretofore had given to the world sufficient proofe of their valour in divers services of the like nature. With these ships thus manned sir Walter Ralegh departed towards the West countrey, there to store himselfe with such further necessaries as the state of his voyage did needfully require: where the Westerly windes blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keepe harborough so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals consumed; and withall, her Majesty understanding how crosly all this sorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question: insomuch that, whereas the sixt of May was first come before sir Walter could put to sea, the very next day sir Martin Frobisher in a pinnesse of my lord Admirals called The Disdaine, met him, and brought to him from her Majesty letters of revocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the [II. ii. 195.] intended attempt, and to leave the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of sir John Burrough and sir Martin Frobisher. But sir Walter finding his honor so farre engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he saw no remedy either to salve his reputation, or to content those his friends which had put in adventures of great summes with him; and making construction of the Queenes letters in such sort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to advance forward or to retire, at his owne discretion; would in no case yeeld to leave his fleet now under saile. Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met within a day or two, with certaine sailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur Gourdon governor of Caleis, and found aboord her one M. Nevel Davies an Englishman, who having indured a long and miserable captivity for the space of twelve yeeres, partly in the inquisition in Spaine, was now by good fortune escaped, and upon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; considering that the king of Spaine had sent expresse order to all the ports both of the Ilands and of Terra firma, that no ship should stirre that yeere, nor any treasure be layed aboord for Spaine. But neither this unpleasant relation nor ought els could stay his proceedings, untill a tempest of strange and uncouth violence arising upon Thursday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finister, had so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunke his boats and pinnesses, that as the rest were driven and severed, some this way and some that, sir Walter himselfe being in the Garland of her Majesty was in danger to be swallowed up of the Sea. Whereupon sir W. Ralegh finding that the season of the yere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterprise which he had upon Panama, having bene held on the English coast from February till May, and thereby spent three moneths victuals; and considering withall, that to lie upon the Spanish coast or at the Ilands to attend the returne of the East or West Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gave directions to sir John Burgh and sir M. Frobisher to divide the fleet in two parts; sir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenvile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet, and to holde them on their owne coast; while sir J. Burgh, capt. Robert Crosse, capt. Tomson, & others should attend at the Ilands for the caraks or any other Spanish ships comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiving intelligence that the English fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himselfe as nere sir Mart. Frobisher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might undertake; and thereby neglected the safeconduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter shall appeare. Before the fleet severed themselves they mette with a great Biscain on the Spanish coast called Santa Clara a ship of 600 tunnes.

The Santa Clara a Biscain ship of 600 tunnes taken.

The noise of the artillery on both sides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reasonable hot fight, the ship was entred and mastered, which they found fraighted with all sorts of small yron-worke, as horse-shoes, nailes, plough-shares, yron barres, spikes, boults, locks, gimbols, & such like, valued by us at 6000 or 7000 li. but woorth to them treble the value. This Biscain was sailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in some further provision for the West India. This ship being first roomaged, and after sent for England, our fleet coasted along towards the Southcape of S. Vincent, and by the way, about the Rocke nere Lisbon, sir John Burrough in the Robucke spying a saile afarre off, gave her present chase; which being a flieboat and of good saile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at last she came under his lee and strooke saile. The master of which flieboat comming aboord him, confessed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the West Indies. But in deed the Spanish king had provided this fleet upon this counsell. He received intelligence, that sir Walter Ralegh was to put out strong for the West India: to impeach him, and to ranconter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arrivall of his East Indian caraks, he first ordained those ships to waft them from the Açores. But perswading himselfe, that if the fleet of sir Walter Ralegh did go for the West India, then the Ilands should have none to infest them but small men of warre, which the caraks of themselves would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonso de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Generall of his armada, to pursue sir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what course soever he held. And that this was true, our men in short time by proofe understood: for sir John Burrough, not long after the taking of his last prize the flieboat, as he sailed backe againe towards the rest of his company, discovered the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him: which having likewise espied him betwixt them and the shore, made full account to bring him safe into Spanish harbour; and therefore spred themselves in such sort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight, and the shore being enemy could give him no [II. ii. 196.] comfort of reliefe: so that trusting to Gods helpe onely and his good saile, he thrust out from among them in spight of all their force, and to the notable illusion of all their cunning, which they shewed to the uttermost, in laying the way for his apprehension. But now sir John Burrough having happily escaped their clouches, finding the coast guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with sir Martin Frobisher (who understanding of this armada aswell as himselfe, would be sure not to come that way) beganne to shape his course to the Açores according to sir W. Raleghs direction, and came in sight of S. Michael, running so neere by Villa Franca, that he might easily discerne the shippes lying there at anker. Divers small caravels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his course toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelli-

Sir John Burrough in great danger of the Spanish fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Divers small ships taken.

gence for his affaires could be understood. Arriving before Flores upon Thursday the 21 of June, towards evening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Master of his shippe, the rest not being yet arrived, he made towards the shore with his boat, finding all the people of Santa Cruz, a village of that Iland, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their towne from spoile. Sir John contrariwise made signes of amity unto them by advancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was answered againe of them with the like: whereupon ensued entercourses of good friendship; and pledges were taken on both sides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for ours: so that whatsoever our men wanted, which that place could supply either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants: and good leave had they to refresh themselves on shore as much and as oft as they would without restraint. At this Santa Cruz sir John Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the West, but from the East, that no longer since then three dayes before his arrivall a carak was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one consort. Sir John being very glad of this newes, stayed no longer on shore, but presently imbarqued himselfe, having onely in company a small barke of threescore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Bristoll. In the meane while that these things thus passed at Flores, part of the rest of the English fleet, which sir John Burrough had left upon the coast of Spaine, drew also towards the Açores: and whereas he quickly at sea had discovered one of the caraks, the same evening he might descry two or three of the Earle of Cumberlands ships (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which having in like sort kenned the carak, pursued her by that course which they saw her to runne towards the Ilands. But on no side was there any way made by reason of a great calme which yeelded

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

Newes of the East Indian caraks.

no breath to spread a saile. Insomuch that fitly to discover her what she was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, sir John Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the space of three miles, to make her exactly: and being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the company then present, upon the boording her in the morning. But a very mighty storme arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather not to lose the carak, that in the morning, the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the shore, they might perceive the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shore such things as they could any maner of way convey out of her; and seeing the haste our men made to come upon them, forsooke her: but first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, set fire to that which they could not cary with them, intending by that meanes wholly to consume her; that neither glory of victory nor benefit of shippe might remaine to ours. And least the approch and industry of the English should bring meanes to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserve the residue of that which the fire had not destroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themselves on land so neere to the carak, that she being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole. This being noted by sir John Burrough he soone provided a present remedy for this mischiefe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did swim and wade more then brest high to shore, and easily scattering those that presented themselves to guard the coast, he no sooner drew toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leaving as much as the fire had spared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonseca a Portugall, Purser of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the second a Low-dutchman, canoniers: who refusing

A carak called The Santa Cruz set on fire.

An hundred of our men land.

to make any voluntary report of those things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the last wrested from them this intelligence, that within fifteene dayes three other greater caraks then that lately fired would arrive at the same Iland: and that being five caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Jesus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S Bernardo, the S. Christophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whose fortune you have already heard) they had received speciall commandement from the king not to [II. ii. 197.] touch in any case at the Iland of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the East India were alwayes till now woont to arrive to refresh themselves with water and victuals. And the kings reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should drive them to seeke supply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to stay onely the taking in of water to avoid the inconvenice of infections, wherunto that hot latitude is dangerously subject. The last rendevous for them all was the Iland of Flores, where the king assured them not to misse of his armada thither sent of purpose for their wafting to Lisbon. Upon this information sir John drew to counsel, meeting there captaine Norton, captaine Dounton, captaine Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ships of the Earle of Cumberland, M. Tomson of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of sir John Haukins, one of sir W. Raleghs fleet, and M. Christopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the West India, and others. These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had understood of the foresaid examinates, and what great presumptions of trueth their relation did cary: wishing that forasmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in so good a season, they would shew the uttermost of their indevors to bring these Easterlings under the lee of the English obedience. Hereupon a

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

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present accord on all sides followed not to part company or leave of those seas till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution. The next day her Majesties good ship the Foresight commanded by sir Rob. Crosse came in to the rest: and he likewise informed of the matter was soone drawen into this service. Thus sir John with al these ships departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the West of Flores, they spread themselves abroad from the North to the South, ech ship two leagues at the least distant from another. By which order of extension they were able to discover the space of two whole degrees at sea. In this sort they lay from the 29 of June to the third of August, what time cap. Thomson in the Dainty had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent saile got the start of the rest of our fleet, and began the conflict somewhat to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of divers of her men. Within a while after, sir John Burrough in the Robucke of sir W. Raleghs, was at hand to second her, who saluted her with shot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within musket shot assisted by cap. Tomson and cap. Newport till sir R. Crosse viceadmirall of the fleet came up being to leeward, at whose arrival sir J. Burgh demanded of him what was best to be done, who answered, that if the carak were not boorded she would recover the shore and fire herselfe as the other had done. Wherupon sir J. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and sir R. Crosse promised also to fasten himselfe to her together at the instant; which was performed: but after a while sir John Burgh receiving a shot with a canon perier under water, and ready to sinke, desired sir R. C. to fall off, that he might also cleere himselfe, and save his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Roebucke and the Foresight were so intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themselves.

The same evening sir R. Crosse finding the carak then sure & drawing nere the Iland perswaded his company to boord her againe, or els there was no hope to recover her: who after many excuses & feares, were by him incouraged, and so fell athwart her foreships all alone; and so hindered her sailing that the rest had time to come up to his succour, & to recover the carak yer she recovered the land: and so toward the evening after he had fought with her alone three houres single, my lord of Cumberlands two ships came up, & with very litle losse entred with sir R. Crosse, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the assault easie for the rest.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The generall having disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them for better security on all sides, first had presented to his eyes the true proportion of the vast body of this carak, which did then and may still justly provoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first apparance of the hugenesse thereof yeelded sights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pitifull object of so many bodies slaine and dismembred could not but draw ech mans eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe those miserable people, whose limnes were so torne with the violence of shot, and paine made grievous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almost steppe but upon a dead carkase or a bloody floore, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring to dying. For the greatnesse of the stirrage requiring the labour of twelve or foureteene men at once, and some of our shippes beating her in at the sterne with their ordinance often times with one shot slew foure or five labouring on either side of the helme; whose roomes being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing upon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud should be shed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moved with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that he or any

Exceeding humanity shewed to the enemy.

of his company could affoord them. Among the rest of [II. ii. 198.] those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoça Grand captaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was descended of the house of Mendoça in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, lived there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of comely personage, of good stature, but of hard fortune. In his severall services against the Moores he was twise taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the East India he was driven upon the Baxos or sands of Juda nere the coast of Cephala, being then also captaine of a caracke which was there lost, and himselfe, though escaping the sea-danger, yet fell into the hands of infidels on land; who kept him under long and grievous servitude. Once more the king carying a loving respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly navigation, and committed unto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon Generall of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Jesus had not, by reason of his late office, bene preferred. Sir John intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, mooved with pity and compassion of humane misery, in the end resolved freely to dismisse this captaine & the most part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary provision. This businesse thus dispatched, good leasure had he to take such view of the goods as conveniency might affoord. And having very prudently (to cut off the unprofitable spoile & pillage whereunto he saw the minds of many inclined) seised upon the whole to her Majesties use, after a short & slender romaging & searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceived that ye wealth would arise nothing disanswerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then sufficient to content both the adventurers desire & the souldiers travell. And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgement of Gods great favor towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discovered those secret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from us; whereof there was among some few of us some small and unperfect glimse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to have us communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to advance true religion and his holy service. The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those stowed with the grosse bulke of marchandise, the rest of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordinance which were 32 pieces of brasse of all sorts, partly to the passengers and the victuals, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the navigation. To give you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliver you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where upon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinamom, greene ginger: the drugs were benjamim, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the silks, damasks, taffatas, sarcenets, altobassos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought China silke, sleaved silke, white twisted sike, curled cypresse. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine

A briefe catalogue of ye sundry rich commodities of ye Madre de Dios.

starched calicos, course white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne course calicos. There were also canopies, and course diaper-towels, quilts of course sarcenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turky; wherunto are to be added the pearle, muske, civet, and amber-griece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as jet, bedsteds of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificiall in workemanship. All which piles of commodities being by men of approved judgement rated but in reasonable sort amounted to no lesse then 150000 li. sterling, which being divided among the adventurers (whereof her Majesty was the chiefe) was sufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods fraighted in tenne of our ships sent for London, to the end that the bignesse, heigth, length, bredth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessell might by the exact rules of Geometricall observations be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and derivation also of the same unto posterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description, which either his arte could demonstrate, or any mans judgement thinke woorthy the memory. After an exquisite survey of the whole frame he found the length from the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165 foote. The breadth in the second close decke whereof she had three, this being the place where there was most extension of bredth, was 46 foot and 10 inches. She drew in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not above 26 at her arrivall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by divers meanes, some 5 foote. She caried in height 7 severall stories, one maine Orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-decke of two floores a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-mast 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106

The capacity and dimensions of the Madre de Dios.

[II. ii. 199.]

foote long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugenesse of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among us either for warre or receit.

Don Alonso de Baçan having a great Fleet and suffering these two caraks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called Las Cinque Llaguas, or, The five Wounds, by three tall Ships set foorth at the charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland and his friends: Written by the discreet and valiant captaine M. Nicholas Downton.

IN the latter ende of the yeere 1593. the right honourable Erle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ships all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ships 420 men of al sorts. The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Cave was captaine. The May-flower Viceadmirall under the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampson, the charge whereof it pleased his honour to commit unto me Nicholas Dounton. Our directions were sent us to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at sea.

Besides these 3 ships there was a pinnas called the Violet, or the Why not I.

The sixt of Aprill 1594 we set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, directing our course toward the coast of Spaine.

The 24 of the sayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee divided our selves East and West from ech other, being then in the heigth of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we descried the May-flower and the litle Pinnasse with a Prise that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, having some 17 persons in the same. There were in her some 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into every shippe a like part, with some Ruske in chests and barrels, with 5 buts of blew course cloth, and certaine course linnen-cloth for Negros shirts, which goods were divided among our fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4 of May we had sight of our Pinnasse, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Caravels, whereof they had sent two away and kept the third.

The second of June we had sight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee sent our small pinnasse, which was of some 24 tunnes, with the small Caravell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Ilands, to see if they could get any thing in the same: appointing them to meet us W. S. W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from us was to no purpose. They missed comming to us when we appointed, as also we missed them, when we had great cause to have used them.

The 13 of June we met with a mightie Carack of the East Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The five wounds. The May-flower was in fight with her before night. I, in the Sampson, fetched her up in the evening, and as I commanded to give her the broad side, as we terme it, while I stood very heedfully prying to discover her strength: and where I might give counsel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came up to us, and as I remember at the very first shot she discharged at us, I was shot in a litle above the belly, whereby I was made unserviceable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honest truehearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: untill midnight when the Admirall came up, the May-flower, and the Sampson never left by turnes to ply her with their great ordinance; but then captaine Cave wished us to stay till morning, at what time each one of us should give her three bouts with our great ordinance, & so should clap her a boord: but indeed it was long lingered in the morning untill 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ship: the May-flower comming up in the quarter, as it should seeme, to lie at the sterne of the Admirall on the larboord side. The captaine of the sayd May-flower was slaine at the first comming up: whereby the ship fell to [II. ii. 200.] the sterne of the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) so wounded her foresaile, that they sayd they could come no more to fight, I am sure they did not, but kept aloofe from us. The Sampson went aboord on the bow, but having not rome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchanges bow, and our bowe on the Caracks bowe. The Exchange also at the first comming had her captaine M. Cave shot into both the legs, the one whereof he never recovered, so he for that present was not able to doe his office, and in his absence he had not any that would undertake to lead out his company to enter upon the enemie. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks side, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being smal, made the enemie bolder then he would have bene, whereby I had sixe men presently slaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained unhurt to returne aboord, and would never more give the assault. I say not but some of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would have done the like, if there had bene any principall man to have put them forward, and to have brought all the company to the fight, and not to have run into corners themselves. But I must needs say, that their ship was as well provided for defence, as any that I have seene. And the Portugals peradventure encouraged by our slacke working, plaied

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the men and had Barricados made, where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied us also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would ever be plying them with small shot or darts. This unusuall casting of fire did much dismay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordinance much at them as high up as they might be mounted, for otherwise we did them litle harme, and by shooting a piece out of our forecastle being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bow-sprit, and from the mat up to the wood of the bow-sprit, and thence to the top-saile yard, which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ship to stagger, and to make shew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making shew, that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they stood stifly to their defence. Anone the fire grew so strong, that I saw it beyond all helpe, although she had bene already yeelded to us. Then we desired to be off from her, but had litle hope to obtaine our desire; neverthelesse we plied water very much to keep our ship well. In deed I made litle other reckoning for the ship, my selfe, and divers hurt men, then to have ended there with the Carack, but most of our people might have saved themselves in boats. And when my care was most, by Gods providence onely, by the burning asunder of our spritsaile-yard with ropes and saile, and the ropes about the spritsaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were fast intangled, we fell apart, with burning of some of our sailes which we had then on boord. The Exchange also being farther from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared, and fell off from abaft. And as soone as God had put us out of danger, the fire got into the fore-castle, where, I thinke, was store of Benjamin, and such other like combustible matter, for

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it flamed and ran over all the Carack at an instant in a maner. The Portugals lept over-boord in great numbers. Then sent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leave to use his owne discretion in saving of them. So he brought me aboord two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the first booke of the woorthy history of Huighen de Linschoten) was governour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582. and since that time had bene likewise a governour in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the shippe wherein he was comming home was cast away a litle to the East of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he travelled over-land to Moçambique, and came as a passenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was cast away neere Moçambique, and came likewise in this ship for a passenger. Also three men of the inferior sort we saved in our boat, onely these two we clothed and brought into England. The rest which were taken up by the other ship boats, we set all on shore in the Ile of Flores, except some two or three Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the East Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we saved told us that the cause why they would not yeeld, was, because this Carack was for the king, and that she had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in favour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies should have bene Viceroy there. And withall this ship was nothing at all pestered neither within boord nor without, and was more like a ship of warre then otherwise: moreover, she had the ordinance of a Carak that was cast away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was cast away a litle to the Eastwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet through sicknesse which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they say, they had not now above 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewise affirmed that they had [II. ii. 201.] three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in most of their talke. All this day and all the night she burned, but the next morning her poulder which was lowest being 60 barrels blew her abroad, so that most of the ship did swim in parts above the water. Some of them say, that she was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and some, that she was lesse: but she was much undermasted, and undersailed, yet she went well for a ship that was so foule. The shot which wee made at her in great Ordinance before we layde her aboord might be at seven bouts which we had, and sixe or 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shot: the time we lay aboord might be two houres. The shot which we discharged aboord the Carack might be some twentie Sacars. And thus much may suffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that unfortunate Carack.

The last of June after long traversing of the seas we had sight of another mightie Carack which diverse of our company at the first tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admirall of Spaine, but the next day being the first of July fetching her up we perceived her indeede to be a Carack, which after some few shot bestowed upon her we summoned to yeeld; but they standing stoutly to their defence utterly refused the same. Wherefore seeing no good could be done without boording her I consulted what course we should take in the boording. But by reason that wee which were the chiefe captaines were partly slaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed: and to conclude a long discourse in few wordes, the Carack escaped our hands. After this attending about Corvo & Flores for some West Indian purchase, and being disappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing short, we returned for England, where I arrived at Portesmouth the 28 of August.

The casting away of the Tobie neere Cape Espartel corruptly called Cape Sprat without the Straight of Gibraltar on the coast of Barbarie. 1593.

THe Tobie of London a ship of 250 tunnes manned with fiftie men, the owner whereof was the worshipfull M. Richard Staper, being bound for Livorno, Zante and Patras in Morea, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thousand pounds sterling, set sayle from Black-wall the 16 day of August 1593, and we went thence to Portesmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and set sayle foorth of Stokes bay in the Isle of Wight, the 6. day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the heigth of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we descried a sayle which lay in try right a head off us, to which we gave chase with very much winde, the sayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of sayle that we were faine to leave her and give her over. Two dayes after this we had sight of mount Chiego, which is the first high-land which we descrie on the Spanish coast at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar, where we had very foule weather and the winde scant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the sea. The Master, whose name was George Goodlay, being a young man, and one which never tooke charge before for those parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company, but did as he thought best himselfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather cast about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the straights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land then he was, bare sayle all that night, & an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our shippe upon the ground on the coast of Barbarie without the straight foure leagues to the South of Cape Espartel. Whereupon being all not a litle astonied, the Master said unto us, I pray you forgive me; for this is my fault and no mans else. The company asked him whether they should cut off the maine maste: no sayd the Master we will hoyse out our boate. But one of our men comming speedily up, sayd, Sirs, the ship is full of water, well sayd the Master, then cut the mayne-mast over boord: which thing we did with all speede. But the after part suddenly split a sunder in such sort that no man was able to stand upon it, but all fled upon the foremast up into the shrouds thereof; and hung there for a time: but seeing nothing but present death approch (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our selves unto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heavy hearts to sing the 12 Psalme. Helpe Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit before we had finished foure verses the waves of the sea had stopped the breathes of most of our men. For the foremast with the weight of our men & the force of the sea fell downe into the water, and upon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods providence partly by swimming and other meanes of chests gote on shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wracke of the ship. The [II. ii. 202.] master called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both perished. M. Cæsar also being captaine and owner was likewise drowned: none of the officers were saved but the carpenter.

We twelve which the Lord had delivered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming ashore fell in a maner into as great distresse. At our first comming on shore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his mercifull goodnesse. Our prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, & we travelled all that day untill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene houses, which after we perceived to have bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groves of olive trees, we climed up and sate in them to avoid the danger of lions and other wilde beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we travelled untill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going over a mountaine, we had sight of Cape Espartel; whereby we knew somewhat better which way to travell, and then we went forward untill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we spied and looked over it, and beheld a number of men aswell horsemen as footmen, to the number of some five thousand in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld our selves unto them, being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising up we marched toward them, who espying us, foorthwith some hundred of them with their javelings in their hands came running towards us as though they would have run us thorow: howbeit they onely strooke us flatling with their weapons, and said that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Englishmen; which they would not beleeve yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approching, the captaine of the Moores, a man of some 56 yeres olde, came himselfe unto us, and by his interpretor which spake Italian, asked what we were, and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could speake Italian, declared unto him that we were marchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, marchandise, & the greatest part of our company were pitifully cast away upon their coast. But he void of humainity & all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip us out of our apparell even to our shirts to see what money and jewels we had about us: which when they had found to the value of some 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gave us some of our apparel againe, and bread and water onely to comfort us. The next morning they carried us downe to the shore where our shippe was cast away, which was some sixteene miles from that place. In which journey they used us like their slaves, making us (being extreame weake,) to carry their stuffe, and offering to beat us if we went not so fast as they. We asked them why they used us so, and they replied, that we were their captives: we sayd we were their friends, and that there was never Englishman captive to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ship, and lay there with them seven dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seven dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men wel armed, to bring us up into ye countrey: and the first night we came to the side of a river called Alarach, where we lay on the grasse all that night: so the next day we went over the river in a frigate of nine oares on a side, the river being in that place above a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houses, called Totteon: there we lay foure dayes having nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then we went to a towne called Cassuri, and there we were delivered by those twenty souldiers unto the Alcaide, which examined us what we were: and we tolde him. He gave us a goode answere, and sent us to the Jewes house, where we lay seven dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather cast on land within the Straights about Cape de Gate, and so made captives. Thus at the seven dayes end we twelve Englishmen, the twelve French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred souldiers, horsemen and fotmen, and in two dayes journey we came to the river of Fez, where we lodged all night, being provided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we travelled almost an hundred miles without finding any towne, but every night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometime raine water. So we came at last within three miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did travell in the countrey for the English marchants: and by him we sent word unto them of our estate: and they returned the next day unto us a Moore, which brought us victuals, being at that instant very feeble and hungry; and withall sent us a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing us [II. ii 203.] to write unto them what ship it was that was cast away, and how many and what men there were alive. For said they we would knowe with speed, for to morow is the kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you should come into the citie like captives. But for all that we were carried in as captives and with ropes about our neckes as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried before the king: and when we came before him he did commit us all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in close prison: and in the end we were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges: for our deliverance cost them 700 ounces, every ounce in that country contayning two shillings. And when we came out of prison we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weekes with the English marchants. At the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our marchants we were conveyed downe by the space of eight dayes journey to S. Cruz, where the English ships road: where we tooke shipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and five more of us five dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemish flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward also of London, other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie-fluxe: the one at our first imprisonment at Marocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by eating of rootes and other unnaturall things to slake their raging hunger in our travaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie persons through the rashnesse of an unskilfull Master ten onely survived of us, and after a thousand miseries returned home poore, sicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Johnson.
William Williams Carpenter.
John Durham.
Abraham Rouse.
John Matthewes.
Thomas Henmore.
John Silvester.
Thomas Whiting.
William Church.
John Fox.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Majestie sent by one Laurence Aldersey unto the Emperour of Aethiopia, 1597.

Invictissimo potentissimóque Abassenorum regi, magnóque utriusque Aethiopiæ imperatori &c.

Elizabetha dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor &c. summo ac potentissimo Æthiopiæ imperatori salutem. Quod ab omnibus qui ubivis terrarum ac gentium sunt regibus principibúsque præstari par & æquum est, ut quanquàm maximo locorum intervallo dissiti, & moribus ac legibus discrepantes, communem tamen generis humani societatem tueri & conservare, mutuáque ut occasio ferret, charitatis & benevolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de vestra fide atque humanitate spem certissimam concipientes, huic subito

nostro Laurentio Alderseio in regnum vestrum proficiscenti, hasce literas nostras, quibus & nostra erga vos benevolentia testata sit, & illum hinc profectum esse constet, potissimùm vobis indicandas dedimus. Qui cùm orbis terrarum perscrutandi cognoscendique studio permotus, multis antehàc regionibus peragratis, jam tandem in eas regiones, quæ vestræ ditionis sunt, longum, periculosúmque iter instituat: cùm ipse existimavit, tum nos etiam sumus in eadem opinione, ad incolumitatem suam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, si diplomate nostro munitus, benevolentiæ nostræ & profectionis hinc suæ testimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum summus ille mundi conditor rectórque præpotens deus, regibus principibúsque qui suam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, suis cuique finibus pro rata portione designatis, regendum atque administrandum dederit; eóque munere jus quoddam inter eos fraternæ necessitudinis, æternúmque fœdus ab illis colendum sanxerit: non erit (ut arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cùm benevolentiæ nostræ significationem, tàm immensa maris ac terrarum spatia transgressam, ab ultima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiam perferri intellexeritis. Nobísque rursùs erit jucundum, cùm subditorum nostrorum prædicatione, ab ipsis Nili fontibus, & ab iis regionibus quæ solis cursum definiunt, fama vestri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ huic subdito nostro eam largiri gratiam, ut in ditionem vestram sub præsidio ac tutela vestri nominis intrare, ibique salvus & incolumis manere possit: quod ipsum etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi transeundum erit, magnoperè petimus, nobísque ipsis illud honoris causa tributum existimabimus: néque tamèn majorem hac in re gratiam postulamus, quàm vicissim omnium principum subditis, omniúmque gentium hominibus ad nos commeantibus liberrimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Novembris: anno regni nostri tricesimo nono: annóque Dom. 1597.

The same in English.

To the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens, the mightie Emperour of Aethiopia the higher and the lower.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most high and mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is a matter requisite and well beseeming all kings and princes of what lands or nations soever, be they never so much dissevered in place or differing in customes and lawes, to maintaine and preserve the common societie of mankinde, and, as occasion shall be offered, to performe mutuall duties of charitie and benevolence: we for that cause conceiving most undoubted hope of your princely fidelity and courtesie, have given unto this our subject Laurence Aldersey intending to travell into your dominions, these our letters to be delivered without faile unto your Highnesse, to the end they may be a testimony of our good will towards you and of our saide subject his departure from England. Who, after his travels in many forren countreys, being as yet enflamed with a desire more throughly to surveigh and contemplate the world, and now at length to undertake a long and daungerous journey into your territories and regions: both the sayd Laurence thought, and our selves also deemed, that it would very much availe him, as well for his owne safetie as for the attayning of your favour, if, being protected with our broad seale, hee might transport unto your Highnesse a testimony of our loving affection & of his departure from hence. For sithence almightie God the highest creatour and governour of the world hath allotted unto kings and princes his vicegerents over the face of the whole earth, their designed portions and limits to be ruled and administred by them; and by this his gift hath established among them a certaine law of brotherly kindnesse, and an eternall league by them to be observed: it will not (we hope) seeme unpleasant unto your highnesse, when you shall have intelligence of our loving letters sent so huge a distance over sea and land, even from the farthest realme of England unto you in Aethiopia. On the other side our selves shall take great solace and delight, when as by the relation of our owne subjects, the renowme of your name shall be brought unto us from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate under the Southerne Tropike. May it please you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchsafe so much favour on this our subject, that he may, under the safeguard and protection of your name, enter into your highnesse dominions, and there remaine safe and free from danger. Which favour and courtesie wee doe likewise most earnestly request at the hands of other princes, through whose Seigniories our said subject is to passe; and we shall esteeme it as done unto our selfe and for our honours sake.

Neither do we require any greater favour in this behalfe, then we are upon the like occasion most ready to graunt unto the subjects of all princes and the people of all Nations, traveiling into our dominions.

Given at London the fift day of November,
in the thirtie and ninth yeere of
our reigne: and in the
yeare of our Lorde
1597.

THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME

of the

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

made to the Northwest, West, and Southwest parts of
the world, with the Letters, Privileges, Discourses,
Observations, and other necessary things
concerning the same

The most ancient Discovery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the history of Wales, lately published by M. David Powel Doctor of Divinity.

[III. 1.]

AFter the death of Owen Guyneth, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him: for the eldest sonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Jorweth Drwydion, was counted unmeet to governe, because of the maime upon his face: and Howell that tooke upon him all the rule was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore David gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterwards injoyed quietly the whole land of North-wales, until his brother Jorwerths sonne came to age. Madoc another of Owen Guyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared

Madoc the son of Owen Guyneth.

certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought adventures by Seas, sailing West, and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre North, that he came unto a land unknowen, where he saw many strange things.

Humf. Lloyd.

This land must needs be some part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselves to be the first finders since Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discovered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

The second voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth.

Gomara. lib. 2. cap. 16.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe use in distance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminish: but sure it is there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seene without inhabitants, and upon the contrary part, for what barren & wild ground his brethren and nephewes did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse: and taking leave of his friends, tooke his journey thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the crosse. Wherby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came unto, & used the language they found there.

M. Powels addition.

Gutyn Owen.

This Madoc arriving in the Westerne country, unto the which he came in the yere 1170, left most of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance & friends to inhabit that faire & large countrey, went thither againe with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies.

Carmina Meredith filii Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Guynedd, & de sua navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.

These verses I received of my learned friend M. William Camden.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, Owyn Guynedd:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

The same in English.

Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd
With stature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,
My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

The offer of the discovery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus to king Henry the seventh in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, & the cause whereupon hee was deprived of the same: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the history of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his father Christopher Columbus. [III. 2.]

CHristophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuovo à qualche altro principe, & cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo; mando in Inghilterra un suo fratello, che haveva appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non havesse lettere Latine, erà però huomo prattico, & giudicioso nelle cose del mare, & sapea molto bene far carte da navigare, & sphere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come

dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di cor sali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua nave. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua povertà & infirmità, che in cosi diverse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, aquistata un poco di faculta con le carte, ch' ei fabricava, cominció a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico settimo, padre de Enrico ottavo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò un mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scriture Io trovai, & da me saranno qui posti piu tosto per l' antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non una tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto diceva.

Pro Authore sive Pictore.

Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,
Londoniis anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octavo, decimáque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarii. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

Et, percioche avvertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico, che medesimamente Io viddi alcune sotto scritioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquistasse lo stato, ou' egli si sotto scriveva, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d' Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & cio che l' Ammiraglio gli offeriva, con allegro volto accettò la sua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio l' haveva per Castiglia serbata, gia l' Ammiraglio in quel tempo era

andato, & tornato con la vittoria della sua impresa, secondo che per ordine si racconterà. Lasciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haveva negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all' Ammiraglio, &c.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus fearing least if the king of Castile in like maner (as the king of Portugall had done) should not condescend unto his enterprise, he should be inforced to offer the same againe to some other prince, & so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neverthelesse was a man of experience and skilfull in Sea causes, and could very wel make sea cards & globes, and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherfore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. Upon which occasion, and by reason of his poverty and sicknesse which cruelly assaulted him in a countrey so farre distant from his friends, he deferred his ambassage for a long while, untill such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of Sea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the seventh the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this present: unto whom he presented a mappe of the world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here set them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodnesse.

[III. 3.]
The occasion why the West Indies were not discovered for England.

Thou which desirest easily the coasts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will shew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.

Here also is set downe the late discovered burning Zone
By Portingals, unto the world which whilom was unknowen,
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blowen.

And a little under he added:

For the Authour or the Drawer.

He, whose deare native soile hight stately Genua,
Even he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thousand and foure hundred and fourescore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore.

King Henry the seventh his acceptation of Columbus offer.

And because some peradventure may observe that he calleth himselfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I say, that in like maner I have seene some subscriptions of my father Christopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he signed his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I say, that after he had seene the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered unto him, he accepted the offer with joyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserved the sayd offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the meane space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as hereafter in order shall be rehearsed. Now will I leave off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne unto the Admirall, &c.

Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd history of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that Bartholomew Colombus made to king Henry the seventh on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.

TOrnato adunque l' Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, tronò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d' Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornando sene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, haveva inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia l' Ammiraglio suo fratello haver gia scoperte l' Indie: per che gli sovenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Avenga che per cotal nuova egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arrivar l' Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunse a Siviglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 navigli. Perche, per asseguir quanto ei gli havea lasciato, di subito al principio dell' anno del 1494 sen' andò a i Re Catholici, menando seco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, accioche servissimo di paggi al serenissimo principe Don Giovanni, il qual viva in gloria, si come havea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Isabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, & mandaronlo alla Spagnuola contre navi, &c.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discovery of Cuba and Jamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the discovery of the Indies, as we

1494.

[III. 4.] have sayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning unto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, understood at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother had already performed that discovery: whereupon the French king gave unto the sayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haste upon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Sivil his brother was already returned to the Indies with seventeene saile of shipps. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as Pages to the most excellent Prince Don John, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene Lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. Assoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three ships, &c.

The English Voyages, Navigations, and Discoveries (intended for the finding of a North-west passage) to the North parts of America, to Meta incognita, and the backeside of Gronland, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed first by Sebastian Cabota, and since by Sir Martin Frobisher, and M. John Davis, with the Patents, Discourses, and Advertisements thereto belonging.

The Letters patents of King Henry the seventh granted unto John Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius for the discoverie of new and unknowen lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem.

Notum sit & manifestum, quòd dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Joanni Caboto civi Venetiarum, Lodovico, Sebastiano, & Sancio, filiis dicti Joannis, & eorum ac cujuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & potestatem navigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, & insigniis nostris, cum quinque navibus sive navigiis, cujuscúnque portituræ & qualitatis existant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis navibus secum ducere voluerint, suis & eorum propriis sumptibus & expensis, ad inveniendum, discooperiendum, & investigandum quascunque insulas, patrias, regiones sive provincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcúnque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ.

Concessimus etiam eisdem & eorum cuilibet, eorúmque & cujuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras nostras & insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma à se noviter inventis. Et quòd prænominatus Joannes, & filii ejusdem, seu hæredes & eorum deputati, quascunque hujusmodi villas, castra, oppida, & insulas à se inventas, quæ subjugari, occupari, possideri possint, subjugare, occupare, possidere valeant tanquam vasalli nostri, & gubernatores, locatenentes, & deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum & jurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terræ firmæ sic inventorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, ut ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, & obventionibus ex hujusmodi navigatione provenientibus, præfatus Johannes, & filii ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus & impensis necessariis per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, sive in mercibus, sive in pecuniis persolvere: Dantes nos & concedentes eisdem suisque hæredibus & deputatis, ut ab omni solutione custumarum omnium & singulorum bonorum & mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic noviter inventis, liberi sint & immunes. Et insuper dedimus & concessimus eisdem ac suis hæredibus & deputatis, quòd terræ omnes firmæ, insulæ, villæ, oppida, castra, & loca quæcunque a se [III. 5.] inventa, quotquot ab eis inveniri contigerit, non possint ab aliis quibusvis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia prædictorum Joannis & ejus filiorum, suorúmque deputatorum, sub pœna amissionis tam navium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcúnque ad ea loca sic inventa navigare præsumentium. Volentes & strictissimè mandantes omnibus & singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quàm in mari constitutis, ut præfato Joanni, & ejus filiis ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, & tam in armandis navibus seu navigiis, quàm in provisione commeatus & victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum sibi providendarum pro dicta navigatione sumenda suos omnes favores & auxilia impertiant. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martii anno regni nostri undecimo. *Ann. Dom.* 1495.

The same in English.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it knowen that we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant for us and our heires, to our welbeloved John Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of the sayd John, and to the heires of them, and every of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leave, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensignes, with five ships of what burthen or quantity soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the sayd ships, upon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countreys, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have bene unknowen to all Christians: we have granted to them, and also to every of them, the heires of them, and every of them, and their deputies, and have given them licence to set up our banners and ensignes in every village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd John and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes, cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting unto us the rule, title, and jurisdic-

tion of the same villages, townes, castles, & firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd John, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such navigation, for every their voyage, as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arrive) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay unto us in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giving and granting unto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreover, we have given and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoever they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subjects be frequented or visited without the licence of the foresayd John and his sonnes, and their deputies, under paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subjects aswell on land as on sea, to give good assistance to the aforesayd John and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in provision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be provided necessary for the sayd navigation, they do give them all their helpe and favour. In witnesse whereof we have caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of March, in the eleventh yeere of our reigne.

Bristol thought ye meetest port for Westerne discoveries.

Freedome from custome.

Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.

A record of the rolls touching the voyage of John Cabot and Sebastian his sonne.

REx tertio die Februarii, anno 13, licentiam dedit Joanni Caboto, quod ipse capere possit sex naves Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, sive portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod sint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel subtùs, cum apparatu requisito, & quod recipere possit in dictas naves omnes tales magistros, marinarios, & subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

The same in English.

[III. 6.]

THe king upon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gave licence to John Cabot to take sixe English ships in any haven or havens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or under, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subjects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Majesties privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

ANno Domini 1497 Joannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt perviam, quam nullus priùs adire ausus fuit, die 24 Junii, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellavit Terram primùm visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos injecerat. Nam quæ ex adverso sita est insula, eam appellavit insulam Divi Joannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer Divo Joanni Baptistæ: Hujus incolæ pelles animalium, exuviásque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt,

quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, utuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clavis ligneis & fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque ullos fructus affert, ex quo fit, ut ursis albo colore, & cervis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, iisque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, & quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, ut ulnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, ut corvorum similitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ sunt nigri coloris.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1497 John Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about five of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island use to weare beasts skinnes, and have them in as great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their warres they use bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also above a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Savages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to ravens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discovery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seventh, used to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

This discourse is taken out of the second volume of ye voyages of Baptista Ramusius.

DOe you not understand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to navigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred above all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Sivil, and desirous to have some knowledge of the navigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Navigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further unto him to this effect.

Sebastian Cabota Pilot mayor of Spaine.

[III. 7.]

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere.

And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was never knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And understanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be advertised of my devise, who immediatly commanded two Carvels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neverthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56. degree under our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (ever with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

The second voyage of Cabot to the land of Brasil, and Rio de plata.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being advertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, wherewith they caused me to saile to discover the coastes of Brasile, where I found an exceeding great and large river named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the river of silver, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more then sixe score leagues, finding it every where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this River runne so many other rivers, that it is in maner incredible.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I give my selfe to rest from such travels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe rejoyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

The office of Pilote maior.

The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Navigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of John de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Jaques Cartier a Briton, who sailed unto the land situate in 50. degrees of Latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe joyne with the firme land of Florida and Nova Hispania, or whether they bee separated and devided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea unto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written unto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Navigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seventh king of England: and he advertised mee, that having sailed a long time West and by North,

The great probabilitie of this Northwest passage.

beyond those Ilands unto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, under the North pole, and at the 11. day of June finding still the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to have passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and [III. 8.] would have done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserve this great enterprise for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easie and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

SCrutatus est oras glaciales Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (uti moris est Venetorum, qui commercii causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi navigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Julio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, uti ait, vela vertere & occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem littore sese in-

curvante, ut Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit: ad occidentémque profectus tantum est ut Cubam Insulam à læva, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrens, quæ Baccalaos appelavit, eosdem se reperisse aquarum, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnavigantes, inveniunt. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter utrámque ignotam hactenus tellurem jacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cœlorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, absorberique ut nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellavit, eò quod in earum pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, ut etiam illi interdum navigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Ursorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namque piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt ursi, & singulos singuli complexos, unguibúsque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant & comedunt. Proptereà minimè noxios hominibus visos esse ait. Orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cobotum ipsum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Majoris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectátque indies, ut navigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens jam tandem detegatur.

The same in English.

THese North Seas have bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, having occasion to resort thither for trade of mar-

chandise, as is the maner of the Venetians to leave no part of the world unsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that even in the moneth of July he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that he was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equall in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, having the Northpole elevate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traveiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently then the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Navigations Southward. Wherfore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto unknowen, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East unto the West: which waters I suppose to be driven about the globe of the earth by the uncessant moving and impulsion of the heavens, and not to bee swallowed up and cast up againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some have imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like unto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they sometime stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those

A current toward the West.

The people of Island say the Sea and yce setteth also West. Jonas Arngrimus.

regions covered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the use of reason. He also saith there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which use to eate fish: for plunging themselves into ye water, where they perceive a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I use familiarly, and delight to have him sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seventh of that name King of England, he was made one of our councill and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discoverie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought most certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged up two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, having great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingals did. He caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, untill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of July it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast unto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discoverie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. John Stow a diligent preserver of Antiquities.

Cabots voyage from Bristol wherein he discovered Newfound land, & the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almost as Florida.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one John Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the king caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, divers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

A.D. 1497.

Of three Savages which Cabot brought home and presented unto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought unto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could understand them, and in their [III. 10.] demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which upon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them utter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the discoverie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sickenesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discovery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the Mariners would then have bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde commeth, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

[The large

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

EDwardus sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes hæ literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione boni & acceptabilis servitii, nobis per dilectum servientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, nec non de advisamento, & consensu præclarissimi avunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostræ Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorúmque nostrorum protectoris, & cæterorum consiliariorum nostrorum, dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem sive annualem reditum, centum sexaginta & sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, & annuatim percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, sive annalem reditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarii nostri Westmonasterii per manus thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, nativitatis sancti Joannis Baptistæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones solvendam. Et ulteriùs de uberiori gratia nostra, ac de advisamento, & consensu prædictis damus, & per præsentes concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas sive annalis reditus centum sexaginta sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum, à festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimò præterito huc usque se extendit, & attingit, habendas

& recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ & assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, solvendo, vel faciendo: eo quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium 6. die Januarii, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti. *Anno D.* 1549.

The same in English.

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable service done, and to be done, unto us by our beloved servant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the advice and counsel of our most honourable uncle Edward duke of Somerset governour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subjects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, have given & granted, and by these presents do give and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely revenue of one hundreth, threescore & sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to have, enjoy, and yerely receive the foresaid annuitie, or yerely revenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers & paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativitie of S. John Baptist, S. Michael ye Archangel, & the Nativitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

[III. 11.] And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the advise and consent aforesaide wee doe give, and by these presents doe graunt unto the aforesaide Sebastian

Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely revenue of an hundreth, threescore and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise unto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past unto this present time, to be had and received by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignes out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to us, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Januarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.

¶ The Table of the matters in every Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

TO prove by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To prove by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, Moluccæ, &c.

Capitulo 3.

To prove by experience of sundry mens travailes the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

To prove by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sailed throughout.

Capitulo 5.

To proove that such Indians as have bene driven upon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To proove that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow passage navigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To prove that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What several reasons were alleaged before the Queenes Majestie, and certaine Lords of her Highnesse privie Council, by M. Anth. Jenkinson a Gentleman of great travaile and experience, to prove this passage by the Northeast, with my severall answeres then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discovered.

[To prove

To prove by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.

Chapter 1.

WHen I gave my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland environed round about with Sea, having on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that severeth it from Groneland, thorow which Northren Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discover.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, navigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did aswell enjoy the governance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to prove Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there have bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraved with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by John Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

Moreover, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, and excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Jew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries upon Plato) to be overflowen and swallowed up with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heavenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened unto some part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Justine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zetland a part of Flanders.

Proclus pag. 24.

Justine Lib. 4.

And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, have bene swallowed up with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident America grew to be unknowen of long time, unto us of the later ages, and was lately discovered againe, by Americus Vespucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which some say to have bene first discovered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

Plinie.

The same calamitie happened unto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our usual moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or judged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: countervailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coasts round about the same were navigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed up with water, which could not utterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather, be an occasion of the inlarging

A minore ad majus.

of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and navigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Atlantis now called America, was ever knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes navigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De Mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations upon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise prooveth America to be an Island, and in no part adjoyning to Asia, or the rest.

Strabo lib. 15.

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea, (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Afrik, or yet the sea adjoining to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometime king thereof, who was Japhet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was divided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Japhet.

Valerius Anselmus in Catalogo annorum & principium. fol. 6. *Gen.* 9. 10.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found favourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeve the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Phylosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael

[III. 13.]

Tramasinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vavasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius, who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochelaga to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disjoyned by a great sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and painefull travellers have affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will give the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte of any of their countreys within Europe.

We ought by reasons right to have a reverent opinion of worthy men.

What moved these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry travellers of both ages have allowed the same: But I conjecture that they would never have so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to have lead them thereunto.

A Navigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

Now least you should make small accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which travelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance: I have for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel servant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Navigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, king of Westsaxe Anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, having alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, untill hee perceived that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay until he had a westerne winde, or somewhat upon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary untill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could travell in the space of five dayes, where hee discovered a mighty river, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this river he turned backe againe.

A perfect description of our Moscovia voyage.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscovia, which way no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, until it was since discovered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt; but thought before that time that Groneland had joyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discovery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.

Neverthelesse if any man should have taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should have bene thought but simple: considering that this Navigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeve this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables & discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To proove by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.

Chap. 3.

First, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any River, Bay or Haven is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giveth us good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

Experimented by our English fishers.

2 Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of ye continent adjoyning to Asia, either the people [III. 14.] which inhabite Mangia, Anian, & Quinzay, &c. being borderers upon it, would before this time have made some road into it, hoping to have found some like commodities to their owne.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore have sought farre and neere for new seats, driven thereunto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time have found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene never so straite or difficult; the countrey being so temperate, pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was never any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discovered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen must then of necessitie have seene some one civil man in America, considering how full of civill people Asia is: But they never saw so much as one token or signe, that ever any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither

of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America have entred Asia if it were so joyned: yet some one savage or wandring beast would in so many yeres have passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proveth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adjoyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, have not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreover at the least some one of those painefull travellers, which of purpose have passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discover, would as it is most likely have gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to have joyned them together, or els have declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus, who lived and dwelt a long time in Cataia, ever came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, over against it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Navigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who travelled the North part of America by land, ever found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

The Sea hath three motions. 1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem. 2 Motum fluxus & refluxus. 3 Motum circularem. Ad cœli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) moventur.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moveable, aswel celestiall as elemental: which motion of the waters is most evidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike, where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motion) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança are inforced to make divers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward

upon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not having free passage and entrance thorow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the sayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to salve this wrong (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Jaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must of necessitie have way to passe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salve his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike over, upon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, upon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, upon which coastes Jaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would have continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is digested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

Posita causa, ponitur effectus.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea (as affirmeth Conterenus) wheras the current which commeth from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

Conterenus.

[III. 15.]

An objection answered. The sea doth evermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concava superficie aquæ.

It may (peradventure) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Jaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answere this: that albeit, in every part of the Coast of America, or elswhere this current is not sensibly perceived, yet it hath evermore such like motion, either in the uppermost or nethermost part of the sea: as it may be proved true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driving whereof you shall plainely perceive, the course of the water, and current, running with such course in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soever you be off the land.

The yce set westward every yeere from Island. Auth. Jona Arngrimo.

9 Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea (as M. Jenkinson a man of rare vertue, great travaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must have way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses, in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrodor, or Terra nova, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not have beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world unto this day, had there not beene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as fresh rivers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooved by the testimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Natividad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Nova Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeast the which drove him backe againe to Tidore.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

An experience to proove the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Wherfore, this current being proved to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Jaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike over upon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeside of America: therefore this current (having none other passage) must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we have now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooved. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded upon experience, assureth us of this passage, if there were nothing els to put us in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I have added in this chapter following, some further proofe hereof, by the experience of such as have passed some part of this discoverie: and in the next adjoining to that the authority of those, which have sailed wholy, thorow every part thereof.

To prove by experience of sundry mens travels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: wherby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Chap. 3.

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles upon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Cevola, through the countrey of Quivira, to Siera Nevada, found there a great sea, where were certaine [III. 16.] ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of silver, who signified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proveth America by experience to be disjoyned from Cataia, on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natives thereof: for that, so farre as is discovered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Alcatrarzi be Pellicanes.

3 In like maner, John Baros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas cap. 1.

By whose experiences America is prooved to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the judgements of these learned men only, I have searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreover, Alvarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Jacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles upon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and travailer in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Jaques Cartier having done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Nova Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Written in the discourses of Navigation.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and travel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Majesties privie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discovery by king Henrie the seventh, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleventh of June, untill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he might, & would have gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proved some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which have passed through every part thereof.

[To proove

To proove by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

Quinque sensus.
1 *Visus.*
2 *Auditus.*
3 *Olfactus.*
4 *Gustus.*
5 *Tactus.*
Singularia sensu, universalia verò mente percipiuntur.

THe diversitie betweene bruite beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one judgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I have added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driven by tempest, upon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Suevia, unto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

Lib.2.cap.66.

3 And Plinie upon the same sayth, that it is no marvell though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a navigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

Pag. 590.

[III. 17.]

4 And for the better proofe that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to prove my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driven through the North Seas from India, upon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians upon the coast of Germanie.

6 Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, upon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly have come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

Avouched by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara in his historie of India, lib. 1. *cap.* 10.

To proove that these Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

FIrst, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Sperança, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest Armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could live in those outragious seas without shipwracke (being a vessell of very small burden) and have conducted themselves to the place aforesayd, being men unexpert in the Arte of navigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainely that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should have driven them Westward upon some part of America: for such winds and tides could never have led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they have come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners

to have conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driven to the West (as they must have bene, comming that way) then they should have perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not having any place (once leaving the coast of Afrike) untill they came to America, nor from America untill they arrived upon some part of Europe, or the Islands adjoyning to it, to have refreshed themselves.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might have recovered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt have striken upon some other part of Europe before their arrivall there, as the Isles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would have departed undiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was never found in those dayes any such ship or men but only upon the coasts of Germanie, where they have bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would have committed themselves againe to sea, if they had so arrived, not knowing where they were, nor whither to have gone.

This fift reason by later experience is proved utterly untrue.

5 And by the Southwest it is unpossible, because the current aforesayd which commeth from the East, striketh with such force upon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such unskilfull mariners) can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught us.

That the Indians could not be natives either of Africa, or of America.

6 And further, to proove that these people so arriving upon the coast of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabiters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natives both of Africa and America neither had, or have at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely upon the coasts of Barbarie and the

Turkes ships) but do carie themselves from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

To proove that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow navigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be navigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling under Torrida Zona, could endure the injurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, under which elevation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) have bene stroken to death with the cold damps of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Elevation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

[III. 18.]

Quicquid naturali loco privatur, quam citissimè corrumpitur.

Qualis causa talis effectus.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught us) without the use whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such elevation doth very

suddenly vary, which things must of force have bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

Similium similis est ratio.

6 Moreover, all baies, gulfes, and rivers doe receive their increase upon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen havens or rivers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receive their increase upon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Jenkinson affirmed unto me: and therfore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiving increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7 Moreover, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut up from the maine sea (as in all those above mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proveth but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

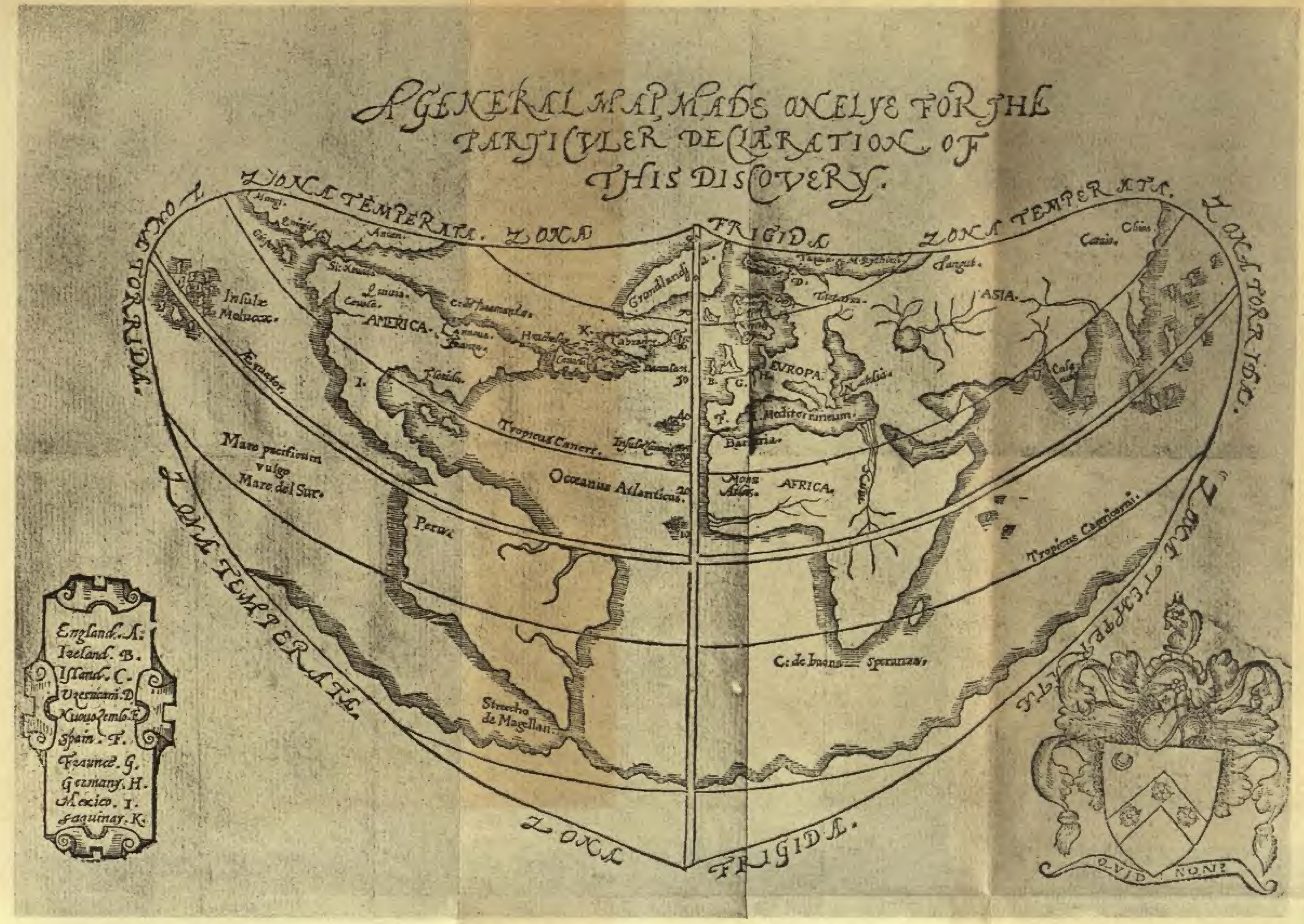
8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Every thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and elevation.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the river Ob, and such like fresshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the uppermost parts thereof by the rivers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

Omne simile gignit sui simile.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that elevation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the uppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea


A GENERAL MAP, MADE ONELYE FOR THE PARTICVLER DECLARATION OF THIS DISCOVERY.
ZONA TEMPERATA. ZONA FRIGIDA ZONA TEMPERATA.
ZONA TORRIDA.
ZONA TORRIDA.
ZONA TEMPERATA.
ZONA TEMPERATA.
ZONA FRIGIDA.
Insulæ Moluccæ.
Anian.
Si: Nevada
Livuia.
Cevola.
AMERICA.
C: de Fusnnenda.
Cannua.
K.
Labrador.
Grondland
Florida.
I.
Æquator.
Tropicus Cancri.
Mare pacificum vulgo Mare del Sur.
Oceanus Atlanticus.
Peru.
Strecho de Magellan.
Tartaria.
D.
Tangut.
Catais.
Chin.
ASIA.
EVROPA.
B.
C.
H.
F.
Mediterraneum.
Barbaria.
Mons Atlas.
AFRICA.
Casa
Tropicus Capricorni.
C: de buona Speranza.
England. A.
Izeland. B.
Island. C.
Vzernicani. D.
Nuouo Zemblo. E.
Spain. F.
Fraunce. G.
Germany. H.
Mexico. I.
Saquinay. K.
QVID NON?

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S MAP OF THE WORLD, A.D. 1576 there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not having his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angels, it can never be dissolved after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that elevation, to prevaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolved, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne above their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a navigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to live.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so drive with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subject to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, & Turbi Tartari, with Uzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adjoyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Navigate in so shallow a Sea: and ships of small burden [III. 19.] are very unfit & unprofitable, especially towards the blustering North, to performe such a voyage.

[To proove

To proove that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is unlikely that they should come either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage having bene alreadie so many wayes proved, by disprooving of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to use many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, having these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not having any use of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, having so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

True, both in ventis obliquè flantibus, as also in ventis ex diametro spirantibus.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driven, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally drive a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do utterly want, & therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) have fallen upon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then upon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then upon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarii, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and upon these coasts (as aforesaid) they have never bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could never have come without shipwracke upon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken upon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discovery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Navigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Havens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must have come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would have devoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainely appeareth that those Indians (which as you have heard in sundry ages were driven by tempest upon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreover, the passage is certainely prooved by a Navigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giving name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adjoyning unto Polisacus fluvius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Salvaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be beleeved in America navigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more then eight yeeres before

his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, & shewed Salvaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and travell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: For that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Salvaterra reported) was the greatest Discoverer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Salvaterra being perswaded of this passage by the frier Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discovery, which of like he would not have done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

[III. 20.]

The words of the king of Portugall, to Andro Urdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northwest passage from England to Cataia.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so, least it might be objected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serve litle to proove this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then utterly unknowen: to remoove this doubt, let this suffise: That Aristotle (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who lived 330 yeres before Christ) hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus lived 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus,

An objection.

Aristotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Berosus lib. 5.

and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India under his government. All which assureth us, that both India and Indians were knowen in those days.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selves of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is navigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooved in part and in all, by the experience of divers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren above named, the Indians, and Urdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that have a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my severall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the prooving of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Majestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, with my severall answeres then used to the same.

Cap. 8.

BEcause you may understand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serve for my purpose, I have here added the reasons of Master Anthony Jenkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traveller, who conceived a better hope of the passage to Cataia from us, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

The Northwest passage assented unto.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest, according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a navigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endevoured to proove three wayes.

The first reason.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

The answer or resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and utterly ignorant in the Arte of Navigation, not knowing the use of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therfore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place unknowen from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceived by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which proofe (under correction) giveth small assurance of a Navigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world. For that he judged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Visus nonnunquam fallitur in suo objecto.

The second reason or allegation.

His second reason is, that there was an Unicornes horne found upon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any part of Asia, saving in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple judgement) forceth as litle.

The answer or resolution.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Unicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could have driven it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

[III. 21.] Also the tides running too and fro, would have driven it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts therunto adjoyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Jacobus Zieglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

The third and last reason or assertion.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or current through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

The answer or resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and divers others that have had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the river Ob, &c.

Now as I have here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to proove a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my severall answeres thereunto: so will I leave it to your judgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

First, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not give you a marvelous speedie & luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to live so long comfortlesse, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or understanding may judge.

Some doubt of this.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccæ are neerer unto us by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two five parts, which is almost by the halfe.

3 Also we may have by the West a yerely returne, it being at all times navigable, whereas you have but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such elevation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without divers wintrings by the way, having no havens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscovia, and returne in the navigable season of the yeere, & from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you have doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a navigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conveniently, until you come to 60 degrees, and to take up one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must have by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your journey should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreover, it is very doubtfull, whether we should

long injoy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moscovite, what privilege soever hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessive gaine, to the inriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, having so great opportunitie to utter the commodities of those countries by the Narve.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince living, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Majesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselves and their ships upon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen. [III. 22.]

Further, no princes navie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Majesties navie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing upon this discoverie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we have heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adjoyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discovered.

Cap. 10.

First, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great advancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an unspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, & the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend us.

3 Also we might sayle to divers very rich countreys, both civill and others, out of both their jurisdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, silver, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all maner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their journies, cannot well attaine unto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countryes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places have a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part, whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside uttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either velvets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would have the clothes of this our countrey, so

that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme ever had: and that without depending either upon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also have occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to have our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discovery, without injury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their used trades, whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.

Thus have I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer judge me fantasticke in this matter: seeing I have conceived no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discovery hath bene divers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes unto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, [III. 23.] as Alphonso Ullva testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would have set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

This discovery offered.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would have persevered in this his enterprise, gave him to leave the matter unattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not have given to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

This discovery attempted.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seventh, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This discovery performed.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Urdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

Also divers have offered the like unto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to have discovered the same: The discoverers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with litle jeoperdie and lesse expences.

The labour of this discoverie shortned by other mens travell.

For America is discovered so farre towardes the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adjoyning is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. So that wee have but 10 degrees to saile North & South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not have sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselves all that trade they now use, and feare to deale in this discovery, least the Queenes Majestie having so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enjoy the whole traffique to her selfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs upon paine of death, should seeke to discover to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

Why ye kings of Spaine and Portugal would not persever in this discovery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to proove that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discovered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy travell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth unto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries upon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, untill that day.

Moreover, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither, understood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should have taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to deprive Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but rove at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by conjectures onely.

And albeit my selfe have not seene this passage or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet have I both the report, relation, and authoritie of divers most credible men, which have both seene and passed through some and every part of this discovery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, & indifferently weighed togither, with the wonderfull commodities which this discovery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and divers other learned men, who said, that this discovery hath bene reserved for some noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if

I may perceive that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart unto you a large discourse, which I have written onely of this discovery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at leasure make you partaker of another [III. 24.] simple discourse of navigation, wherein I have not a litle travelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bring these things to effect, as I have bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I have devised to amend the errors of usuall sea cards, whose common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bignesse.

And have also devised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discovery, to know at the first entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soever the sea stretcheth it selfe into the land.

Desiring you hereafter never to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for ever.

Pereas qui umbras times.

And therefore to give me leave without offence, alwayes to live and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to live at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries service, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.

Certaine other reasons, or arguments to proove a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which wee doe usually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly travelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, under the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home unto us. Our neighbours I call the Portugals in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse unto us, for like situation Westward as we have, for their usuall trade with us, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well understood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more spoken of, better knowen and travelled, then that it may seeme needfull to discourse thereof any further. *1 By the Southeast.*

The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that ever we doe read of, passed these latter yeeres, leaving thereunto therefore his name. The way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere unto their dominions there, could the Easterne current and levant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therwith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striving against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing used, although it be very well knowen. *2 By the Southwest.* *This is an errour.*

3 *By the Northeast.* The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowmed knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approved by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius under the 80 degree North, by the unlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolved: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the uncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, five moneths long. *Ortel. tab. Asiæ 3.*

4 *By the Northeast.* A fourth way to go unto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccæ sir Humphrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of it selfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserve high praise, and whensoever it shal be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, & fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knowen, and therefore gainesaid by many, after this maner.

Ob. 1. [III. 25.] First, who can assure us of any passage rather by the Northwest, then by the Northeast? doe not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent under like elevation? Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true? *In Theatro.* In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

If you seeke the advise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a negative, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was received in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi serviat ultima Thyle, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Joseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, have continued the West Indies land, even to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way. *Ob. 2.*

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea Carde, neverthelesse doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, have opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be travelled for the causes in the first objection alledged, or cleane shut up from us in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Thirdly, the greatest favourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subject unto yce and snow for the most part of the yeere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolved the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Islands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of *Ob. 3.*

that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe upon her?

Ob. 4. Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent unto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer us then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee have free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscovia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscovia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccaes up the Red sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely three dayes journey from the aforesayd haven: yet have wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Isthmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, usually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees elevation from the Island Japan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly above Japan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being joyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether frivolous unto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosmographers doings. Josephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceive: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles: Quicquid præter Africam & Europam est, Asia est, Whatsoever land doeth neither apperteine unto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

Ob. 5. Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and silver, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters under a great penaltie to let in any stranger into those countryes, shall you reade in [III. 26.] the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Japonish letters, how for that cause the worthy traveller Xavierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie used in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Japonish and East Indian historie.

Ob. 6. Finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende our travellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne native countrey that wealth & riches, which they in forrein regions with adventure of goods, & danger of their lives have sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At ye Southwest Magellans experience hath partly taught us, and partly we are persuaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or levant course of waters continually following after the heavenly motions, looseth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeast, in the passage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caryed: having none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, & consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for navigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Neverthelesse to approove that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest from out of Europe, we have experience, namely of three brethren that went that journey, as Gemma Frisius recordeth, and left a name unto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spanish proverbe, I suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Urdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great Discoverer) made by his owne experience and travell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Cic. 1. de orat. Arist. pri. Metaph.

Now if the observation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we have in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that ever were doe affirme: truely the voyage of these aforesayd travellers that have gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most evidently conclude that way to be navigable, and that passage free. So much the more we are so to thinke, for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith,

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

is the history of travell, that is, reports made by travellers skilful in Geometrie and Astronomie, of all such things in their journey as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answere to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

Sol. 1. The first objection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being unskilfully drawen for that point: as manifestly it may appeare unto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his universall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this case before all Mercator & Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traveller, and such a one as entred personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seventh to make this aforesayd Discoverie, as in his owne discourse of navigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the elevation, continuing the same bredth about 10. degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, untill it come under the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18. degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I could as well imagine this passage to be more unlikely then the voyage to Moscovia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscovian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol. 2. The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was above sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the elevation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet have the [III. 27.] Portugals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and travelled to Japan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia & America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the sixt discovered the Moscovian passage farther North then Thyle, & shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland & Norway: the like our Northwesterne travellers have done, declaring by their navigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe joyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region under the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Ovid. 1. Meta. Quarum quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu.

Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and woorthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, & the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited even under the equinoctiall line.

Sol. 3. To answere the third objection, besides Cabota and all other travellers navigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, even beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

Sol 4. The fourth argument is altogether frivolous & vaine, for neither is there any isthmos or strait of land betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes joyntly be one continent. The first part of my answere is manifestly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent

Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this *Lib. Geog.* facultie the price. The authour of that booke likewise *περὶ κόσμου* to Alexander, attributed unto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionisius in *ὀικουμένης περιὴγησι* hath this verse *ὥτως ὠκεανός περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν.* So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Asia, as then Asia was travelled and knowen. *Note.* With these Doctours may you joyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib. I. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his description of Asia. All the which writers doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, under the name Atlantis, the West Indies to be an Island, as in a special discourse thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable *Richard Eden.* unto the sentence of Proclus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionysius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, & Europe, to be environed with the Ocean. I may therfore boldly say (though later intelligences therof had we none at all) that Asia & the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of land, contrary to the opinion of some new Cosmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controversie. And thus much for the first part of my answere unto the fourth objection.

The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be proved, *κατα τὴν της γῆς κοιλότητα ῥέι καὶ των ποτάμων τὸ πλῆθος.* *Lib. 2. Meteor. cap. 1.* The most Rivers take downe that way their course, where the earth is most hollow and deepe, writeth Aristotle: and the Sea (sayth he in the same place) as it goeth further, so is it found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moscovian rivers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their streames Northward out of Moscovia into the sea? Which way doeth that sea strike? The South is maine land, the Easterne coast waxeth more and more shalow: from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristot. 2 Met. cap. 1. or of necessitie, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke: or finally for the great store of waters engendred in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bow toward us South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway: or else strike downe Southwest above Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iseland, into the Northwest straight we speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher experience teacheth us. And M. Frobisher the further he travailed in the former passage, as he tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found the Sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The rivers runne where the chanels are most hollow, the sea in taking his course waxeth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe falling downe furiously out from the land under the North pole. *Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.* Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be discovered no land. Finally, whence I pray you came the [III 28.] contrary tide, that M. Frobisher mette withall after that he had sailed no small way in that passage, if there bee any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesayd Northwesterne gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to joyne Asia and America together? That conclusion frequented in scholes Quicquid præter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and so is it of right to be understood.

The fift objection requireth for answere wisedome and policie in the travailer, to winne the Barbarians favour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shal have the repulse in one coast, he may safely travaile to an other, commodiously taking his convenient times, and discreetely making choise of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for us Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from us, and the attempt thereof might be most perillous unto the doers, unlesse their part were very good. *Sol.* 5.

Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neverthelesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free accesse unto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, untill such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to bee a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Japans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great favour at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores travaile continually up and downe that reach from Japan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Navie) feare to saile in that Ocean? What seas at all doe want piracie? what Navigation is there voyde of perill?

To the last argument. Our travailers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt *Sol.* 6.

Magellans straight at the Southwest, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath shewed.

The reason alleadged for proofe of the contrary may be disproved after this maner. And first it may be called in controversie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no? For learned men doe diversly handle that question. The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst sayd, the seas doe strike from the Northren landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled divers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoised up & downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas be caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the highest moveable heaven, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the rest of the heavenly spheres, are from the East unto the West. And this they doe call their Easterne current, or levant streame. Some such current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof unto the centre of the Sunne, and blustring Easterne windes violently driving the seas Westward: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, & the windes more divers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withholde us from travailing Eastward, neither be we kept ever backe by the aforesaid Levant windes and streame. But in Magellans streight wee are violently driven backe Westward: Ergo, through the Northwesterne straight or Anian frette shall we not be able to returne Eastward? It followeth not. The first, for that the northwesterne straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundreth English myles, then

Luc. lib. 1. Pharsal.

What the Easterne current is.

Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof causeth all narrow passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in the Anian gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius have painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightnesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes, violently forcing that way any levant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well give credite unto their doings, as to any of the rest. It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skilfull travailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controversies of Geographie must put us out of doubt. Ortelius in his universall tables, in his particular Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his universall table of the Globe divided, in his sea Carde, and particuler tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ from Gemma Frisius and Cabota, among themselves, and in divers places from themselves, concerning the divers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as truely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those points touching the aforesaid region, or that the Mappes they have given out unto the world, were collected onely by them, and never of their owne drawing.

Lib. 1. *Geog.* *Cap.* 2.

[III. 29.]

[The first

The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest, for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, Master in the Gabriel, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

June.

|| M. Matthew Kindersl ye was Captaine of the Michael.

THe 7. of June being Thursday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the || Michael & our Pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred: the cause was, that our Pinnesse burst her boultsprit, and foremast aboard of a ship that rode at Detford, else wee meant to have past that day by the Court then at Grenewich.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of us, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could: Her Majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboord of us, who declared that her Majestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked us for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leave of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of us, and declared to the company, that her Majestie had appointed him to give them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and governours in all things, and wished us happie successe.

The 12. day being over against Gravesend, by the castle or blockehouse, we observed the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compasse is 11. degrees and a halfe.

Faire Island.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had sight of Faire yle, being from us 6. leagues North and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the middes.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Faire yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the North head of that said land, sounding as I ranne in, having 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any roadesteede for a Northwest winde, and I found by my sounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water under the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the flood setteth Southeast, and the ebbe Northwest.

Shotland.

The 26. day having the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did observe the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being West Northwest from me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East southeast from me, I found my *elevation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being neere to Swinborne head, having a leake which did trouble us, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seven fathoms water, and faire sande. You have comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North northwest, and there we roade to a West sunne, & stopped our leake, and having refreshed our selves with water, at a North northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southest, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay,

** By elevation he meaneth the distance of the sunne from the zenith.*

S. Tronions.

Fowlay Island.

I sounded, having fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Islande, having fiftie fathome at the South [III. 30.] head, and streamie ground, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

Latitude 59. *deg.* 59. *min. Here they begin to saile West and by North.*

The 27. day at a South sunne I did observe the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being from me two leagues East Northeast: I found my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly observed, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded having 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from us 8. leagues East.

July the first. The first of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that present we had so much winde that we spooned afore the sea Southwest 2. leagues.

3. The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to the Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we sailed West and by North 6. leagues.

The Compasse varying Westwards one point.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West and by North 4. leagues. At that present I found our Compasse to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards, which is one point.

11. *The Island of Friseland.*

The 11 day at a Southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bearing from us West northwest 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all covered with snowe. I found my selfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee sailed to the shoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoised out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and so they came aboord againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we sailed Southwest 20. leagues.

18. The 18. day at a Southwest sunne I found the sunne to be elevated 33. deg. And at a Southsoutheast sunne 40. deg. So I observed it till I found it at the highest, and then it was elevated 52. deg. I judged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the West.

The 21. day we had sight of a great drift of yce, seeming a firme lande, and we cast Westward to be cleare of it.

A great drift of yce.

The 26. we had sight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing up of the fogge, wee had sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and sownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being so thicke, I could not get to the shoare, and so
lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday 30.
we came within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe: all the sownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a shoare, could get no ground at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the shoare: then we sailed Eastnortheast along the shoare, for so the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, setting Northeast, and Southwest: and if we could have gotten anker ground, wee would have seene with what force it had runne, but I judge a ship may drive a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide.

Sight of land supposed to have bene Labrador.

31. This day at 4. of the cloke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had sight of a head land, as we judged, bearing from us north, and by East, and we sailed Northeast, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce stretched along the coast, so that we could not come to the land, by five leagues.

August.

Wednesday the first of August it calmed, and in the
after noone I caused my boate to be hoysed out, being 1.
hard by a great Island of yce, and I and foure men rowed 2.

to that yce, and sownded within two Cables length of it, and had sixteene fathome, and little stones, and after that sownded againe within a Minion shot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire sand: we sownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had sixtie fathome rough ground, and at that present being aboord, that great Island of yce fell one part from another, making a noyse as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I sownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and small blacke stones, and little white stones, like pearles. The tide here did set to the shoare.

10. The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from the maine, and there the flood setteth Southwest alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I could judge so too, I could not tarry to proove it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a shoare, it was a low water. I went to ye top of the Island, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and so without tarrying I came aboord.

11. The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the streight.

The 12. wee set saile towardes an Island, called the Gabriels Island, which was 10. leagues then from us.

They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.

12. We espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a
13. sandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the land bearing East southeast off us, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeast Moone. We called it Priors sownd, being from the Gabriels Island, tenne leagues.

[III. 31.]

14. The 14. we waied, and ranne into another sownde, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire sand, and blacke oaze, and there calked our ship, being weake from the wales upward, and tooke in fresh water.

15. The 15. day we waied, and sailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence.

16. The 16. day was calme, and we rode still, without yce,

but presently within two houres it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Island. 17.

The 18. day we sailed North northwest, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, under Burchers Island, which is from the former Island, ten leagues. 18.

19. The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to rowe us a shoare, to see if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seven boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we sent our boate with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shoare my selfe, and gave every of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboord with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we understoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinnes, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, save only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends.

Sigh of the Countrey people.

The description of the people.

20. The twentieth day wee wayed, and went to the East-side of this Island, and I and the Captaine, with foure men more went on shoare, and there we sawe their houses, and the people espying us, came rowing towards

our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they ashoare, they called to us, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gave him a Bell, and a knife: so the Captaine and I willed five of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boate lost.

5. of our men taken by the people.

21. The next day in the morning, we stoode in neere the shoare, and shotte off a fauconet, and sounded our trumpet, but we could heare nothing of our men: this sound wee called the five mens sound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the snow lay a foote thicke upon our hatches.

22. The 22. day in the morning we wayed, and went againe to the place where we lost our men, and our boate. We had sight of foureteene boates, and some came neere to us, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the rest, we intised one boate to our ships side, with a Bell, and in giving him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and so kept him, and so rowed downe to Thomas Williams Island, and there ankered all night.

They returne.

26. The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Island.

27. The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at 8. of the clocke at night we had the Cape Labrador as we supposed West from us, ten leagues.

28. The 28. day we went our course Southeast.

29. We sailed Southeast, and by East, 22. leagues.

September.

1. The first day of September in the morning we had sight of the land of Friseland, being eight leagues from us, but we could not come neerer it, for the monstrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Island, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, East from us ten leagues.

7. The seventh day of this moneth we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the sea out of our waste, but he caught hold of the foresaile sheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.

[III. 32.] The 25. day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from us.

The Sheld. The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of Meta incognita.

Argoteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a nose.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchatet, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.
Attegay, a coate.
Pollevetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a shippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremost finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yacketrone, the litle finger.

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a description of the Countrey, and people: Written by Master Dionise Settle.

ON Whitsunday, being the sixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Majesties ships, called The Aide, of nine score tunnes, or thereabouts: and two other little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine:

and the other, The Michael, whereof Master Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with seven score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other provision necessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys, thereunto adjacent, by West and Northwest navigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island invironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may have course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company having the yeere before, with two little pinnesses, to his great danger, and no small commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and native Countrey) to adventure himselfe further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

The Islands Orcades, or Orkney.

The Orcadians upon smal occasion flee their home.

Upon which considerations, the day and yeere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised up sailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of June we arrived at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. subject and adjacent to Scotland, where we made provision of fresh water; in the doing whereof our Generall licensed the Gentlemen and souldiers for their recreation, to goe on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclamed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that moove them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowshards. They have corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their usages to their reports, as yeerely repaires thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

No wood in Orkney.

Fisher men of England have daily traffike to Orkney.

[III. 33.]

In June and July no night in those West and Northwest regions.

We departed herehence the 8. of June, and followed our course betweene West and Northwest, untill the 4. of July: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in unknowen seas, and long navigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the sea.

All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we judged, were with the furie of great floods rooted up, and so driven into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take up upon their coastes. It seemeth, that these trees are

Inquire further of this current.

driven from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

The 4. of July we came within the making of Frisland. From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing above the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarse sound the bottome for depth.

Yce, snow, and haile in June and July.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of June and July, nothing inferior to our untemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not elevate above 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea unto 70. degrees, shew themselves more temperate then this doth.

Friseland subject to fogge.

All along this coast yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, & so defendeth the Countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ship boate to have gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it untill a more convenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines covered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepenes of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, whiche we judged to have lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subject unto, came flying into our ships, which causeth us to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification.

From hence we departed the eight of July: and the 16. of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we judge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adjacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betweene the which two Islands there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight, after the name of our Generall, the first finder thereof. This said streight is supposed to have passage into the sea of Sur, which I leave unknowen as yet.

Frobishers streight.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should have more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or untemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, even unto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more untemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

I cannot judge that any temperature under the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes elevation surmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can have power to dissolve such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe a yeere.

Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooved us from that opinion.

At our first comming, the streights seemed to be shut up with a long mure of yce, which gave no litle cause of discomfort unto us all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the Islands thereunto adjacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and

Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

[III. 34.] *The order of the people appearing on shoare.*

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselves leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gave no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them unto him by faire meanes, caused knives, and other things to be profered unto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke up, leaving some thing of theirs to countervaile the same. At the length two of them leaving their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went unto them: who after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes upon them, but they deliverly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely upon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt divers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

Fierce and bold people. One taken.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adjacent on the Eastshoare, the ship and barkes having great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to have shivered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care upon the infirmitie of man) had not provided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we avoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of yce, we should have lost our

Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master Jackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in navigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers aforerehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

Richard Cox, Master gunner.
Master Jackman.
Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Julie, our captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the yce into the sea, & made us a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19. of Julie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Jackmans sound, and brought the ship, barkes, and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

Jackmans sound.

At our first arrivall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, having speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arrivall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his divine Majestie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endevour, those barbarous people trained up in Paganisme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and

Possession taken.

Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an undutifull subject, may credibly be judged to be utterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserve worthily herein, their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaied, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie unto such as hereafter may chance to arrive there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

Yce needefull to be regarded of seafaring men.

Whoso maketh navigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious seas to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to have continuall watch, with boats & [III. 35.] men ready with halsers to knit fast unto such yce, as with the ebbe & flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, untill such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

Stones glister with sparkles like gold.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Proverb: All is not gold that glistereth.

A common proverbe.

On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which some of our sailers putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hereof, but it was reported unto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.

The sea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate: who coasting along the West shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceived a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, unto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neverthelesse they went to their tents, where leaving certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, knives, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like maner leave behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

The people fled at the sight of our men.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, under the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (unto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, al the rest were obedient) went a shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of

Master Philpot

Master Beast.

them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yeere before.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooved their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driven from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selves into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly upon them by land, who espying us, without any tarying fled to their boates, leaving the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinnesses met them and drove them to shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to have chased them.

A fierce assault of a few.

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselves: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any meanes we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, & also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiving they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saved by us: the rest perceiving their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom divers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a devill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

Having this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiving that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

[III. 36.]

Their riches are not gold, silver or precious Drapery, but their said tents and botes, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins: also dogges like unto woolves, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie needefull for our use.

Boates of skinnes.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and so the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore, and ankered in a faire Harborough named Anne Warwickes sound, unto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwickes sound and Isle.

Our departure from the West shore.

In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to fraight both the ship and barkes, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he judged to countervaile the charges of his first, and this his second navigation to these Countreys.

In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselves unto us, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adjacent to the said Isle. Our Generall desirous to have some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his five men were alive, and desired

The countrey people shew themselves unto us.

penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we judged) bring those of our men which were living, with them.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

Their usage in traffique or exchange.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was delivered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke up: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will countervaile the same, and not comming neere together. It seemeth they have bene used to this trade or traffique, with some other people adjoyning, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

The people shew themselves the third time.

After 4. dayes some of them shewed themselves upon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceive a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

The people shew themselves againe on firme land.

An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnesses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin allured us to them. Once againe our generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, & those 3. in sight labouring by al meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiving we made no hast

Their first meanes to allure us to shore.

Their second meanes.

Their third and craftiest allurement.

by words nor friendly signes, which they used by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in sight, they sought further meanes to provoke us thereunto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke up with the Boat hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceived themselves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to have intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to cover his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leaving him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to provoke some of us to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Compassion to cure a crafty lame man.

Our Generall having compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shoote at him with his Caleever, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleevers to be shot off at them, wherby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of us.

[III. 37.]

This was all the answere for this time we could have of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three severall times being thus manifest unto us, may plainely shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We judged that they used these stratagemes, thereby to have caught some of us, for the delivering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much unlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his living.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit up with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred upon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such grasse as the Countrey yeeldeth they plucke up and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oyles or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same. They neither use table, stoole, or table cloth for comlines: but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

Dogges like unto wolves.

They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much unlike Wolves, which they yoke togither, as we do oxen & horses, to a sled or traile: and so carry their necessaries over the yce and snow from place to place: as the captive, whom we have, made perfect signes. And when those dogs are not apt for the same use: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for us.

They eate dogs flesh.

They apparell themselves in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they give when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed unto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men have them not so side as the women.

Hoods and tailes to their apparell.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their knives, needles, and other things needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they have none but the said skinnes.

Those beasts, fishes, and foules, which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, threed, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessaries whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched up with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinewes, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched up, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

Their houses of Seale skins and Firre.

They have other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd over them, to withstand the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much unlike an Ovens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leave them untill the next time they come thither againe.

Their weapons of defence.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinewes, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bow strings are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd upon the arrow with the broad side to the wood; insomuch [III. 38.] that they seeme when they are tyed on, to have foure fethers. They have also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like unto a stopt head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that upon small occasion the arrowes leave these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they shoote.

Three sorts of heads to their arrowes.

Two sorts of darts.

Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much unlike our toasting yrons but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much unlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

Two sorts of boates made of leather.

They have two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much unlike our wherries, wherein sixeteene or twenty men may sit: they have for a sayle drest the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons: but in what sort, or how they use them we have no perfect knowledge as yet.

They use to foule, fish, and hunt.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to performe the same.

It is to be supposed that their inhabiting is elsewhere.

Those houses or rather dennes which stand there, have no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places: and when they have sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This conjecture do I make, for the infertility which I conjecture to be in that Countrey.

They have some yron whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very unapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

Their use of yron.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receive the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what Idoll they adore, we have no perfect intelligence, I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or devourers of mans flesh then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Anthropophagi.

There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except

Signes of gold eure. some Spiders (which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

Signes of gold from other people. They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

Description of the Countreis. The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like unto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the use of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whose skins are like unto Asses, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seven or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolves, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A signe of Earthquakes or thunder. There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

[III. 39.] *No rivers, but such as the Sunne doth cause to come of snow.* There are no rivers or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as discendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are ingendred.

It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frosen within, that that water which should have recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters have their originall, as by experience is seene otherwhere. Such valleis as are capable to receive the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell above the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or five fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (even in the very Summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can unknit them.

A probability that there should be neither spring or rivers in the ground.

Also where the water in those valleis can have no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceived: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolve the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Neverthelesse I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters have recourse, and emptie themselves out of sight into the sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs have their recourse, which is the onely nutriment of golde and Minerals within the same.

Springs nourish gold.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

Our departure from those Countreys.

The 24. of August, after we had satisfied our minds with fraight sufficient for our vessels, though not our covetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so sailed to Milford Haven, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Haven to conduct the ship.

How & when we lost our 2. Barks, which God neverthelesse restored.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of August, the other the 31. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast over borde with a surge of the sea.

The conclusion.

I Could declare unto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we have bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I have also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores untouched, for lacke of understanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

Countreys new discovered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name given by the discoverers, then an uncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our general named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of divers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, aswel on the one shore as also on the other.

The third and last voyage unto Meta Incognita, made by M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere 1578. Written by Thomas Ellis.

THese are to let you know, that upon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whose Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ships came to Gravesend, where wee ankred and abode the comming of certaine of our Fleete which were not yet come.

Master Yorke.
Christopher Hall.
The Hopewel.
Captaine Carew.
Andrew Dier.

The 27. of the same moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the wind favouring, and tide serving, we being of sailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoised our sailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the residue which then and there abode our arrivall: where we safely arrived the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the discharge of certaine pieces saluted, acording to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courtesie: which being finished we landed: where our Generall continued mustering his souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage untill the last of the said moneth of May, which day we hoised our sailes, and committing our selves to the conducting of Almightie God, we set forward toward the west Countrey in such luckie wise and good successe, that by the fift of June we passed the Dursies, being the utmost part of Ireland to the Westward.

[III. 40.]

Harwich.

Dursies.
Ireland.

And here it were not much amisse nor farre from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speake of our adventures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plimmouth, as also the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoyled of all that they had by

Plimmouth.

Pirates and Rovers: amongst whom was a man of Bristow, on whom our Generall used his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

Bristow.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I have digressed and swarved, I meane our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blasts, untill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almost cleane covered with snow, so that we might see nought but craggie rockes and the tops of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all covered with foggie mists. There might we also perceive the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that wee could not come neere the shore for them.

Frizeland.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we saw a place somewhat voyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a shore, where they sawe certaine tents made of beasts skinnes, and boates much the like unto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did conjecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ran away, so that wee could have no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because hee would have them no more to flee, but rather incouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gave commaundement that his men should take nothing away with them, saving onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, knives, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came abord, and hoysed sailes, and passed forwards.

The curtesie of our Generall.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night till the next day that the mist brake up: so that we might easily perceive all the ships thus sailing together all that day, until the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

Master Kinderslie. Bartholomew Bull.

But one of our small Barkes named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the Master Bartholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obteine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speake further anon when occasion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serve. Thus we continued in our course untill the second of July, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where we saw so much yce, that we thought it unpossible to get into the Straights: yet at the last we gave the adventure and entred the yce.

The Michael. The Judith. M. Fenton. Charles Jackman.

The Countesse of Warwicks sound.

Being amongst it wee sawe the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Judith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles Jackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from us, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large God willing, discourse hereafter) were severed from us, and being in, wandred up and downe the Straights amongst the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the last, (by the providence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Port. In the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of July aforesayd, tenne dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their provision in great heapes of stones being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed; whereof wee also found great store in other places after our arrival. They found also divers engins, as bowes, [III. 41.]

slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had sunke, minding to have it againe the next yeere.

Now seeing I have entreated so much of the Judith and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other ships, and will speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

Our entrance & passage, &c.

At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about us and inclosing us, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waves began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere us, and comming on so fast upon us, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on us so fast, we were in great danger, looking every houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selves and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

Barke Dionyse.

At the last the Barke Dionyse being but a weake ship, and bruised afore amongst the yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry above the water, sanke without saving any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we should have tasted of the same sauce. But neverthelesse we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates and saved all the men in such wise, that not one perished: God be thanked.

Narow shifts for safetie.

The storme still increased and the yce inclosed us, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the yce had so invironed us, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang over boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the ships sides from the great and driry strokes of the yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out upon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigorousnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid provision, but likewise so rased the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Gods providence.

Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who never leaveth them destitute which faithfully call upon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceive about a mile from us, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent us, we bent our selves. And furthermore, hee provided better for us then we deserved or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent us a fresh gale at West or at West Southwest, which set us cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent us so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we joyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praysing God for our deliverance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, saving onely they of whom I spake before and the ship which was lost, then at the last wee hoised our sailes, and lay bulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

A mountaine of yce appearing in sundry figures.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marveilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that ever we saw: for we judged it to be neere fourescore fathomes above water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceive, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

A fog of long continuance.

A current to the Northwest.

Also the fift of July there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. Therefore we were faine to beare a small sayle and to observe the time: but there ran such a current of a tide, that it set us to the Northwest of the Queenes foreland the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge having no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of July we lost the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

The Gabriel.

[III. 42.]

The people offer to traffike with us.

The 16. day one of our small Barkes named the Gabriel was sent by our Generall to beare in with the land to descrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and civill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and skins for knives, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused us to thinke, that they had small conversation with other of the Straights.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had bene: but we saw none of them. This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (even miraculously) provided for us, opening the fogges that we might see clearely, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne upon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case, wee cast about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as ever it was.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themselves cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sailes and lay a hull, staying to have the rest of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselves from the danger of rockes and yce, untill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces to give notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselves free, which they did that day.

Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.

Then having gathered our selves togither we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selves distant from the coast till the 19. day of July: at which time the fogges brake up and dispersed, so that we might plainely and clearely behold the pleasant ayre, which so long had bene taken from us, by the obscuritie of the foggie mists: and after that time we were not much encombred therewith untill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foreland and Jackmans sound, which proved as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel to discover it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at the length with great travaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who altogether adventured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland and Jackmans sound.

bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moared their ships untill the fourth of August, at which time they came to us in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake which caused her to cast againe to Seabord and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast untill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesayd, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee discovered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would serve to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting up and downe ever since her departure alone, never finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get us on Sea-bord.

An horrible snowe fell in July.

There fell also the same day being the 26. of July, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick upon the hatches which frose as it fell.

We had also at other times divers cruell stormes both of snow and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for us, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to give the onset.

The time of our setting forward, &c.

The 28. day therefore of the same July we assayed, and with little trouble (God be praysed) we passed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenesse of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished Port: by the 30. day wee obteined our expected desire, where we found the Judith, and the Michael:

which brought no smal joy unto the General, and great consolation to the heavie hearts of those wearied wights.

[III. 43.] The 30. day of July we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moared them, namely these ships, The Admirall, the Rearadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded us all to come a shore upon the Countesses Iland, where he set his Miners to worke upon the Mine, giving charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, divers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine upon an Island by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Island. One other was found in Winters Fornace, with divers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. In the same rodes he mette with divers of the people of the Countrey at sundry times, as once at a place called Davids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gave them the onset, being not above three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men above a dosen: but seeing themselves not able to prevaile, they tooke themselves to flight: whom our men pursued, but being not used to such craggie cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse of Sussex Iland. Winters Fornace. Davids Sound.

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and us. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound (as they came divers times, because the Harbor was not very good) the ship laded, and departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceived the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselves standing upon high cliffes, and call us to come over unto them: but also

The policie of the people for safetie of themselves.

would come in their Botes very neere to us, as it were to brag at us: whereof our Generall having advertisement, sent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the Ships, to accompany and attend upon him, with the Captaine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come unto us. For they, and the Fleebote having lost us the 26. day in the great snowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themselves, and came to seeke the Generall: so that now we had all our Shippes, saving one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forsooke our company, and returned home without lading.

Their speedie flight at our Generals arrivall.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came all together to the Countesse of Sussex Island, neere to Beares sound: where he manned out certaine Pinnisses, and went over to the people: who perceiving his arrivall, fledde away with all speede, and in haste left certaine dartes and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

The next morning our Generall perceiving certaine of them in botes upon the Sea, gave chase to them in a Pinnesse under saile, with a fresh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere unto them: for the longer he sailed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning and activitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded us to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboard with our ships: for whilest we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freezing in: for often snow and haile often falling, the water was so much frosen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce rowe our botes or Pinnesses, especially in Diers sound, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30. day of August we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceede any further herein, to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and those Gentlemen which should have inhabited all the yeere in those Countries, whose valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtlesse they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse.

Gentlemen should have inhabited the Countrey.

For the Barke Dionyse which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should have bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the Thomas of Ipswich which had most of their provision in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, having not their house, nor yet provision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with us.

But before we tooke shipping, we builded a litle house in the Countesse of Warwicks Island, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fansies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeeres.

An house tricked and garnished with divers trinkets.

Thus having finished all things we departed the Countrey, as I sayd before: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outragious tempest, beating on our ships with such vehement rigor, that anchor and cable availed nought: for we were driven on rockes and Islands of yce, insomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to us) we had bene cast away every man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one shippe (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and

[III. 44.]

An outragious tempest.

also cables, some botes, some Pinnisses: some anchor, cables, boates and Pinnisses.

This boystrous storme so severed us from one another, that one shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ship of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound could not come to his Shippe, but was compelled to goe aboord the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extreamely and so long a time, that they sent us homewarde (which was Gods favour towardes us) will we, nill we, in such haste, as not any one of us were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one Shippe did overtake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind so hidious, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

Our entring the coastes dangerous.

Thus our journey outward was not so pleasant, but our comming thither, entering the coasts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and swift tides, our times of aboade there in snowe and stormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of August with dangerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as uncomfortable: separating us so as wee sayled, that not any of us mette together, untill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the English coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, untill our arrivall in the river of Thames.

The report of Thomas Wiars passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein James Leech was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher 1578. concerning the discoverie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

THe Busse of Bridgewater was left in Beares sound at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete in some distresse, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out upon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence, and fell with Frisland on the 8. day of September at sixe of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest point of Frisland, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West northwest faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by south, and continued that course until the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about five leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that the Southeast poynt of Frisland was from him at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, Northwest by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the

The Island in length 25. leagues.

This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 second part.

13. day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them Northwest by North. There appeared two Harboroughs upon that coast: the greatest of them seven leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twentie or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

Two harboroughs in this Island.

[III. 45.]

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, given to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie, for their directions: And not unfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and of such other things, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

THat the first Seate be chosen on the seaside, so as (if it may be) you may have your owne Navie within Bay, river or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemie: and so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subject to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Navie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England have accesse to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caryed away also. This seat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of silver, copper, quicksilver, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needfull things may be supplyed from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,
Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made,
Timber for buylding easely to be conveied to the place,
Reede to cover houses or such like, if tyle or slate be not.

are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in civil sort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to live without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall live without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselves to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandise they can not live, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to have most speciall regard of that poynt, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate may draw to you accesse of Navigation for the same, or that by your owne Navigation you may cary the same out, and fetch home the supply of the wants of the seate.

Such Navigation so to be employed shall, besides the supply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of such things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoveth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of revenge to the Inland people be used: so shall you have firme amitie with your neighbours, so shall you have their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Divers and severall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of some portable or Navigable river, or ample lake, and therefore to have the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effect for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indevoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For so may you best discover all the natural commodities of their countrey, & also all their wants, al their strengths, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the clymate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you have wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

[III. 46.] Or if the soyle and clymate be such as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Sivil in Spaine, or that in the Islands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dresse Resigns of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Olive tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they have of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde Olive there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the West Indies on that firme.

Or if you have Hides of beasts fitte for sole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Savages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeelde by indevour, and to send us notice home, that thereupon we may devise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Savages to enjoy any whole country or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enjoy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much inriched, our Navie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or civil warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enjoy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so use the matter, as we should not depend upon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, orenges, lemonds, Spanish skins, &c. Nor upon France for woad, baysalt, and Gascoyne wines, nor on Eastland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefites of the soyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boords, fish, golde, silver, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you have plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common uses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe Haven, although you have not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may have traffique by sea upon one shore or other, upon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shore side or upon any portable river, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any river or brooke upon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great service, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession and after fortified by arte, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enjoy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themselves of fish to serve very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so have vent of their marchandize of England & also have victual, or by meanes hereupon to be used, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a navy at the setling place, they should find out along the tract of the land to have traffique, and at divers Islands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the provinces round about the only governour. And if the place first chosen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remove, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to avoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adjoyning to such convenient Haven and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men [III. 47.] skilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich for many uses.

To plant upon an Island in the mouth of some notable river, or upon the point of the land entring into the river, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such river were navigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the river, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such rivers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be covered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the savage from the rower.

Since every soile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in five drifats furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then seven yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of divers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile have not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may have it specially in minde.

A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Before which, as a necessary Preface is prefixed a twofolde discourse, conteining certaine reasons to prove all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Master George Best, a Gentleman employed in the same voyages.

What commodities and instructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Discourse.

1 First, by example may be gathered, how a Discoverer of new Countries is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discoverie.

2 Item, how he should be provided of shipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to proceede and deale with strange people, be they never so barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or otherwise.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being invironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen Sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of seasons, Summers and Winters doe differ in sundry regions.

7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoveries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpretors, new and unaccustomed Elements and ayres, strange and unsavoury meates, danger of theeves and robbers, fiercenesse of wilde beastes and fishes, hugenesse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, feare of hidden rockes, steepnesse of mountaines, darkenesse of sudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.

8 How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new Discoveries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beastes and fishes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and fashions of divers nations, the sundry sortes of government, the sight of strange trees, fruite, foules, and beastes, the infinite treasure of Pearle, Golde and Silver, the newes of newe found landes, the sundry positions of the Sphere, and many others.

9 How valiant Captaines use to deale upon extremitie, and otherwise.

10 How trustie souldiers dutifully use to serve.

11 Also here may bee seene a good example to be observed of any private person, in taking notes, and making observations of all such things as are requisite for a Discoverer of newe Countries.

12 Lastly, the Reader here may see a good paterne of a well governed service, sundry instructions of matters of Cosmographie, Geographie, and Navigation, as in reading more at large may be seene. [III. 48.]

[Experiences

Experiences and reasons of the Sphere, to proove all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the position of the five Zones.

Experience to prove that Torrida Zona is habitable.

First, it may be gathered by experience of our Englishmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandise to Guinea, and entred so farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned, with gaine.

Also the Englishmen made another Voyage very prosperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coasts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongst by Benin, unto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendiculer under the Equinoctial) all that whole Bay is more subject to many blooming and smoothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cause thereof is some accidents in the land. For it is most certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes &c. may cause through their sundry kinde of situation, sundry strange and extraordinary effects, which the reason of the clyme otherwise would not give. I mention these Voyages of our Englishmen, not so much to proove that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to shew their readinesse in attempting long and dangerous Navigations. Wee also among us in England have blacke Moores, Æthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Span-

Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.

yardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there have built Castles and Townes. Onely this I will say to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greatest part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in June, then the Countrey of Marochus, as shall appeare by these reasons and experiences following. For let us first consider the breadth and bignesse of this burning Zone (which as every man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 23. degrees and a halfe distant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each side the Equinoctiall one, eyther of them distant from the Equinoctial about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be described either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the first degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of July, having North latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the first degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of November, and in Aquarius the 9. of January, having South latitude, I am to proove by experience and reason, that all that distance included betweene these two Paralels last named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the same most fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the same not to be within the space of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either side, but onely under and about the two Tropickes, and so proportionally the neerer you doe approch to eyther Tropicke, the more you are subject to extremitie of heate (if any such be) and so Marochus being situate but sixe or seven degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, shall be more subject to heate, then any place under or neere the Equinoctiall line.

And first by the experience of sundry men, yea thousands, Travailers and Merchants, to the East and West Indies in many places both directly under, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one consent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middest of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Hearbes, grasse, fruite, wood and cattell, that we have heere, and thousandes other sortes, farre more wholesome, delectable and precious, then any wee have in these Northerne climates, as very well shall appeare to him that will reade the Histories and Navigations of such as have traveiled Arabia, India intra & extra Gangem, the Islands Moluccæ, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truely reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radish, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and such like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more savourie and delectable in taste then ours, within sixteene dayes after the seede is sowen. Wheate being sowed the first of Februarie, was [III. 49.] found ripe the first of May, and generally, where it is lesse fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the seed is sowne, and in some places will bring foorth an eare as bigge as the wrist of a man's arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Also grasse being cut downe, will grow up in sixe dayes above one foote high. If our cattell be transported thither, within a small time their young ones become of bigger stature, and more fat then ever they would have bene in these countreys. There are found in every wood in great numbers, such timber trees as twelve men holding handes together are not able to fathome. And to be short, all they that have bene there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene medowes and plaines, the fairest mountaines covered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest valleys, the goodliest pleasant fresh rivers, stored with infinite kinde of fishes, the thickest woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, silver, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in such abundance, as hitherto they have bene thought to have beene bred no where else but there. And in conclusion, it is nowe thought that no where else but under the Equinoctiall,

Marveilous fruitfull soile under the Equinoctiall.

Great trees.

Commodities and pleasures under the Equinoctiall.

or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradise, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that these things may seeme the lesse strange, because it hath bene accompted of the olde Philosophers, that there coulde nothing prosper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going over their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge such naturall causes as to me seeme very substantiall and sure reasons.

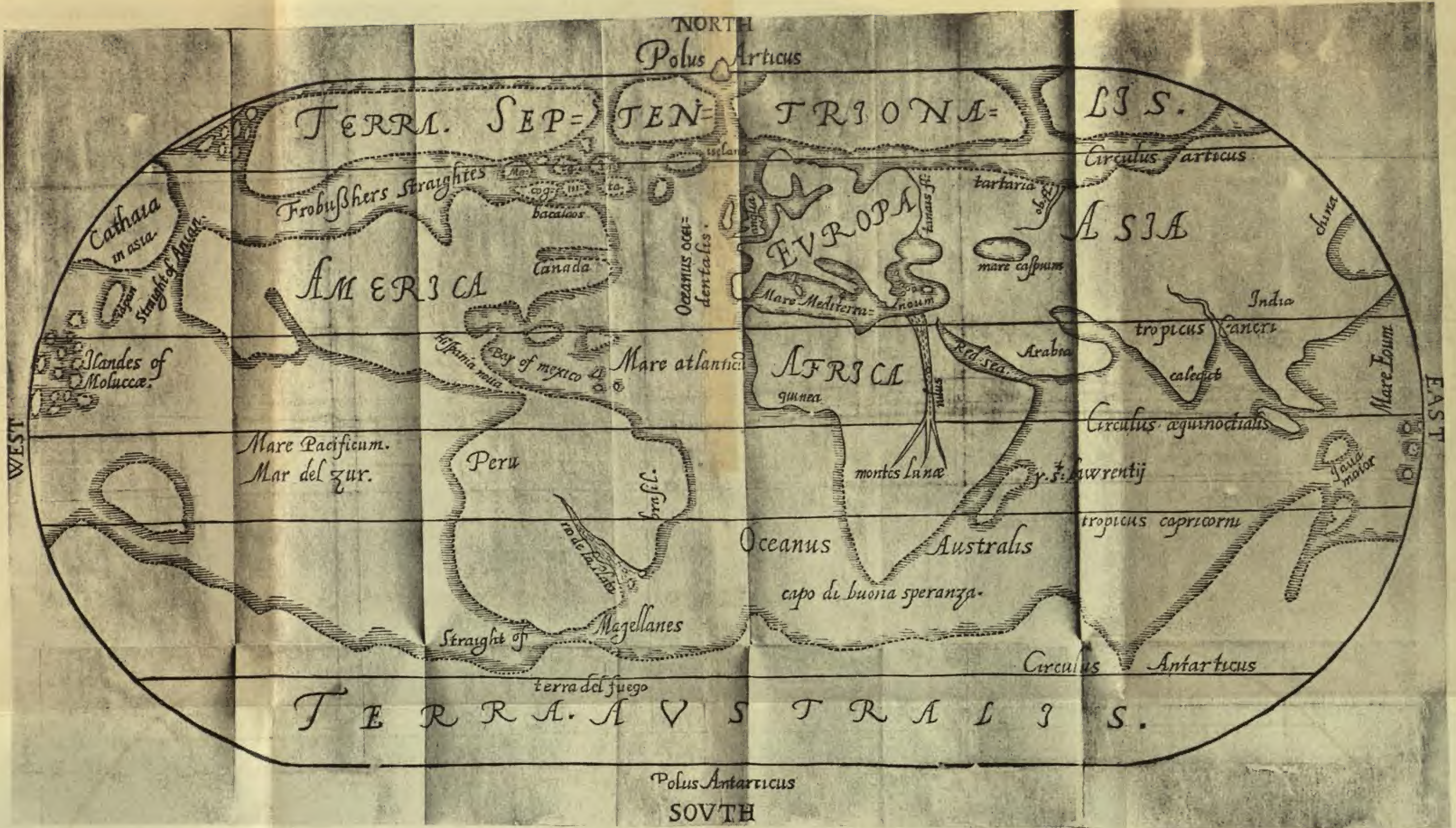
First you are to understand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or lesse heat in these lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in some place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and uneven Angles. And the other meane is the longer or shorter continuance of the Sunne above the Horizon. So that wheresoever these two causes do most concurre, there is most excesse of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is lesse. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly upon any region subject unto it, if it hath no continuance or abode above the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this second cause mora Solis supra Horizontem, the time of the sunnes abiding above the Horizon, the old Philosophers never remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were unequall and oblique, the heat was the lesse, as towards both Poles, which reason is very good and substantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reverberate in themselves, so that the heat is doubled, every beame striking twice, & by uniting are multiplied, and continue strong in forme of a Columne. But in our Latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames descend oblique and slanting wise, and so strike but once and depart, and therefore our

Heat is caused by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

Note this reason.

heat is the lesse for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet because wee have a longer continuance of the Sunnes presence above our Horizon then they have under the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increased, for it shineth to us 16. or 18. houres sometime, when it continueth with them but twelve houres alwayes.

And againe, our night is very short wherein cold vapours use to abound, being but sixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelve houres long, by which two advantages of long dayes and short nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to passe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proved by experience, and is nothing dissonant from good reason. Therefore whosoever will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, must not onely consider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but also the continuance of the same above the Horizon. As first to them under the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular over their heads, and therefore during the two houres of those two dayes the heat is very urgent, and so perhaps it will be in foure or five dayes more an houre every day, untill the Sunne in his proper motion have crossed the Equinoctiall; so that this extreme heat caused by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man say the Sunne may scalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, so farre foorth as reason leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will measure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, because this temperature is best knowen unto us. As for example, the 11. day of March, when under the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre past eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the East about 38. degrees above the Horizon, because there it riseth alwayes at sixe


NORTH
Polus Articus
TERRA. SEP= TEN= TRIONA= LIS.
island
Circulus articus
Frobußhers Straightes
Mo
cog
ni
ta
bacalaos
tartaria
ob fl.
tanais fl.
EVROPA
Anglia
ASIA
china
Cathaia in asia
Straight of Anian
Quiuira
AMERICA
Canada
Oceanus occidentalis.
mare caspium
Mare Mediterraneum
India
tropicus Canceri
Ilandes of Moluccæ.
Hispania noua
Bay of mexico
Mare atlantica
AFRICA
Red sea
Arabia
calecut
Mare Eoum
EAST
WEST
guinea
nilus
Circulus æquinoctialis
Mare Pacificum.
Mar del zur.
Peru
Brasil
montes lunæ
y. S. Laurentij
Iaua maior
rio de la Plata
tropicus capricorni
Oceanus Australis
capo di buona speranza.
Straight of Magellanes
Circulus Antarticus
terra del fuego
TERRA. AVSTRALIS.
Polus Antarticus
SOVTH

MAP OF THE WORLD, A.D. 1578

of the clocke, and mooveth every houre 15. degrees, and so high very neere will it be with us at London [III. 50.] the said eleventh day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with us at noone, the eleventh of March, the same force it seemeth to have under the Equinoctial at half an houre past eight in the morning, or rather lesse force under the Equinoctiall. For with us the Sunne had bene already sixe houres above the horizon, and so had purified and clensed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreased at noone; but under the Equinoctiall, the Sunne having bene up but two houres and an halfe, had sufficient to doe, to purge and consume the cold and moyst vapours of the long night past, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much lesse heate at halfe an houre past eight under the Equinoctiall, then is with us at noone: à fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to have the Sunne shining, but we greatly desire the same. Likewise the 11 of June, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and under the Equinoctiall it is so high after 10 of the clocke, and seeing then it is beneficial with us; à fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus have wee measured the force of the Sunnes greatest heate, the hottest dayes in the yeere, under the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from sixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two untill Sunne set. And this is concluded, by respecting onely the first cause of heate, which is the consideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine similitude, that whereas the Sunne shineth never above twelve houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleasant even to us, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with such warme places. So there remaineth lesse then foure houres of any excessive heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleventh day of March, and the foureteenth of September: for under the Equinoctiall they have two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewise two Winters, in June and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely tasted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approching neere thereunto, then may wee more easily measure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it striketh upon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of June the Sunne will be in the first degree of Cancer. Then looke what force the heate of the Sunne hath under the Equinoctiall, the same force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is elevated betweene fourtie and seven, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of June sustaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the same Meridian doeth likewise at noone, or the Ilands Taprobana, Moluccæ, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye underneath the Equinoctiall. For upon the twelfth day of June aforesaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Isoscheles Triangle, whose Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Basis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland under the Equinoctiall, unto Paris in France neere the same Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Base must needs be equal per 5. primi, Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cause then the reason of the Angle, as the olde Philosophers have appointed. But because at Paris the Sunne riseth two houres before it riseth to them under the Equinoctiall, and setteth likewise two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes presence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh some effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it must then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is under the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France is as hote as under the Equinoctiall in June.

In June is greater heat at Paris then under the Equinoctial.

Also this is an other reason, that when the Sunne setteth to them under the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe under their Horizon, almost even to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very short, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and so the moysture and coldnesse of the long nights wonderfully encreaseth, so that at length the Sunne rising can hardly in many houres consume and drive away the colde humours and moyst vapours of the night past, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth under their Horizon but very little, after a sloping sort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightsome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifestly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very uneven, and unlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Also the Sommer day at Paris is sixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywise under the Equinoctiall the day is but twelve houres long, and so long is also the night, in whatsoever Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode above the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath under the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the same proportion would seeme to be betweene the heate of the one place, and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progresse that day in both places) are equall.

The twilights are shorter, and the nights darker under the Equinoctial then at Paris.

[III. 51.]

But under the Equinoctiall the presence and abode of the Sunne above the Horizon is equall to his absence, and abode under the Horizon, eche being twelve houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is above the Horizon sixteene houres long, and but eight houres absence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be subtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine still a double proportion, whereby it seemeth to follow, that in June the heate at Paris were double to the heate under the equinoctiall. For (as I have said) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cause of difference is, Mora Solis supra Horizontem, the stay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whosoever could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encrease the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expresly be set downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

Thus you partly see by comparing a Climate to us well knowen, and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that under the Equinoctiall in June is no excessive heat, but a temperate aire rather tending to cold. For as they have there for the most part a continuall moderate heat, so yet sometime they are a little pinched with colde, and use the benefite of fire as well as we, especially in the evening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied fast in the upper part of the house, so will they have fires made on both sides their bed, of which two fires, the one they devise superstitiously to drive away spirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldnesse of the nights.

They use and have neede of fire under the Equinoctiall.

Also in many places of Torrida Zona, especially in the higher landes somewhat mountainous, the people a litle shrincke at the cold, and are often forced to provide themselves clothing, so that the Spaniards have found in the West Indies many people clothed, especially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, else would they never provide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwise. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be combersome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Colde intermingled with heate under the Equinoctial.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extreme hot, because the people of the countrey can, and doe live without clothing, wherein they childishly are deceived: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, because wee cannot live without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing so many clothes, is a remedy against extremitie, and argueth not the goodnesse of the habitation, but inconvenience and injury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of these troublesome things are required, but that we may live naked and bare, as nature bringeth us foorth.

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

The Sunne heateth not by his neerenesse, but onely by reflection.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, because the people of Africa, especially the Ethiopians, are so cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled short, which blacknesse and curled haire they suppose to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it should be possible I cannot see: for even under the Equinoctiall in America, and in the East Indies, and in the Ilands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire uncurled as wee have, so that if the Ethiopians blacknesse came by the heat of the Sunne, why should not those Americans and Indians also be as blacke as they, seeing the Sunne is equally distant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concave and convexe Superficies of the Orbe of the Sunne is concentrike, and equidistant to the earth; except any man should imagine somewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppositum, which indifferently may be applied aswel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to give no otherwise heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neerenesse to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the middest of the middle Zone, and in all other places upon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall snow, which is neerer to the Orbe of the Sunne, then the people are in the valley, by so much as the height of these mountaines amount unto, and yet the Sunne notwithstanding his neerenesse, can not melt the snow for want of convenient place of reflections. Also the middle region of the aire where all the haile, frost, and snow is engendred, is neerer unto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, because there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect against, whereby appeareth that the neerenesse of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores. I my selfe have seene an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his native countrey, and an English woman his mother: whereby it seemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of some natural infection of that man, which was so strong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore, wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. And for a more fresh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this discourse is taken in hande) that were brought this last yeere into England, were all generally of the same colour that many nations be, lying in the middest of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was subject to Sunne and aire, but also in their bodies, which were stil covered with garments as ours are, yea the very sucking childe of twelve moneths age had his skinne of the very same colour that most have under the Equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reason of the Clime, for that they are at least ten degrees more towardes the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne never commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the frosen Zone, and as I saide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is some other cause then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that should cause the Ethiopians great blacknesse. And the most probable cause to my judgement is, that this blackenesse proceedeth of some

A black Moores sonne borne in England.

[III. 52.]

The colour of the people in Meta Incognita. The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.

naturall infection of the first inhabitants of that Countrey, and so all the whole progenie of them descended, are still polluted with the same blot of infection. Therefore it shall not bee farre from our purpose, to examine the first originall of these blacke men, and howe by a lineall discent they have hitherto continued thus blacke.

The cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse.

It manifestly and plainely appeareth by holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and overflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men alive but Noe and his three sonnes, Sem, Cham, and Japhet, who onely were left to possesse and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the sundry discents that until this present day have inhabited the whole earth, must needes come of the off-spring either of Sem, Cham, or Japhet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wives also, by course of nature should have begotten and brought foorth white children. But the envie of our great and continuall enemie the wicked Spirite is such, that as hee coulde not suffer our olde father Adam to live in the felicitie and Angelike state wherein hee was first created, but tempting him, sought and procured his ruine and fall: so againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three sonnes living, hee so caused one of them to transgresse and disobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his posteritie shoulde bee accursed. The fact of disobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the floud-gates of heaven were opened, so that the whole face of the earth, every tree and mountaine was covered with abundance of water, hee straitely commaunded his sonnes and their wives, that they should with reverence and feare beholde the justice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the floud while they remained in the Arke, they should use continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation with their wives: and many other precepts hee gave unto them, and admonitions touching the justice of God, in revenging sinne, and his mercie in delivering them,

The Arke of Noe.

who nothing deserved it. Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commandement while they were yet in the Arke, used company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and detestable fact, as an example for contempt of Almightie God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should bee borne whose name was Chus, who not onely it selfe, but all his posteritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vanished from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem chose that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Asia, and Japhet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke sonne Chus, and was called Chamesis after the fathers name, being perhaps a cursed, dry, sandy, and unfruitfull ground, fit for such a generation to inhabite in.

Chus the sonne of Cham accursed.

Africa was called Chamesis.

Thus you see, that the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and naturall infection of blood, and not the distemperature of the Climate; Which also may bee prooved by this example, that these blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, even unto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reason of the Sphere, should be the same temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the [III. 53.] blacknesse proceedeth not of the hotenesse of the Clime, but as I saide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blacknesse is not able to destroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee assertained, that under the Equinoctiall is the most pleasant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct over their heades, and therefore the heate at that time somewhat of force, yet because it commeth so seldome, and continueth so small a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time should in the short day waxe somewhat urgent, the coldnesse of the long night there would easily refresh it, according as Honterus sayeth, speaking of the temperature under the Equinoctiall.

Greatest temperature under the Equinoctial.

Quódque die solis violento incanduit æstu,
Humida nox reficit, paribusque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moysture of the night doeth coole and refresh the same againe, the Sunne being as long absent in the night, as it was present in the day.

Also our Aucthour of the Sphere, Johannes de Sacro Bosco, in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriveth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine signifieth Vita, life; for out of Aristotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum accessum & recessum solis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes & corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiake, the inferiour bodies take their causes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is most going too and fro, there is most generation and corruption: which must needes be betweene the two Tropickes; for there the Sunne goeth too and fro most, and no where else but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greatest increase, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which also wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, so that they have two Harvests in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out so

Under the Equinoctiall is greatest generation.

temperate, it resteth to declare where the hottest part of the world should bee, for we finde some places more hote then others.

Greatest heate under the Tropicks.

To answere this doubt, reason perswadeth, the hotest place in the world to bee under and about the two Tropickes; for there more then in any other place doe both the causes of heate concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne above the Horizon, the Pole there being elevated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them under the Equinoctiall, yet because the same continued but a small time, (their dayes being short, and their nights long) and the speedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, because of the suddeine crossing of the Zodiake with the Equinoctiall, and that by such continuall course and recourse of hote and colde, the temperature grew moderate, and very well able to bee endured: so nowe to them under the two Tropickes, the Sunne having once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctial, beginneth to draw neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleventh day of May, and then beginneth to sende his beames almost at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entreth into the first degree of Gemini, and with this almost right Angle the Sunne beames will continue untill it bee past Cancer, that is, the space of two moneths every day at noone, almost perpendicular over their heades, being then the time of Solstitium Aestivale: which so long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cause an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of necessitie farre more heate then can bee under the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no such long abode in the Zenith, but passeth away therehence very quickly. Also under the Tropickes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is under the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne having a longer time of operation, must needes be encreased, especially seeing the night wherein colde and moysture doe abound under the Tropickes, is lesse then it is under the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that under the Tropickes is the hotest place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, especially because there both causes of heate doe concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes presence above the Horison. And by this meanes more at large is prooved, that Marochus in Sommer is farre more hote, then at any time under the Equinoctiall, because it is situate so neere the Tropick of Cancer, and also for the length of their dayes. Neither yet do I thinke, that the Regions situate under the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull also; although Marochus and some other parts of Afrike neere the Tropike for the drinesse of the native sandie soile, and [III. 54.] some accidents may seeme to some to be intemperate for over much heat. For Ferdinandus Oviedus speaking of Cuba and Hispaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard under, or by the Tropike of Cancer, saith, that these Ilands have as good pasture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Cuba. Hispaniola.

Also, they have most holesome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reason whereof the heards of beastes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taste, then any in Spaine, because of the ranke pasture, whose moysture is better digested in the hearbe or grasse, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and unctious, it is of better and more stedfast nourishment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moysture out of the earth to the nourishment of such things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth also by moderation preserve the same from putrifying, digesting also, and condensating or thickning the said moyst nourishment into a gumme and unctious substance, whereby appeareth also, that under the Tropikes is both holesome, fruitefull, and pleasant

Under the Tropickes is moderate temperature.

habitation, whereby lastly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which untill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the most delicate, temperate, commodious, pleasant, and delectable part of the world, and especially under the Equinoctiall.

Having now sufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to speake somewhat also of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and also how these Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the same, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and also how in Winter the same is habitable, especially to the inhabitants thereof.

THe colde Regions of the world are those, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the seven Climates: which assertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and set out in our authour of the Sphere, Johannes de Sacrobosco, where hee plainely saith, that without the seventh Climate, which is bounded by a Parallel passing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is discommodious and intollerable. But Gemma Frisius a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compasse of those Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the uttermost Parallel whereof passeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth over and above the first computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moscovia, &c. which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

Nine Climates.

The olde writers perswaded by bare conjecture, went about to determine of those places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, because they felt them to bee hardly tollerable to themselves, and so took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or some other part of Barbarie, should at the latter end of Sommer upon the suddeine, either naked, or with his thinne vesture, bee brought into England, hee would judge this Region presently not to bee habitable, because hee being brought up in so warme a Countrey, is not able here to live, for so suddeine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the same man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and so afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of Autumne, it would have seemed by degrees to harden him, and so to make it farre more tollerable, and by use after one yeere or two, the aire would seeme to him more temperate. It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a brasse pot broken in sunder with frosen water in Pontus, which after was brought and shewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore consecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

A comparison betweene Marochus and England.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fouretie three degrees in Latitude, it was presently counted a place very hardly and uneasily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can such men define upon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neere a place they so grossely mistooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inventions of the olde Authors, have persisted willingly in the same opinion, with more confidence then consideration of the cause: so lightly was that opinion received, as touching the unhabitable Clime neere and under the Poles.

[III. 55.]

All the North regions are habitable.

Therefore I am at this present to prove, that all the land lying betweene the last climate even unto the point directly under either poles, is or may be inhabited, especially of such creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that some particular living creature cannot live in every particular place or region, especially with the same joy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bred, for the certeine agreement of nature that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being translated and brought out of the second or third climat, though they may live, yet will they never ingender or bring forth yong. Also we see the like in many kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaves, but not any fruit: and translated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaves, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

Elephant.

Orange tree.

Two causes of heat.

In the proving of these colde regions habitable, I shalbe very short, because the same reasons serve for this purpose, which were alleged before in the proving the middle Zone to be temperate, especially seeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or short continuance of the Suns presence above ground: so that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cause of heat, and if the Sunne do also long continue above the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increased by accesse of this other cause, & so groweth to a kinde of extremity. And these two causes, as I sayd before, do most concurre under the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greatest heat of the world. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest want of heat, and increase of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the privation and absence of heat) and if one cause be wanting, and the other present; the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be understood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth rise over their heads at noone, and so maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them so much the shorter time, and causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the domage of the day past, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions, over the which the Sunne riseth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there unequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day past. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when under the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance & increase of the day, doth augment so much the more in colde regions as they are nerer the poles, and ceaseth not increasing untill it come directly under the point of the pole Arcticke, where the Sunne continueth above ground the space of sixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and so the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North signes, from the first degree of Aries untill the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March untill the 14 of September. The Sunne therfore during the time of these sixe moneths without any offence or hindrance of the night, giveth his influence upon those lands with heat that never ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of Summer, by reason of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high over their heads, to cause right angle beames, and to give great heat, yet the Sun being there sometime almost 24 degrees high doth cast a convenient and meane heate, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the space of sixe moneths (as is before sayd) during which timé there followeth to be a convenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be suspected the

Hote nights nere the pole.

Colde nights under the Equinoctiall.

One day of sixe moneths.

Moderate heat under ye poles.

heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and also, Quia virtus unita crescit, the vertue and strength of heat united in one increaseth. If then there be such a moderate heat under the poles, and the same to continue so long time; what should moove the olde writers to say there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat under both the poles might more manifestly appeare, let us consider the position & quality of the sphere, the length of the day, and so gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by consequent the quantity of his angle, and so lastly the strength of his heat.

The Sunne never setteth in 182 dayes.

[III. 56.]

Those lands and regions lying under the pole, and having the pole for their Zenith, must needs have the Equinoctial circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sun entring into the North signes, and describing every 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the same parallels must needs be wholly above the Horizon: and so looke how many degrees there are from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole revolutions there are above their Horizon that dwell under the pole, which amount to 182, and so many of our dayes the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they have there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moist nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the first degree of Aries, and last degree of Virgo, maketh his revolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is above the horizon, and the other halfe is under his only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

Horizon and Equinoctiall all one under the pole.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the Sunne is almost 24 degrees, it followeth, his greatest height in those countreys to be almost 24 degrees. And so high is the Sun at noone to us in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewise the 21 of January being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in

London the 29 of October, the same force of heat it hath, to them that dwell under the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the Summer solstitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; so that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well measured in London (which is very hard to do, because of the long nights which ingender great moisture and cold) then would manifestly appeare by expresse numbers the maner of the heat under the poles, which certainly must needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to overmuch heat, and if moisture do not want.

London.

For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and have in our gardens hearbs and floures notwithstanding our cold nights, how much more should they have the same good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolenesse of the night vanisheth, that heat is strong, and by continuall accesse is still increased and strengthened. And thus by a similitude of the equall height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions under the poles.

Commodious dwelling under the poles.

And surely I cannot thinke that the divine providence hath made any thing uncommunicable, but to have given such order to all things, that one way or other the same should be imployed, and that every thing and place should be tollerable to the next: but especially all things in this lower world be given to man to have dominion and use thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation under the poles during the time of Summer.

But all the controversie consisteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaveth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other sixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes course is under their horizon for

The nights under the pole.

the space of halfe a yere, and then those regions (say some) must needs be deformed with horrible darknesse, and continuall night, which may be the cause that beasts can not seeke their food, and that also the colde should then be intollerable. By which double evils all living creatures should be constrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and injury of Winter, and famine insuing thereof, but that all things should perish before the Summer following, when they should bring foorth their brood and yoong, and that for these causes the sayd Clime about the pole should be desolate and not habitable. To all which objections may be answered in this maner: First, that though the Sunne be absent from them those six moneths, yet it followeth not that there should be such extreme darknesse; for as the Sunne is departed under their horizon, so is it not farre from them: and not so soone as the Sunne falleth so suddenly commeth the darke night; but the evening doth substitute and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of the night receiveth light of the Moone and Starres, untill the breake of the day, which giveth also a certaine light before the Sunnes rising; so that by these meanes the nights are seldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle Zone under the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are short, and the nights darker then in any other place, because the Sunne goeth under their horizon so deepe, even to their antipodes. We see in England in the Summer nights, when the Sunne goeth not farre under the horizon, that by the light of the Moone & Starres we may travell all night, and if occasion were, do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can see to feed in the nights, seeing we are so well certified therof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere our nights should be darker then any time under the poles.

The Astronomers consent that the Sunne descending from our upper hemisphere at the 18 parallel under the horizon maketh an end of twilight, so that at length the darke night insueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels, doth drive away the night by accesse of the twilight. Againe, by the position of the sphere under the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. These revolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are also parallel to the horizon, so that the Sunne descending under that horizon, and there describing certaine parallels not farre distant, doth not bring darke nights to those regions untill it come to the parallels distant 18 [III. 57.] degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our November, and after the Winter solstitium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of January; during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of November untill the 19 day of January, which is about six weeks space, those regions do want the commodity of twilights: therefore, during the time of these sayd six moneths of darknesse under the poles, the night is destitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the sayd twilights onely for the space of six weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy from heaven; for the Moone with her increased light hath accesse at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light every one of themselves severally halfe the course of that moneth, by whose benefit it commeth to passe that the night named extreame darke possesseth those regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this also divided into two sorts of shorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights under the pole are tolerable to living creatures. And if it be so that the Winter and

The regions under the poles want twilights but sixe weeks.

Winter nights under the pole tolerable to living creatures.

time of darknesse there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them unprovided therefore: for there the beasts are covered with haire so much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reason whereof the best and richest furres are brought out of the coldest regions. Also the fowles of these colde countreys have thicker skinnes, thicker feathers, and more stored of downe then in other hot places. Our English men that travell to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter farre within the circle Arctike, and so are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aswell as in Island and all along those Northerne Seas, they finde the greatest store of the greatest fishes that are; as Whales, &c. and also abundance of meane fishes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the sea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

An objection of Meta incognita.

But some perhaps will marvell there should be such temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at under 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobisher & his company were troubled with so many and so great mountaines of fleeting ice, with so great stormes of colde, with such continuall snow on tops of mountaines, and with such barren soile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low shrubs, and such like. To all which objections may be answered thus: First, those infinite Islands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, flouds, winds, and currents, were driven to and fro, and troubled the fleet; so that this is an argument to prove the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall snow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwise then is in the hotest part of the middle Zone, where also lieth great snow all the Summer long upon tops of mountaines, because there is not sufficient space for the Sunnes reflection, whereby the snow should be molten. Touching the colde stormy winds and the barrennesse of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Devonshire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North side thereof all alongst the coast within seven or eight miles off the sea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and seene unto: and the cause thereof are the Northerne driving winds, which comming from the sea are so bitter and sharpe that they kill all the yoong & tender plants, and suffer scarse any thing to grow; and so is it in the Islands of Meta incognita, which are subject most to East & Northeastern winds, which the last yere choaked up the passage so with ice that the fleet could hardly recover their port. Yet notwithstanding all the objections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, & sundry kind of beasts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, seamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, hawks, and such like, as in the third booke you shall understand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle Zone but also the Zones about the poles are habitable.

Meta incognita inhabited.

Captaine Frobishers first voyage.

Which thing being well considered, and familiarly knowen to our Generall captaine Frobisher, aswell for that he is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skilles appertaining to the arte of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeres experience both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and nerer passage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yerely use: he began first with himselfe to devise, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat unto them that that voyage was not onely possible by the Northwest, but also he could prove easie to be performed. And further, he determined and resolved with himselfe to go make full proofe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or els never [III. 58.] to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceived in his minde a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leave untouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to set forward, and performe the same. Long time he conferred with his private friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect unto sundry merchants of our countrey above 15 yeres before he attempted the same, as by good witnesse shall well appeare (albeit some evill willers which challenge to themselves the fruits of other mens labours have greatly injured him in the reports of the same, saying that they have bene the first authours of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themselves as yet have never gone) but perceiving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes have their chiefe increase and maintenance) and there layed open to many great estates and learned men the plot and summe of his device. And amongst many honourable minds which favoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke, whose favourable minde and good disposition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and advance all honest actions with the authours and executers of the same: and so by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he received some comfort of his cause, and by litle and litle, with no small expense and paine brought his cause to some perfection, and had drawen together so many adventurers and such summes of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and five and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresayd two barks, and one small pinnesse of ten tun burthen, having therein victuals and other necessaries for twelve moneths provision, he departed upon the sayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of June anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and sailing Northwest from England upon the 11 of July he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be Frisland (whereof some authors have made mention) but durst not approch the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he lost company of his small pinnesse, which by meanes of the great storme he supposed to be swallowed up of the Sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

The Michael returned home.

Also the other barke named The Michael mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captaine notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen overboord with extreame foule weather, continued his course towards the Northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, & that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true proofe what land and sea the same might be so farre to the Northwestwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered. And the twentieth of July he had sight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Majesties name. And sailing more Northerly alongst that coast, he descried another forland with a great gut, bay, or passage, divided as it were two maine lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde deteined overthwart these straights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or els conveyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make proofe of this place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thorow the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceived no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of July, and passed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed Westward he judged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firme of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

Frobishers first entrance within ye streights.

This place he named after his name, Frobishers streights, like as Magellanus at ye Southwest end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South sea (where America is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South pole) and called the same straights, Magellanes straits.

Frobishers straights.

[III. 59.]

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresayd straight, he went ashore, and found signes where fire had bene made.

Deere.

He saw mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to use defence and policy to save his life.

In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things fleeting in the sea afarre off, which he supposed to be porposes or seales, or some kinde of strange fish; but comming neerer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend downe from the hill, certaine of those people had almost

The first sight of ye Savages.

cut off his boat from him, having stollen secretly behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himselfe to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboord his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our mens faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seales, and beares skinnes, and such like, with our men; and received belles, looking glasses, and other toyes, in recompense thereof againe. After great curtesie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were never since heard of to this day againe: so that the captaine being destitute of boat, barke, and all company, had scarsely sufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could now neither convey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the subtile traitours were so wary, as they would after that never come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithstanding desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: and therefore to deceive the deceivers he wrought a prety policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a prety lowbell, making signes that he would give him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship

Salmon.

Five Englishmen intercepted and taken.

Taking of the first Savage.

side to receive the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: for the captaine being readily provided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the sea. Whereupon when he found himselfe in captivity, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but lived untill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

Frobishers returne.

Now with this new pray (which was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious travell towards the unknowen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this strange infidell, whose like was never seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither knowen nor understood of any) the sayd captaine Frobisher returned homeward, and arrived in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya.

The taking possession of Meta incognita.

And it is especially to be remembred that at their first arrivall in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thicke together, that hardly his boat could passe unto the shore. At length, after divers attempts he commanded his company, if by any possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first finde, whether it were living or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Majesty, thinking that thereby he might justify the having and injoying of the same things that grew in these unknowen parts.

How the ore was found by chance.

Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse; and one brought a piece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of metall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the judgement of the captaine at the first sight; and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arrivall in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to present them withall but a piece of this blacke stone. [III. 60.] And it fortuned a gentlewoman one of the adventurers wives to have a piece therof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a litle vineger, it glistered with a bright marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gave out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at her Majesties hands of those places, whereby to injoy the masse of so great a publike profit unto their owne private gaines.

Many adventurers.

In conclusion, the hope of more of the same golde ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to advance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere following, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discovery of the passage. And being well accompanied with divers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Majesty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks house in Essex, he came to take his leave, and kissing her hignesse hands, with gracious countenance & comfortable words departed toward his charge.

In the second voyage commission was given onely for the bringing of ore.

[A true

A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discovery of a new passage to Cataya, China and the East India, by the Northwest. Ann. Dom. 1577.

BEing furnished with one tall ship of her Majesties, named The Ayde, of two hundred tunne, and two other small barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, about thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the sayd captaine Frobisher, with the rest of his company came aboord his ships riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the first winde and tide serving him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discovery, and the number of souldiers and mariners in ech ship, as followeth.

ABoord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all sorts, whereof 30 or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the rest sufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 persons, whereof sixe were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Michael were 16 persons, whereof five were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was	Generall of the whole company for her Majesty	Martin Frobisher.
	His Lieutenant	George Best.
	His Ensigne	Richard Philpot.
	Corporall of the shot	Francis Forder.
	The rest of the gentlemen	Henry Carew.
		Edmund Stafford.
		John Lee.
		M. Harvie.
		Mathew Kinersley.
		Abraham Lins.
		Robert Kinersley.
		Francis Brakenbury.
		William Armshow.
	The Master	Christopher Hall.
	The Mate	Charles Jackman.
	The Pilot	Andrew Dier.
	The Master gunner	Richard Cox.
Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine	Edward Fenton.
	One Gentleman	William Tamfield.
	The Maister	William Smyth.
Aboord the Michaell was	Captaine	Gilbert Yorke.
	One Gentleman	Thomas Chamberlaine.
	The Maister	James Beare.

[III. 61.]

ON Whitsunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Gravesend, where we remained untill Monday at night.

They received the communion

On munday morning the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde we received all the Communion by the Minister of

Gravesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

Tuesday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arrived at Harwitch in Essex and there stayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, untill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, straightly commanding our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie persons: whereupon he discharged many proper men which with unwilling mindes departed.

The number of men in this voyage.

He also dismissed all his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very needefull for the voyage, and towards night upon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we set saile, and put to the Seas againe. And sayling Northward alongst the East coasts of England and Scotland, the seventh day of June we arrived in Saint Magnus sound in Orkney Ilands, called in latine Orcades, and came to ancker on the South side of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we set saile first leagues.

The condemned men discharged.

The first arrivall after our departing from England.

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of these Ilandes beganne to flee as from the enemie, whereupon the Lieutenant willed every man to stay togither, and went himselfe unto their houses to declare what we were and the cause of our comming thither, which being understood, after their poore maner they friendly entreated us, and brought us for our money such things as they had. And here our Goldfiners found a Mine of silver.

A Mine of silver found in Orkney.

Orkney is the principall of the Isles of the Orcades, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much subject to colde, answerable for such a climate, and yet yeeldeth some fruites, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorely to live.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, store of egges, fish, and foule.

For their bread they have Oaten Cakes, and their drinke is Ewes milke, and in some partes Ale.

Their houses are but poore without and sluttish ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in most parts being voide of wood.

They have great want of Leather, and desire our old shoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

In this Island hath bene sometime an Abbey or a religious house called Saint Magnus, being on the West side of the Ile, whereof this sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their Governour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we understood, was in durance at Edenburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

S. Magnus sound why so called.

After we had provided us here of matter sufficient for our voyage the eight of June wee set sayle againe, and passing through Saint Magnus sound having a merrie winde by night, came cleare and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted upon us so that we lay in traverse on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the Northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen from Iseland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters unto our friends in England. We traversed these Seas by the space of 26 dayes without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, & whole bodies of trees. We sawe many monsterous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to live onely by the Sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God favoured us with more prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of July the Michaell being formost a head shot off a peece

Great bodies of trees driving in the seas.

[III. 62.]

Monstrous fish & strange foule living onely by the Sea.

of Ordinance, and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they descryed land which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboord the Michaell (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make proofe thereof, who descryed not the land perfect, but sawe sundry huge Ilands of yce, which we deemed to be not past twelve leagues from the shore, for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of July, the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Frislande. And the heigth being taken here, we found our selves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermost part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Frisland are reckoned leagues.

Water being blacke and smooth signifieth land to be neere.

Ilands of yce.

The first sight of Frisland the 4. of July.

This Frislande sheweth a ragged and high lande, having the mountaines almost covered over with snow alongst the coast full of drift yce, and seemeth almost inaccessible, and is thought to be an Iland in bignesse not inferiour to England, and is called of some Authors, West Frislande, I thinke because it lyeth more West then any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the Northward very farre as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driven off from Ireland with a violent tempest made shipwracke here, and were the first knowen Christians that discovered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they have in their Sea-cardes set out every part thereof and described the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as civill and religious people as we. And for so much of this land as we have sayled alongst, comparing their Carde with the coast, we finde it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to have good fishing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and presently

Frisland described.

An easie kind of Fishing.

caught a great fish called a Hollibut, who served the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for surfetting. And sounding about five leagues off from the shore, our leade brought up in the tallow a kinde of Corrall almost white, and small stones as bright as Christall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were throughly discovered, although we sawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a marvellous thing to behold of what great bignesse and depth some Ilands of yce be here, some seventie, some eightie fadome under water, besides that which is above, seeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All these yce are in tast fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds thereabouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driven alongst the coastes. We found none of these Ilands of yce salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes salt, but of some standing or little mooving lakes or great fresh waters neere the shore, caused eyther by melted snowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall accesse of fresh rivers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame frost) may cause some part of salt water to freese so with it, and so seeme a little brackish, but otherwise the maine Sea freeseth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or frosen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooved landing here twice, but by the suddaine fall of mistes (whereunto this coast is much subject) he was like to loose sight of his ships, and being greatly endangered with the driving yce alongst the coast, was forced aboord and faine to surcease his pretence till a better opportunitie might serve: and having spent foure dayes and nightes sayling alongst this land, finding the coast subject to such bitter colde and continuall mistes, he determined to spend no more time therein, but to beare out his course towardes the streightes called Frobishers streights after the Generals name, who

White Corrall got by sounding.

Monstrous Isles of yce, in taste fresh, where-hence they are supposed to come.

The opinion of the frosen seas is destroyed by experience.

being the first that ever passed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwise called the continent or firme lande land of America, discovered the saide straights this last yere 1576.

The Stirrage of the Michaell broken by tempest.

Betweene Frisland and the straights we had one great storme, wherein the Michaell was somewhat in danger, having her Stirrage broken, and her toppe Mastes blowen over boord, & being not past 50 leagues short of the straights by our account, we stroke sayle & lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the storme, the winde being at the Northeast, and having lost companie of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the seventeenth day of July, having the evening before seene divers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gave an argument that we were not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being reasonable cleare) descried land, but to be better assured he sent the two Barkes two contrarie courses, whereby they might discry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a small sayle by an Iland of yce, which was the marke for us to meete togither againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North forland perfite, which otherwise is called Halles Iland, and also the small Iland bearing the name of the sayde Hall whence the Ore was taken up which was brought into England this last yeere 1576 the said Hall being present at the finding & taking up thereof, who was then Maister in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobisher. At our arrivall here all the Seas about this coast were so covered over with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought these places might onely deserve the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Isie Sea.

The first entrance of the straights.

[III. 63.]

Halles Iland.

The description of the straights.

This North forland is thought to be devided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little sound called Halles sound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little lesse then the Ile of Wight, and is the first entrance of the straights upon the Norther side, and standeth in the latitude of sixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Frisland   leagues. God having blessed us with so happie a land-fall, we bare into the straights which runne in next hand, and somewhat further up to the Northwarde, and came as neere the shore as wee might for the yce, and upon the eighteenth day of July our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on shore with a small rowing Pinnesse, upon the small Ilande where the Ore was taken up, to proove whether there were any store thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece so bigge as a Walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to have good store of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was joyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of shot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the companie had killed ashore, and having found upon those Ilands ginnes set to catch fowle, and stickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceived that not long before some of the countrey people had resorted thither.

No more gold Ore found in the first Iland.

Egs & foules of Meta incognita. Snares set to catch birds withall.

Having therefore found those tokens of the peoples accesse in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtill and cruell disposition, hee provided well for his better safetie, and on Friday the ninteenth of July in the morning early, with his best companie of Gentlemen and souldiers, to the number of fortie persons, went on shore, aswell to discover the Inland and habitation of the people, as also to finde out some fit harborowe for our shippes. And passing towardes the shoare with no small difficultie by reason of the abundance of yce which lay alongst the coast so thicke togither that hardly any passage through them might be discovered, we arrived at length upon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there also aswell as in the other small Ilands good store of the Ore. And leaving his boates here with sufficient guarde we passed up into the countrey about two English miles, and recovered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Crosse of stones heaped up of a good heigth togither in good sort, and solemnely sounded a Trumpet, and saide certaine prayers kneeling about the Ensigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwick, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gave great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not seeing any thing here worth further discoverie, the countrey seeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in most parts covered with snow.

The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.

And thus marching towards our botes, we espied certaine of the countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting us backe againe and making great noise, with cries like the mowing of Buls seeming greatly desirous of conference with us: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, answered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noise of our trumpets they seemed greatly to rejoyce, skipping, laughing and dancing for joy. And hereupon we made signes unto them, holding up two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men & two of theirs met togither a good space from company, neither partie having their weapons about them. Our men gave them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men two bow cases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to goe up into their countrey, and our men offered them like kindnesse aboord our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admitted or trusted the others curtesie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe use to lay downe of their marchandise upon the ground, so much as they meane to part withal, and

The first sight of the countrie people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Englishmen, with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

so looking that the other partie with whom they make trade should doe the like, they themselves doe depart, [III. 64.] and then if they doe like of their Mart they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandise, otherwise if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere spent, in haste wee retired our companies into our boates againe, minding foorthwith to search alongst the coast for some harborow fit for our shippes, for the present necessitie thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually subject aswell to great danger of fleeting yce, which environed them, as to the sodaine flawes which the coast seemeth much subject unto. But when the people perceived our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called us backe againe, following us almost to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Master with him, who was best acquainted with their maners, went apart unto two of them, meaning, if they could lay sure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboord, with intent to bestow certaine toyes and apparell upon the one, and so to dismisse him with all arguments of curtesie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maister being met with their two companions togither, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Salvages for lacke of better marchandise, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gave it unto our Generall for a present. But he presently upon a watchword given with his Maister sodainely laid hold upon the two Salvages. But the ground underfoot being slipperie with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast fayled and their prey escaping ranne away and lightly recovered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Salvages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assaulted and pursued our Generall and his Master, being altogether unarmed, and not mistrusting their subtiltie

Another meeting of two of our men with two of theirs.

The Englishmen chased to their boates.

that they chased them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather speedily fled backe, because they suspected a greater number behind the rockes. Our souldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiving the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot came speedily to rescue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Salvages heard the shot of one of our calivers (and yet having first bestowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men speedily following them. But a servant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and uncombred with any furniture having only a dagger at his backe overtooke one of them, and being a Cornishman and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such a Cornish tricke, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after. And so being stayed, he was taken alive and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and passed from the maine to a small Iland of a mile compasse, where they resolved to tarrie all night; for even now a sodaine storme was growen so great at sea, that by no meanes they could recover their ships. And here every man refreshed himselfe with a small portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, having neither eate nor drunke all the day before. But because they knewe not how long the storme might last, nor how farre off the shippes might be put to sea, nor whether they should ever recover them againe or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoved them: For they knew full well that the best cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and stones, a hard food to live withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to give them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night upon hard cliffes of snow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortlesse.

One of that Countreymen taken.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ships at Sea was no lesse perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in over-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was set on fire, and had bene the confusion of the whole if by chance a boy espying it, it had not bene speedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguished.

The Ayde set on fire.

This day also were diverse stormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the storme was growen so great, & continued such untill the morning, that it put our ships at sea in no small perill: for having mountaines of fleeting yce on every side, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another, some scraped us, and some happily escaped us, that the least of a M. were as dangerous to strike as any rocke, and able to have split asunder the strongest ship of the world. We had a scope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being otherwise compassed on every side about: but so much was the winde and so litle was our sea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourse we cast so oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glasses running, being but foure houres: but God being our best Steresman, & by the industry of Charles Jackman and Andrew Dyer the masters mates, both very expert Mariners, & Richard Cox ye maister Gunner, with other very carefull sailers, then within [III. 65.] bord, and also by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darkenesse, we did happily avoide those present dangers, whereat since wee have more marvelled then in the present danger feared, for that every man within borde, both better and worse had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of July, as God would, the storme ceased, and the Generall espying the ships with his new Captive and whole company, came happily abord, and reported what had passed a shoare, whereupon altogither upon our knees we gave God humble and hartie thankes, for that it had pleased him,

The great danger of those rockes of yce.

Night without darknes in that countrey.

from so speedy peril to send us such speedy deliverance, and so from this Northerne shore we stroke over towards the Southerland.

Our first comming on the Southerland of the sayd straights.

The one and twentieth of July, we discovered a bay which ranne into the land, that seemed a likely harborow for our ships, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make proofe thereof, and with his goldfiners to search for Ore, having never assayed any thing on the South shore as yet, and the first small Iland which we landed upon. Here all the sands and clifts did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold, but upon tryall made, it prooved no better then black-lead, and verified the proverbe. All is not gold that glistereth.

A Mine of Blacke lead.

Upon the two and twentieth of July we bare into the sayde sound, and came to ancker a reasonable bredth off the shore, where thinking our selves in good securitie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought foorth of the sounds and came thwart us ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and souldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capstone, overcame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it stroke on our sterne such a blow, that we feared least it had striken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawse, we were faine to set our fore saile to runne further up within, and if our stirrage had not bene stronger then in the present time we feared, we had runne the ship upon the rockes, having a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to passe. And this was named Jackmans sound, after the name of the Masters mate, who had first liking unto the place.

Jackmans sound.

Smiths Iland.

Upon a small Iland, within this sound called Smithes Iland (because he first set up his forge there) was found a Mine of silver, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made say of such Ore as they found upon the Northerland, and found foure sortes thereof to holde gold in good quantitie.

Upon another small Iland here was also found a great dead fish, which as it should seeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpose, being about twelve foote long, and in bignesse answerable, having a horne of two yardes long growing out of the snoute or nostrels. This horne is wreathed and straite, like in fashion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the sea Unicorne. This horne is to be seene and reserved as a Jewell by the Queenes Majesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

The finding of an Unicornes horne.

Tuesday the three and twentieth of July, our Generall with his best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, to the number of seventie persons in all, marched with ensigne displayde, upon the continent of the Southerland (the supposed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to sound a call for every man to repaire to the ensigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cause imported for the service of her Majestie, our countrey, our credits, and the safetie of our owne lives, and therefore required every man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste: which done, we cast our selves into a ring, and altogither upon our knees, gave God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodnesse to preserve us from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirite, so to deliver us in safetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being knowen, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the advancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepnesse & yce. And having passed about five miles, by such unwieldie wayes, we returned unto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diverse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persons to march up thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discover the Inland, and doe some acceptable service for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present savour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indevour only to find a Mine to fraight his ships, and to leave the rest (by Gods [III. 66.] helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished. And therefore the twentie sixe of July he departed over to the Northland, with the two barkes, leaving the Ayde ryding in Jackmans sound, and ment (after hee had found convenient harborow, and fraight there for his ships) to discover further for the passage. The Barkes came the same night to ancker in a sound upon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne so swift, and the place was so subject to indrafts of yce, that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered, & having found a very rich Myne, as they supposed, and got almost twentie tunne of Ore together, upon the 28 of July the yce came driving into the sound where the Barkes rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the Gabriell riding asterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld asunder in the hawse with a peece of driving yce, and lost another ancker, and having but one cable and ancker left, for she had lost two before, and the yce still driving upon her, she was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great Iland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I thinke surely shee had beene cast upon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker upon this great yce, and roade under the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it selfe, and the setting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made unto the companie within boord a sodaine and fearefull noyse. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further up the straights, and leaving our Ore behind us which we had digged, for hast left the place by the name of Beares sound after the Masters name of the Michaell, and named the Iland Lecesters Iland. In one of the small Ilands here we found a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our savage Captive being with us, & being demanded by signes whether his countreymen had not slaine this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signes to the contrary, and that he was slaine with Wolves and wild beasts. Here also was found hid under stones good store of fish, and sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleddes, bridles, kettels of fish-skinnes, knives of bone, and such other like. And our Savage declared unto us the use of all those things. And taking in his hand one of those countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampred him handsomely therein, as we doe our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a sled as we doe horses in a coach, setting himselfe thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they use dogges for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domesticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serve for the use of drawing their sleds.

Beares sound.

Lecesters Iland.

A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.

Bridles, knives, and other instruments found hid among the Rockes.

They use great dogs to draw sleds, and litle dogs for their meat.

The twentie ninth of July, about five leagues from Beares sound, we discovered a Bay which being fenced on ech side with smal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did proove a very fit harborow for our ships, where we came to ancker under a small Ilande, which now together with the sound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Countesse of Warwicke. And this is the furthest place that this yeere we have entred up within the streites, and is reckoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the streites not above 30 leagues. Upon this Iland was found good store of the Ore, which in the washing helde gold to our thinking plainly to be seene: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, then to seeke further for better, and spend time with jeoperdie. And therefore our Generall setting the Myners to worke, and shewing first a good president of a painefull labourer and a good Captaine in himselfe, gave good examples for others to follow him: whereupon every man both better and worse, with their best endevours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the next day, being the thirtieth of July, the Michaell was sent over to Jackmans sound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. Upon the maine land over against the Countesses Iland we discovered and behelde to our great marvell the poore caves and houses of those countrey people, which serve them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome under grounde, in compasse round, like to an Oven, being joyned fast one by another, having holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come togither. They undertrenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hilles above them, may slide away without their annoyance: and are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold windes, having their doore and entrance ever open towards the South. From the ground upward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one over another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are covered over with Sealesskinnes, which in stead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they have only one roome, having the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than ye other, whereon strawing Mosse, they make their nests to sleep in.

Thirty leagues discovered within the straites.

A good president of a good Captain shewed by Captain Frobisher.

The maner of their houses in this countrey.

Whales bones used in stead of timber.

They defile these dennes most filthily with their beastly feeding, & dwell so long in a place (as we thinke) untill their sluttishnes lothing them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seate, and are (no doubt) a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and live in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by sundry circumstances of our experience.

[III. 67.] *The sluttishnesse of these people.*

Here our captive being ashore with us, to declare the use of such things as we saw, stayd himselfe alone behind the company, and did set up five small stickes round in a circle one by another, with one smal bone placed just in the middest of all: which thing when one of our men perceived, he called us backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant some charme or witchcraft therein. But the best conjecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen should understand, that for our five men which they betrayed the last yeere (whom he signified by the five stickes) he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. For afterwards when we shewed him the picture of his countreman, which the last yeere was brought into England (whose counterfeit we had drawen, with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, & also in English apparel) he was upon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would streine courtesie whether should begin the speech (for he thought him no doubt a lively creature) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, seemed to suspect him, as one disdeinfull, and would with a little helpe have growen into choller at the matter, untill at last by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiving picture. And then with great noise and cryes, ceased not wondring, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleasure.

A signe set up by the savage captive, & the meaning therof.

The savage captive amazed at his countreimans picture.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gave us plainely to understand by signes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our five men the last yeere, and confessing the maner of ech thing, numbred the five men upon his five fingers, and pointed unto a boat in our ship, which was like unto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signes to the contrary.

Another shew of twenty persons of that countrey in one boate.

The last of July the Michael returned with the Aide to us from the Southerland, and came to anker by us in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and reported that since we departed from Jackmans sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, untill the thirtieth of July, when certaine of our company being a shoare upon a small Island within the sayd Jackmans sound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did espie a long boat with divers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eighteene or twenty persons, whom so soone as our men perceived, they returned speedily aboord, to give notice thereof unto our company. They might perceive these people climbing up to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted unto our ship, and made great outcries and noyses, like so many Buls. Hereupon our men did presently man foorth a small skiffe, having not above sixe or seven persons therein, which rowed neere the place where those people were, to proove if they could have any conference with them. But after this small boate was sent a greater, being wel appointed for their rescue, if need required.

As soone as they espied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and hasted away, either for feare, or else for pollicie, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger: wherefore our men construing that their comming thither was but to seeke advantage, followed speedily after them, but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their best endevour in rowing, and having chased them above two miles into the sea, returned into their ships againe.

The morning following being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Jackmans sound, and declared unto the company there, that the last night past he came to anker in a certaine baye (which sithens was named Yorkes sound) about foure leagues distant from Jackmans sound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he discovered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company ashore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it should seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was rawe and new killed flesh of unknowen sorts, with dead carcasses and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld (to their greatest marveile) a dublet of Canvas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feete, and of unequall bignesse, which they well conjectured to be the apparell of our five poore countreymen, which were intercepted the last yeere by these Countrey people, about fiftie leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet living: the Captaine devising for the best left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper also, whereby our poore captive countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arrivall, and likewise returne their answere. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leaving there also looking glasses, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by such friendly meanes) departed aboord his Barke, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to give notice unto the company of all such things as he had there discovered: and so meant to returne to these tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had delivered

Yorkes sound.

The apparel found againe of our English men which the yere before were taken captive.

[III. 68.]

A good devise of Captaine Yorke.

to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the master of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came over from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and souldiors to the number of thirty or forty persons in two small rowing Pinnasses made towards the place, where the night before they discovered the tents of those people, and setting Charles Jackman, being the masters Mate, ashore with a convenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched over land, meaning to compasse them on the one side, whilest the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents removed. Notwithstanding, our men which marched up into the countrey, passing over two or three mountaines, by chance espied certaine tents in a valley underneath them neere unto a creeke by the Sea side, which because it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they judged them to be another company, and besetting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they having quickly discried our companie, lanched one great & another smal boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put themselves to sea. Wherupon our souldiers discharged their Calivers, and followed them, thinking the noise therof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what speede they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (crossing upon them in the mouth of the sound whereby their passage was let from getting sea roome, wherein it had bene impossible for us to overtake them by rowing) forced them to put themselves ashore upon a point of land within the sayd sound (which upon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The bloody point) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them

The Savages have boats of sundry bignes.

The English men pursue those people of that countrey.

The swift rowing of those people.

The bloody point.

to make any escape. But so soone as they landed, ech of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to prevent us, in carying away their boates for want of Oares. And desperatly returning upon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrowes and dartes lasted, and after gathering up those arrowes which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies incountred afresh againe, and maintained their cause untill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselves headlong from off the rockes into the sea, least perhaps their enemies should receive glory or prey of their dead carcaises, for they supposed us belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were slaine five or sixe, the rest by flight escaping among the rockes, saving two women, whereof the one being old and ugly, our men thought shee had bene a devill or some witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a sucking childe at her backe, hiding her selfe behind the rockes, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had bene a man, shot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon she cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed salves thereunto. But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salves away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the childes arme. And because the day was welneere spent our men made haste unto the rest of our company which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captaine Yorke discovered the night before, having removed themselves from the place where he left them.

Yorkes sound.

A hot skirmish betweene the English and them of that countrey.

The desperate nature of those people.

The taking of the woman & her child.

A prety kind of surgery which nature teacheth.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate maner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last newes of our men which the last yere were betrayed of these people. And considering also their ravenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoever stinking, it is to bee thought that they had slaine and devoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

[III. 69.] But now the night being at hand, our men with their captives and such poore stuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships, when being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates: but as God would they came all safely aboord. And with these good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound unto us. And betweene Jackmans sound, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicks sound betweene land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the Straights were judged nine leagues over at the least: and Jackmans sound being upon the Southerland, lyeth directly almost over against the Countesses sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and upon the same continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The narrowest place of the Straites is 9. leagues over.

The Queenes Cape.

Having now got a woman captive for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and every man with silence desired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expressed by writing. At their first encountring they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the griefe and disdeine of their captivity had

The maner of the meeting of the two captives, and their entertainment.

taken away the use of their tongues and utterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake up the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gave good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceive, albeit they lived continually together, yet they did never use as man & wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good houswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his ease: for when he was seasicke, she would make him cleane, she would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would never shift himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least any of their privie parts should be discovered, either of themselves, or any other body.

The shamefastnes and chastity of those Savage captives.

On Munday the sixth of August, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and the other things a shore, pitched their tents in the Countesses Island, and fortifyed the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when being all at labour, they might perceive upon the top of a hill over against them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries unto them, and were of the same companie, which had encountred lately our men upon the other shore, being come to complaine their late losses, and to entreate (as it seemed) for restitution of

Another appearance of the countrey people.

the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the savage captive with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceive her in the highest place of the Island, went over to talke with them. This captive at his first encounter of his friends fell so out into teares that he could not speake a word in a great space, but after a while, overcomming his kindnesse, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly upon them such toyes and trifles as we had given him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowfull for the losse of their friends. Our Generall by signes required his five men which they tooke captive the last yere, and promised them, not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our Savage made signes in answere from them that our men should be delivered us, and were yet living, and made signes likewise unto us that we should write our letters unto them, for they knew very well the use we have of writing, and received knowledge thereof, either of our poore captive countreymen which they betrayed, or else by this our new captive who hath seene us dayly write, and repeate againe such words of his language as we desired to learne: but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in hast for the same. And the next morning early being the seventh of August, they called againe for the letter, which being delivered unto them, they speedily departed, making signes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, untill which time we heard no more of them, & about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shal afterwards heare.

These people know the use of writing.

A letter sent unto the five English captives.

[III. 70.] This night because the people were very neere unto us, the Lieutenant caused the Trumpet to sound a call, and every man in the Island repayring to the Ensigne, he put them in minde of the place so farre from their countrey wherein they lived, and the danger of a great multitude which they were subject unto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at every low water the enimie might come almost dryfoot from the mayne unto us, wherefore he willed every man to prepare him in good readinesse upon all sudden occasions, and so giving the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

I thought the Captaines letter well worth the remembring, not for the circumstance of curious enditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore have repeated here the same, as by himselfe it was hastily written.

The forme of M. Martin Frobishers letter to the English captives.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleeve, who (I trust) hath preserved your bodies and soules amongst these infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to seeke by al means you can devise for your deliverance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I have aboord, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliver for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the last yeere is dead in England. Moreover you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a man alive in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with mee, they shall have either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for you. And thus unto God whom I trust you doe serve, in hast I leave you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning the seventh of August. Anno 1557.

Yours to the uttermost of my power,
Martin Frobisher.

Postscript I have sent you by these bearers, penne, ynke, and paper, to write backe unto me againe, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate.

The cause why M. Frobisher entred no further within the Streits this yere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further discovery of the passage, having taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought sufficient for the use of language: & having also met with these people here, which intercepted his men the last yere, (as the apparell and English furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour lost to seeke them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endevour for the getting of Myne, and to leave the passage further to be discovered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, onely for the searching of the Ore, and to deferre the further discovery of the passage untill another time.

Bests bulwarke.

On Thursday the ninth of August we began to make a smal Fort for our defence in the Countesses Island, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good heigth was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with caskes of the earth, to good purpose, and this was called Bests bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who first devised the same. This was done for that wee suspected more lest the desperate men might oppresse us with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel: but as wisedome would us in such place (so farre from home) not to be of our selves altogether carelesse: so the signes which our captive made unto us, of the comming downe of his Governour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gave us occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof, for he shewed by signes that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be caried upon mens shoulders.

Their King called Catchoe.

How he is honoured.

About midnight the Lieutenant caused a false Alarme to be given in the Island, to prove as well the readines of the company there ashore, as also what help might be hoped for upon the sudden from the ships if need so required, & every part was found in good readines upon such a sudden.

Saturday the eleventh of August the people shewed themselves againe, & called unto us from the side of a hil over against us. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to have answere of his letter) went over unto them, where they presented themselves not above three in sight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behind the rockes, and making signes of delay with us to intrappe some of us to redeeme their owne, did onely seeke advantage to traine our boat about a point of land from sight of our companie: whereupon our men justly suspecting them, kept aloofe without their [III. 71.] danger, and yet set one of our company ashore, which tooke up a great bladder which one of them offered us, and leaving a looking glasse in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which stood in the Countesses Island to beholde, who might better discerne them, then those of the boate, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie unto our men in the boate, for that they saw divers of the Savages creeping behind the rockes towards our men, wherupon the Generall presently returned without tidings of his men.

A bladder changed for a looking glasse.

No newes of the English captives.

Concerning this bladder which we received, our Captive made signes that it was given him to keepe water and drinke in, but we suspected rather it was given him to swimme and shift away withall, for he and the woman sought divers times to escape, having loosed our boates from asterne our ships, and we never a boate left to pursue them withall, and had prevailed very farre, had they not bene very timely espied and prevented therein.

To what end the bladder was delivered.

After our Generals comming away from them they mustred themselves in our sight, upon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands over their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs

Those people dancing upon the hil toppes.

together: we supposed they made this dance and shew for us to understand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should doe the same. And thus they continued upon the hill tops untill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance, which thundred in the hollownesse of the high hilles, it made unto them so fearefull a noise, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

A skirmish shewed to those people.

On Sunday the 12 of August, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the souldiers maintaine skirmish among themselves, as well for their exercise, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout, and observed all the manner of our proceedings.

Their flags made of bladders.

On Wednesday the fourteenth of August, our Generall with two small boates well appointed, for that hee suspected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went up a certaine Bay within the Countesses sound, to search for Ore, and met againe with the countrey people, who so soone as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sowed together with the guts and sinewes of beasts, wafted us amaine unto them, but shewed not above three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceive a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gave us good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them signes, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come foorth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifested unto us: but for all the signes of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards us behind the rocks to get more advantage of us, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discover so bare devises and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly perswaded us with many intising shewes, to come eate and sleepe ashore, with great arguments of courtesie, and clapping his bare hands over his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed us to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomackes, he brought us a trimme baite of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceived his first cold morsell could nothing sharpen our stomacks, he cast about for a new traine of warme flesh to procure our appetites, wherefore he caused one of his fellowes in halting maner, to come foorth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in carving, he hoised him upon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water side where we were, left him there limping as an easie prey to be taken of us. His hope was that we would bite at this baite, and speedily leape ashore within their danger, wherby they might have apprehended some of us, to ransome their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them ashore, but the Generall more carefull by processe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the first to spoile them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest: notwithstanding to proove this cripples footemanship, he gave liberty for one to shoote: whereupon the cripple having a parting blow, lightly recovered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his lesson for ever halting afore such cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesse, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water suffred them: and with as desperate minde as hath bene seene in any men, without feare of shotte or any thing, followed us all along the coast, but all their shot fell short of us, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coast along for us, [III. 72.]

Great offers.

A hundreth Savages.

and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbred, but wee might discerne of them above an hundreth persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And thus without losse or hurt we returned to our ships againe.

Now our worke growing to an end, and having, onely with five poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and souldiers, brought aboord almost two hundreth tunne of Ore in the space of twenty dayes, every man therewithall well comforted, determined lustily to worke a fresh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy ende.

And upon Wednesday at night being the one and twentieth of August, we fully finished the whole worke. And it was now good time to leave, for as the men were well wearied, so their shooes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some with over-straining themselves received hurts not a little dangerous, some having their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ships sides a night, which gave us a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, & put us in mind to make more haste homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and souldiers herein, who leaving all reputation apart, with so great willingnesse and with couragious stomackes, have themselves almost overcome in so short a time the difficultie of this so great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further proofe, now brought home doth well witnesse.

Thursday the 22 of August, we plucked downe our tents, and every man hasted homeward, and making bonefires upon the top of the highest Mount of the Island, and marching with Ensigne displayed round about the Island, wee gave a vollie of shotte for a farewell, in honour of the right honourable Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwicke, whose name it beareth: and so departed aboord.

The 23 of August having the wind large at West, we set saile from out of the Countesses sound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the same sound againe.

They returne.

The 24 of August about three of the clocke in the morning, having the wind large at West, we set saile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland asterne of us, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our course more Southerly, to bring our selves the sooner under the latitude of our owne climate.

The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a hull all night, & had snow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

Snow halfe a foote deepe in August.

From the 24 until the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course Southsoutheast, and had like to have lost the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of August the wind blew much at Northeast, so that we could beare but onely a bunt of our foresaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any sayle at all.

The Michael lost company of us and shaped her course towards Orkney because that way was better knowne unto them, and arrived at Yermouth.

The 30 of August with the force of the wind, and a surge of the sea, the Master of the Gabriel and the Boatswain were striken both overboord, & hardly was the Boatswain recovered, having hold on a roape hanging overboord in the sea, and yet the Barke was laced fore and after with ropes a breast high within boorde.

The Master of the Gabriel strooken overboord.

This Master was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very sufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was cast overboord, and that the

Boatswain had him by the hand, and could not save him, and so immediately upon the end of his tale, his dreame came right evilly to passe, and indeed the Boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, having hold on a rope with the other, untill his force fayled, and the Master drowned. The height being taken we found our selves to be in the latitude of   degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our selves from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The last of August about midnight, we had two or three great and sudden flawes or stormes.

The first of September the storme was growen very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ship was much beaten with the seas, every sea almost overtaking our poope, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our saile to trie it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the Gabriel not able to beare any sayle to keepe company with us, and our ship being higher in the poope, [III. 73.] and a tall ship, whereon the winde had more force to drive, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea. The second day of September in the morning, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send us a calme, whereby we perceived the Rudder of our ship torne in twaine, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we flung halfe a dozen couple of our best men over boord, who taking great paines under water, driving plankes, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleasure was, the sea was calme untill the worke was finished. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our selves to be in the latitude of   degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the sunne, because the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but also of all other fixed Starres. And here

The Rudder of the Aide torne in twain.

How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Astrolabe.

the North Starre is so much elevated above the Horizon, that with the staffe it is hardly to bee well observed, and the degrees in the Astrolabe are too small to observe minutes. Therefore wee alwaies used the Staffe and the sunne as fittest instruments for this use.

Having spent foure or five dayes in traverse of the seas with contrary winde, making our Souther way good as neere as we could, to raise our degrees to bring our selves with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our selves in the latitude of degrees and ten minutes. The eleventh of September about sixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southwest, we vered sheat and set our course Southeast.

And upon Thursday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, we were in the latitude of and a halfe, and reckoned our selves not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Westsouthwest, we kept our course Southeast.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our selves to be in the latitude of degrees, the wind Westsouthwest, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our course East, to run in with the sleeve or chanel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned us short of Sylley twelve leagues.

Sonday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to sound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned us upon the backe of Sylley, and set our course East and by North, Eastnortheast, and Northeast among.

The sixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the morning sounding, we had 65. fadome osey sand, and thought our selves thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the banks. And bearing a small saile all night, we made many soundings, which were about fortie fadome, and so shallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

The seventeenth of September we sounded, and had forty fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding branded sand with small wormes and Cockle shells, and were shotte betweene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by East way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southwest and by West, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, to beare along the channel: and the weather cleered up when we were hard aboord the shore, and we made the lands end perfit, and so put up along Saint Georges chanel. And the weather being very foule at sea, we coveted some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to ancor in Padstow road in Cornewall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were advised by the countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two evils, to choose the lesse, for there was nothing but present perill where we roade: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driven, being but an open roade, where our Anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arrived at Milford Haven in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made us happy men, that we had received such long desired safetie.

The arrival of the Aide at Padstow in Cornewall.

Our comming to Milford Haven.

About one moneth after our arrivall here, by order from the Lords of the Counsell, the ship came up to Bristow, where the Ore was committed to keeping in the Castel there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arrived in good safetie, who having never a man within boord very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the Master was lost, by good fortune, when she came upon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

The arrivall of the Gabriel at Bristow.

Here we heard good tidings also of the arrivall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little joyful unto us, that it pleased God so to bring us to a safe meeting againe, and wee lost in

The Michael arrived in the North parts.

all the voyage only one man, besides one that dyed at sea, which was sicke before he came aboord, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise, that he rather chose to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discoverie of Cataia, by Meta Incognita, Anno Do. 1578.

[III. 74.]

THe Generall being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arrivall in England, repaired with all hast to the Court being then at Windsore, to advertise her Majestie of his prosperous proceeding, and good successe in this last voyage, & of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in these Septentrionall parts discovered. He was courteously enterteyned, and hartily welcommed of many noble men, but especially for his great adventure, commended of her Majestie, at whose hands he received great thankes, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. Her Highnesse also greatly commended the rest of the Gentlemen in this service, for their great forwardnes in this so dangerous an attempt: but especially she rejoyced very much, that among them there was so good order of governement, so good agreement, every man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoever the General should command, which due commendation gratiously of her Majestie remembred, gave so great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highnesse so good and honourable opinion of them, have since neither spared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happie and prosperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance & made shew of great riches & profit, & the hope of the passage to Cataya, by this last voyage greatly

M. Frobisher commended of her Majestie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Commissioners appointed to examine the goodnesse of the Ore.

A name given to ye place new discovered.

increased, her Majestie appointed speciall Commissioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great judgement, art, and skill, to looke thorowly into the cause, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And because that place and countrey hath never heretofore beene discovered, and therefore had no speciall name, by which it might be called and knowen, her Majestie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a marke and bound utterly hitherto unknowen. The commissioners after sufficient triall and proofe made of the Ore, and having understood by sundrie reasons, and substantiall grounds, the possibilitie and likelyhood of the passage, advertised her highnesse, that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be advanced againe. Whereupon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And because it was assuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already discovered, would at the least countervaile in all respects the adventurers charge, and give further hope & likelyhood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discovery of the Inland and secrets of those countreys, & also for further search of the passage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more & more increaseth) that certaine numbers of chosen souldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabite there. Whereupon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed, & cunningly devised by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be caried thither, wherby those men that were appointed to winter & stay there the whole yere, might aswell bee defended from the danger of the snow and colde ayre, as also fortified from the force or offence of those countrey people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppresse them. And to this great adventure and notable exploit many

The hope of the passage to Cataya.

A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.

well minded and forward yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly have offered themselves. And first Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Best, and Captaine Filpot, unto whose good discretions the government of that service was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the first brunt & adventure of those dangers among a savage and brutish kinde of people, in a place hitherto ever thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth persons, wherof 40 should be mariners for the use of ships, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 souldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, & all necessary persons. To each of the Captaines was assigned one ship, aswel for the further searching of the coast & countrey there, as for to returne & bring backe their companies againe, if the necessity of the place so urged, or by miscarying of the fleet the next yere, they might be disappointed of their further provision. Being therfore thus furnished with al necessaries, there were ready to depart upon the said voyage 15 saile of good ships, wherof the whole number was to returne again with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the sommer, except those 3 ships, which should be left for the use of those Captains which should inhabite there the whole yere. And being in so good readinesse, [III. 75.] the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leave of her Majestie, at whose hands they all received great incouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highnesse besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the rest of the Captaines kissed her hand, tooke

A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.

Fifteene sayle.

A chaine of gold given to M. Frobisher.

their leave, and departed every man towards their charge.

The names of the ships with their severall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Amirall, was the Generall	Captaine Frobisher.
2 In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall	Yorke.
3 In the Judith Lieutenant generall	Fenton.
4 In the Anne Francis	Best.
5 In the Hopewell	Carew.
6 In the Beare	Filpot.
7 In the Thomas of Ipswich	Tanfield.
8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter	Courtney.
9 In the Francis of Foy	Moyles.
10 In the Moone	Upcot.
11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater	Newton.
12 In the Salomon of Weymouth	Randal.
13 In the Barke Dennis	Kendal.
14 In the Gabriel	Harvey.
15 In the Michael	Kinnersley.

The sayd fifteene saile of ships arrived and met together at Harwich, the seven and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and mustred their companies. And every severall Captaine received from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be observed for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and delivered in writing to every Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.

1 INprimis, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serve God twice a day, with the ordinary service usuall in Churches of

England, and to cleare the glasse, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admiral shall carie the light, & after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but every man to fit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall then the distance of one English mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to cast about, before her casting about shee shall give warning, by shooting off a peece, and to her shall answere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall shall answere first, and the Rereadmirall last.

5 That no man in the Fleete descrying any sayle or sayles, give upon any occasion any chace before he have spoken with the Admirall.

6 That every evening all the Fleete come up and speake with the Admirall, at seven of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight, and if the weather will not serve them all to speake with the Admirall, then some shall come to the Viceadmirall, and receive the order of their course of Master Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he shall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and shew two lights.

8 If any man in the Fleete come up in the night, & hale his fellow knowing him not, he shall give him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other shal answere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Christ his Sonne. So that if any be found amongst us, not of our owne company, he that first descrieth any such sayle or sayles, shall give warning to the [III. 76.]

Admirall by himselfe or any other that he can speake to, that sailes better then he, being neerest unto him.

9 That every ship in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calmes, shall keepe a reasonable noise with trumpet, drumme, or otherwise, to keepe themselves cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out so thicke or mistie that we lay it to hull, the Admiral shall give warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one over another, to the end that every man may take in his sailes, and at his setting of sayles againe doe the like, if it be not cleere.

11 If any man discover land by night, that he give the like warning, that he doth for mischances, two lights, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and strike all his sailes he hath aboord.

12 If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of , and so keepe that latitude untill they get Frisland. And after they be past the West parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of , and , and not to the Northward of ; and being once entred within the Streites, al such ships shal every watch shoote off a good piece, and looke out well for smoke and fire which those that get in first shall make every night, untill all the fleete be come together.

13 That upon the sight of an Ensigne in the mast of the Admirall (a piece being shot off) the whole fleete shall repaire to the Admirall, to understand such conference as the Generall is to have with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ships shall attend upon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure upon my Lieutenant generall in the Judith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure upon the Vizadmirall, the

Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any disordred person in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in safe custodie untill he may conveniently be brought aboord the Admirall, and there to receive such punishment as his or their offences shall deserve.

By me Martin Frobisher.

Our departure from England.

HAving received these articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And sayling along the South part of England Westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland at Cape Cleare the sixth of June, and gave chase there to a small barke which was supposed to be a Pyrat, or Rover on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenchmen as had spoiled and slaine many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, having neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themselves with, nor victuals to sustaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well understood the office of a Souldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessitie of the sea meaneth, pitying much the miserie of the poore men, relieved them with Surgerie and salves to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts; some of them having neither eaten nor drunke more then olives and stinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, having a large wind, we kept our course upon our sayd voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other provision, whereof many of the fleete were not throughly furnished: and sayling towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southwest, which caried us (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeastwards of our sayd course, which current seemed

Cape Cleare the sixt of June.

A charitable deede.

Marke this current.

to us to continue it selfe towards Norway, and other the Northeast parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeve, that this is the same which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza, where striking over from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrownesse of the sayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where also having a let of land, it is forced to strike backe againe towards the Northeast, as we not onely here, but in another place also, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere have found, as shalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Now had we sayled about foureteene dayes, without sight of any land, or any other living thing, except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gulles, &c. which there seeme onely to live by sea.

The twentieth of June, at two of the clocke in the [III. 77.] morning, the General descried land, & found it to be West Frisland, now named west England. Here the Generall, & other Gentlemen went ashore, being the first knowen Christians that we have true notice of, that ever set foot upon that ground: and therefore the Generall tooke possession thereof to the use of our Sovereigne Lady the Queenes Majestie, and discovered here a goodly harborough for the ships, where were also certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they espied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they judge) in all sorts, very like those of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

West England.

The Savage and simple people so soone as they perceived our men comming towards them (supposing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of humane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themselves. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a boxe of small nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with divers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they have trade with some civill people, or else are indeede themselves artificiall workemen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leaving in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and divers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well discovered. The description whereof you shall finde more at large in the second voyage.

Frisland supposed to be continent with Groenland.

Some are of opinion, that this West England is firme land with the Northeast partes of Meta Incognita, or else with Groenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boates, and other things are so like to theirs: and another reason is, the multitude of Islands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the North side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conjoyning of the two lands together.

The 23 of June.

Charing crosse.

And having a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobishers Streites, the three and twentieth of June. But first wee gave name to a high cliffe in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine similitude we called it Charing crosse. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwardes of this coast we met with much driving yce, which by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might have bene some trouble unto us.

On Munday the last of June, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porposes.

A Whale strooke a ship.

This same day the Salamander being under both her corses and bonets, happened to strike a great Whale with her full stemme, with such a blow that the ship stoode still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The Whale thereat made a great and ugly noyse, and cast up his body and taile, and so went under water, and within two daies after, there was found a great Whale dead swimming above water, which wee supposed was that which the Salamander strooke.

The second day of July early in the morning we had sight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred somewhat within the Streites, perceiving no way to passe further in, the whole place being frozen over from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked up the passage, and denied us entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this passage or Sea hereabouts is frozen over at any time of the yere: albeit it seemed so unto us by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather suppose these yce to bee bred in the hollow soundes and freshets thereabouts: which by the heate of the sommers Sunne, being loosed, doe emptie themselves with the ebbes into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

Frobishers Streites choked up with yce.

And to speake somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare conjecture of men, then that ever any man hath made experience of any such sea. And that which they speake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thought to be spoken of these parts: for this may well be called indeede the ycie sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen, as I have more at large herein shewed my opinion in my second voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to bee frozen, which hath his course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe above ten fadome. And also all these aforesayd yce, which we sometime met a hundreth mile from lande, being gathered out of the salt Sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolved, become sweete and holesome water.

Salt water cannot freeze.

[III. 78.] And the cause why this yere we have bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reason of the Easterly & Southerly winds, which

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brought us more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the sea directly upon the place of our Streites, hath kept in the yce, and not suffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine sea, where they would in more short time have bene dissolved. And all these fleeting yce are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so neere together, that a man may passe sometimes tenne or twelve miles as it were upon one firme Island of yce: but also for that they open and shut together againe in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilest one ship followeth the other with full sayles, the yce which was open unto the foremost will joyne and close together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our shippes were brought into great danger, as being not able so sodainely to take in our sayles, or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stemme and strike great rockes of yce, and so as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes some of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and passed so farre within the danger thereof, with continuall desire to recover their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they ever escaped safe, or were ever heard of againe. For even at this present we missed two of the fleete, that is, the Judith, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had bene utterly lost, having not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

Barke Dennis sunke.

And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, seeking way in amongst these yce, received such a blow with a rocke of yce that she sunke downe therewith in the sight of the whole fleete. Howbeit having signified her danger by shooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new succour of other ships came so readily unto them, that the men were all saved with boats.

Part of the house lost. Within this ship that was drowned there was parcell of our house which was to bee erected for them that should stay all the winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearefull spectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outragious storme which presently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compassed (as aforesayd) on every side with yce, having left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the Southeast, which blowing from the maine sea, directly upon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a sea-boorde of us upon our backes, and thereby debard us of turning backe to recover sea-roome againe: so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devises sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay a drift. Other some fastened & mored Anker upon a great Island of yce, and roade under the Lee therof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outragious winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting yce. And againe some where so fast shut up, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countreys and Islands of yce, that they were faine to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmercifull yce, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junckes of cables, beds, Mastes, plankes and such like, which being hanged over boord on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outragious sway and strokes of the said yce. But as in greatest distresse, men of best valour are best to bee discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what invincible minde every Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (unacquainted with such extremities) to the everlasting renowne of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers: for some, even without boord upon the yce, and some within boord upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, stoode almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce with such incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwise no doubt had striken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision: for plankes of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooved, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea above their watermarke, having their knees and timbers within boord [III. 79.] both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilest some laboured for defence of the ships, and sought to save their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to save the soule by devout prayer and meditation to the Almightie, thinking indeede by no other meanes possible then by a divine Miracle to have their deliverance: so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miserable men without hope of ever getting foorth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ships, that is, the Anne Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being somewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being fast ships by a winde, having a more scope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the storme under sayle, being hardly able to beare a coast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting yce, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea over, they were brought many times to the extreamest point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thousand times scaping them scarce one ynch, which to have striken had bene their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwieldinesse of them to stay and turne as a man would wish: yet they esteemed it their better safetie, with such perill to seeke Sea-roome, than without hope of ever getting libertie to lie striving against the streame, and beating amongst the Isie mountaines, whose hugenesse and monstrous greatnesse was such, that no man would credite, but such as to their paines sawe and felt it. And these foure shippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were first cleare of the yce, who now enjoying their owne libertie, beganne a new to sorrow and feare for their fellowes safeties. And devoutly kneeling about their maine Mast, they gave unto God humble thankes, not only for themselves, but besought him likewise highly for their friendes deliverance. And even now whilest amiddest these extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogither overlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foresayd dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heaven to sende them helpe in good time, giving them the next day a more favourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and drive foorth the yce before them, but also gave them libertie of more scope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the same day following perceived of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enjoyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting up their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Againe, some complayning of their false Stemme borne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time & labour. So that I dare well avouch, there were never men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by Gods providence delivered. And hereof both the torne ships, and the forwearied bodies of the men arrived doe beare most evident marke and witnesse. And now the whole Fleete plyed off to Seaward, resolving there to abide untill the Sunne might consume, or the force of winde disperse these yce from the place of their passage: and being a good birth off the shore, they tooke in their sailes, and lay adrift.

Another assault.

The seventh of July as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in forme like the Northerland of the straights, which some of the Fleete, and those not the worst Marriners, judged to be the North Foreland: howbeit other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of the thicke fogge which a long time hung upon the coast, & the new falling snow which yeerely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie dayes togither, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeede we thought our selves to be upon the Northeast side of Frobishers straights, we were now caried to the Southwestwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceived by a swift current comming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestwards of our said course many miles more then we did thinke possible could come to passe. The cause whereof we have since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

Fogge, snow, and mistes hinder the Mariners markes.

A swift current from the Northeast.

Here we made a point of land which some mistooke for a place in the straightes called Mount Warwicke: but how we should be so farre shot up so suddainely within the said straights the expertest Mariners began to marvell, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so farre overtaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceive them here which they had not by former experience prooved and found out. Howbeit many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood then before time they had observed. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place with so violent a force that our ships lying a hull were turned sometimes round about even in a moment after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyse of the streame no lesse to be heard afarre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

A current.

[III. 80.]

But whilest the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongst great store of yce in a place they knew not without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true elevation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coast, the Generall with the Captaines & Masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his Pinnesse aboord to heare each mans opinion, and specially of James Beare, Master of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skilful Mariner, and having bene there the yere before, had wel observed the place, and drawen out Cardes of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, delivered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had never seene the foresayd coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobishers Streits, as some of the Fleete supposed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend so like, that the best Mariners therein may bee deceived.

James Beare a good Mariner.

Christopher Hall chiefe Pylot.

The tenth of July, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall and the rest of the fleete, and wandering to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull course in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coast, whereof by reason of the darke mistes they could not discerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie of the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke considering the foresayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, having lost sight of the Fleete, turned backe to sea againe, having two other ships in company with him.

Also the Captaine of the Anne Francis having likewise lost company of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for best to turne it out to sea againe, untill they might have cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape upon an Iland of yce to avoide the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Hard shifts to save mens lives.

Some hoped to save themselves on chestes, and some determined to tie the Hatches of the ships togither, and to binde themselves with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the ship-bote ashore, which otherwise could not receive halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arrived, they should eyther have perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselves have beene eaten of those ravenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

The coast along ye Southside of Gronland 60 leagues.

The rest of the Fleete following the course of the Generall which led them the way, passed up above sixtie leagues within the saide doubtfull and supposed straights, having alwayes a faire continent upon their starreboorde side, and a continuance still of an open Sea before them.

Mistaken straights which indeede are no straights.

The Generall albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he perswaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowen straights. Howbeit I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein then otherwise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an honourable desire of further discoverie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to see a further proofe of that place. And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

Frobisher could have passed to Cataia.

1 Of which mistaken straights, considering the circumstance, we have great cause to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. For the foresaid Bay or Sea, the further we sayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endlesse continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the same, so after we had sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

Faire open way.

Reasons to proove a passage here.

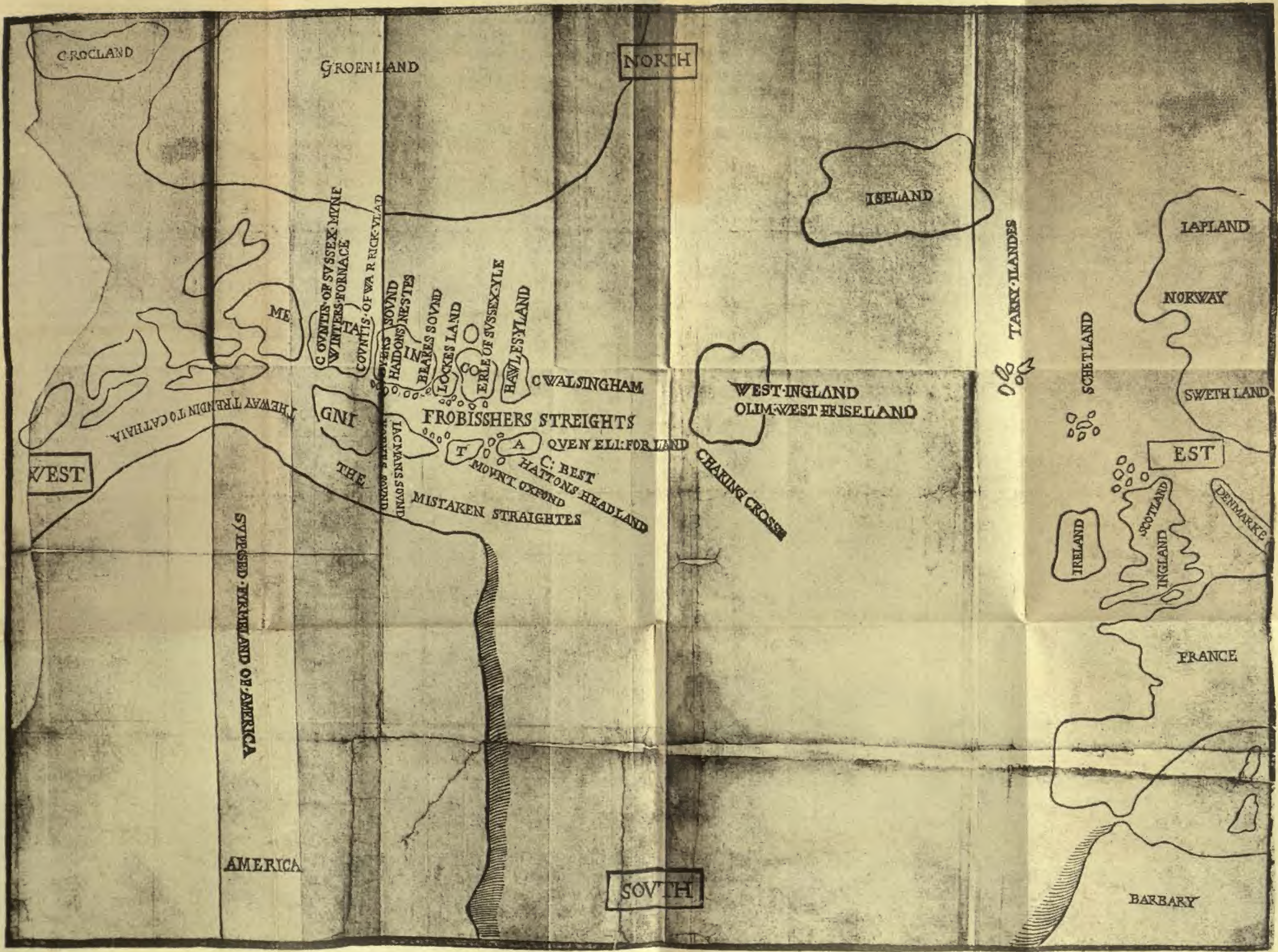
2 Also this place seemeth to have a marvellous great indraft, and draweth unto it most of the drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eastwards of the same, as by good experience we have found.

Great indrafts.

[III. 81.]

3 For here also we met with boordes, lathes, and divers other things driving in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ship called the Barke Dennis, which perished amongst the yce as beforesaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance overthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobishers straights, which could by no meanes have bene so brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not bene violently brought. For if the same had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the said flood had carried it, the ebbe would have recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not so come to

A current to the West.


GROCLAND
GROENLAND
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SWETH LAND
TARRY·ILANDES
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DYERS SOVND
HAIDONS NESTES
BEARES SOVND
LOCKES LAND
ERLE OF SVSSEX·YLE
HAWLES·YLAND
C WALSINGHAM
FROBISSHERS STREIGHTS
QVEN ELI: FORLAND
C: BEST
HATTONS HEADLAND
MOVNT OXFOND
LACNANS SOVND
THE
MISTAKEN STRAIGHTES
THE WAY TRENDIN TO CATHAIA
WEST·INGLAND
OLIM·WEST FRISELAND
CHARING CROSSE
SVPPOSED·FIRMELAND OF·AMERICA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
INGLAND
DENMARKE
FRANCE
AMERICA
SOVTH
BARBARY

MAP OF META INCOGNITA, A.D. 1578

passe, because it was then sometime calme, and most times contrarie.

And some Mariners doe affirme that they have diligently observed, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to passe by force of the sayd current: for whereas the Sea in most places of the world, doth more or lesse ordinarily ebbe and flow once every twelve houres with sixe houres ebbe, and sixe houres flood, so also would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this hastning current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and also to continue longer than his naturall course by an other houre and a halfe, untill the force of the ebbe be so great that it will no longer be resisted: according to the saying, Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurrit. Although nature and naturall courses be forced and resisted never so much, yet at last they will have their owne sway againe.

Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.

Moreover it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deepe waters, can be digested here without unburdening themselves into some open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts doe growe and are made by the reverberation and reflection of that same current, which at our comming by Ireland, met and crossed us, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, passing by and washing the Southwest parts of Ireland, reboundeth over to the Northeast parts of the world, as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreased by a new accesse, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, passing the bay of Saint Nicholas Westward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coastes of Groenland, and from thence upon Frobishers straights being to the Southwestwardes of the same.

The sea moveth from East to West continually.

5 And if that principle of Philosopie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus, that is, if inferior bodies be governed, ruled, and caried after the maner and course of the superiors, then the water being an inferior Element, must needes be governed after the superior heaven, and so follow the course of Primum mobile from East to West.

Authoritie.

6 But every man that hath written or considered any thing of this passage, hath more doubted the returne by the same way by reason of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find) than any mistrust they have of the same passage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not such but that we may returne, although with much adoe. For we were easlier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceive us in this sort: That wheras we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrarie to all expectation.

Hard but yet possible turning backe againe.

Our men that sayled furthest in the same mistaken straights (having the maine land upon their starboord side) affirme that they met with the outlet or passage of water which commeth thorow Frobishers straights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our companie also affirme that they had sight of a continent upon their larboord-side being 60 leagues within the supposed straights: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitfull and better stored of Grasse, Deere, Wild foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Tassel gentils, Ravens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we have yet discovered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandise, and did exchange knives, bels, looking glasses, &c. with

Traffique.

those countrey people, who brought him foule, fish, beares skinnes, and such like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the countrey, with twentie persons in a peece.

Now after the Generall had bestowed these many [III. 82.] dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way sayling alongst this coast (being the backeside of the supposed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceived a great sound to goe thorow into Frobishers straights. Whereupon he sent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of July, to proove whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the straights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, so the Queenes foreland prooved an Iland, as I thinke most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towardes the straights, thinking it were high time now to recover his Port, and to provide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as shall by the processe and his resolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the rest of the fleete he was so intangled by reason of the darke fogge amongst a number of Ilands and broken ground that lye off this coast, that many of the shippes came over the top of rockes, which presently after they might perceive to lie dry, having not halfe a foote water more then some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a smal gale of wind stemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleere off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable togither, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwise they had bene by the force of the tydes caried upon the rockes againe, and perished: so that if God in these fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried us thorow, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driven hard aboord the shore without any sight of land, untill we were ready to make shipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, least we might light

Returne out of the mistaken straights.

Great dangers.

thereon before we could discerne the same; it pleased God to give us a cleare of Sunne and light for a short time to see and avoyde thereby the danger, having bene continually darke before, and presently after. Manie times also by meanes of fogge and currents being driven neere upon the coast, God lent us even at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and avoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, every man recommending himselfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or never, now Lord looke downe from heaven and save us sinners, or else our safetie commeth too late: even then the mightie maker of heaven, and our mercifull God did deliver us: so that they who have bene partakers of these dangers doe even in their soules confesse, that God even by miracle hath sought to save them, whose name be praysed evermore.

Anne Francis met with some of the fleete.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recover their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the yce choaked up the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. And having never seene any of the fleete since twenty dayes past, when by reason of the thicke mistes they were severed in the mistaken straights, they did now this present 23 of July overthwart a place in the straights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with seven ships of ye Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely rejoyce them for themselves, in respect of the comfort which they received by such good companie, but especially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and feare.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great joy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of shot. And now every man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

The foure and twentieth of July we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe sought way backe againe, through the yce from out of the mistaken straights, where (to their great perill) they prooved to recover their Port. They brought the first newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themselves, and the Busse of Bridgewater was missing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reasonably cleare of the yce, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themselves so hardly distressed as never men more. Also they told us of the Gabriel, who having got thorow from the backside, and Western point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobishers straights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

Francis of Foy.

Bridgewater ship.

And upon the seven and twentieth of July, the ship of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on under Hattons Hedland. They reported of their marvellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leake that they must of necessitie seeke harborow, having their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themselves above water. They had (as they say) five hundreth strokes at the pump in lesse then halfe a watch, being scarce two houres; their men being so overwearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they desired helpe of men from the other ships. Moreover they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the straights within were frozen up, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to passe up unto the Countesse of Warwicks sound, which was the place of our Port.

[III. 83.]

The Streits frozen over.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small feare and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some beganne privily to murmure against the Generall for this wilfull maner of proceeding. Some desired to discover some harborow thereabouts to refresh themselves and reforme their broken vessels for a while, untill the North and Northwest windes might disperse the yce, and make the place more free to passe. Other some forgetting themselves, spake more undutifully in this behalfe, saying: that they had as leeve be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safetie to seeke to passe, and so to perish amongst the yce.

A valiant mind of M. Frobisher.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peevish passion of any private person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had undertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine consisteth) and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to provide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to passe and recover his Port, or else there to burie himselfe with his attempt.

Notwithstanding somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearefuller sort, and the better to entertaine time for a season, whilest the yce might the better be dissolved, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them into harborow: thereupon whilest the shippes lay off and on under Hattons Hedland, he sought to goe in with his Pinnesses amongst the Ilandes there, as though hee meant to search for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing lesse, but rather sought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the sequele appeared.

In the meane time whilest the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine resolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-shore, there arose a sodaine and terrible tempest at the Southsoutheast, whereby the yce began marvellously to gather about us.

Whereupon every man, as in such case of extremitie he thought best, sought the wisest way for his owne safety. The most part of the Fleete which were further shot up within the straights, and so farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the course of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongst the yce, and so passed over the storme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a short time in the same place.

Howbeit the other ships which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme storme for a longer season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subject diversly to divers windes, according to the sundry situation of the great Alps and mountaines there, every mountaine causing a severall blast, and pirrie, after the maner of a Levant.

In this storme being the sixe and twentieth of July, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold aire, that we could not scarce see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sayles, the snow being above halfe a foote deepe upon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had five or sixe shifts of apparell had scarce one drie threed to his backe, which kind of wet and coldnesse, togither with the overlabouring of the poore men amiddest the yce, bred no small sicknesse amongst the fleete, which somewhat discouraged some of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, every man perswading himselfe that the winter there must needes be extreme, where they found so unseasonable a Sommer.

Snow in July.

Extreme winter.

And yet notwithstanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a marvellous force of heate amongst those mountaines, insomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the dispersed yce upon us, we shall be wearie of the bloming heate and then sodainely with a perry of winde which commeth downe from the hollownesse of the hilles, we shall have such a breth of heate brought upon our faces as though we were entred within some bathstove or hote-house, and when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall have the winde sodainely a new blow cold againe.

Great heat in Meta Incognita.

Unconstant weather.

In this storme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who found themselves able to hold it up with a saile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and safetie to seeke Sea roome, then to hazard the continuance of the storme, the danger of the yce, and the leeshoare.

[III. 84.] And being uncertaine at this time of the Generals private determinations, the weather being so darke that they could not discerne one another, nor perceive which way he wrought, betooke themselves to this course for best and safest.

The Generall recovereth his port.

The General, notwithstanding the great storme, following his own former resolution, sought by all meanes possible, by a shorter way to recover his Port, and where he saw the yce never so little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and so himselfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and upon the one and thirtieth of July recovered his long wished Port after many attempts and sundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill past, he encountred a great Iland of yce which gave the Ayde such a blow, having a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it stroke the anker flouke through the ships bowes under the water, which caused so great a leake, that with much adoe they preserved the ship from sinking.

At their arrivall here they perceived two ships at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to marvell and greatly to rejoyce, for those they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the small Barke called the Gabriel, who so long time were missing, and never heard of before, whom every man made the last reckoning, never to heare of againe.

Here every man greatly rejoyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped up their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praysed God, and altogither upon their knees gave him due, humble and hearty thankes, and Maister Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Majesties Councell to be their Minister and Preacher made unto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankefull to God for their strange and miraculous deliverance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the uncertainetie of mans life, willed them to make themselves alwayes readie as resolute men to enjoy and accept thankefully whatsoever adventure his divine Providence should appoint. This maister Wolfall being well seated and setled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to save soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and minister of Gods word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.

Master Wolfall Preacher.

But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to speake somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expressed) they reported that from the night of the first storme which was about the first day of July untill seven dayes before the Generals arrivall, which was the sixe and twentith of the same, they never saw any one day or houre, wherin they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almost togither fast

The adventures of Captaine Fenton and his companie.

Extremitie causeth men to devise new arts and remedies.

Hard shifts.

Strange wonders.

amongst the yce. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ships in some places upon the yce very many miles, and might easily have passed from one Iland of yce to another even to the shore, and if God had not wonderfully provided for them and their necessitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wise to seeke strange remedies for strange kindes of dangers, it had bene impossible for them ever to have escaped: for among other devises, wheresoever they found any Iland of yce of greater bignesse then the rest (as there be some of more then halfe a mile compasse about, and almost forty fadome high) they commonly coveted to recover the same, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon having mored anker, they road under the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the lesser driving yce. But when they must needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would undermine and compasse them round about, and when that by heaving of the billow they were therewith like to be brused in peeces, they used to make fast the shippe unto the most firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sayles whereon the winde having great power, would force forward the ship, and so the shippe bearing before her the yce, & so one yce driving forward another, should at length get scope & searoome. And having by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupyed the cleare place for a prettie season among sundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by measure to be 65 fadome above water, which for a kind of similitude, was called Salomons porch. [III. 85.] Some thinke those Ilands eight times so much under water as they are above, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and shooting upon the mayne seas 40. myles from any land, without any Shippe or other vessell under them. Also I saw fresh Rivers running amidst the salt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not beleeve, let him knowe that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe upon Ilandes of yce, and running there up and downe, did shoote at Buts upon the yce, and with their Calivers did kill great Seales, which use to lye and sleepe upon the yce, and this yce melting above at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in sundry streames, which uniting together, made a pretie Brooke able to drive a Mill.

The sayde Captaine Fenton recovered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and spent good tyme in searching for Mine, and hee found good store thereof. He also discovered about tenne Miles up into the Countrey, where he perceived neither Towne, Village, nor likelihoode of habitation, but it seemeth (as he sayeth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we have entred upon: but their victuals and provision went so scant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within seven dayes after, if the Fleete had not then arrived.

The Generall after his arrivall in the Countesses sound, spent no time in vaine, but immediatly at his first landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupyed on. Then to give good Orders to bee observed of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting up of the Fort and House for the use of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this service, it was ordeined from her Majestie and the Councell, that the Generall should call unto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, consult and determine of all occurrents in this service, whose names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.
Captaine Yorke.
Captaine Best.
Captaine Carew.
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea causes to have as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles Jackman, being both very good Pilots, and sufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the discoverie. From the place of our habitation Westward, Master Selman was appointed Notarie, to register the whole maner of proceeding in these affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Majestie to require it.

The first of August every Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring ashoare unto the Countesses Iland all such Gentlemen, souldiers, and Myners, as were under their charge, with such provision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of Mine, and fraight for the shippes.

The Muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, every man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners discharged their shippes.

Upon the second of August were published and proclaymed upon the Countesse of Warwicks Iland with sound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be observed of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whilest the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines sought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners discharged their shippes, the Gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferiour sort to worke. So that the small tyme of that little leisure that was left to tarrie, was spent in vaine.

The second of August the Gabriel arrived, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing distressed sore with Yce, put into Harborough neere unto Mount Oxford.

And now was the whole Fleete arrived safely at their Port, excepting foure, besides the Shippe that was lost: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moone, whose absence was some lette unto the workes and other proceedings, aswell for that these Shippes were furnished with the better sorte of Myners, as with other provision for the habitation.

The ninth of August the Generall with the Captaynes of his counsell assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting up of the house or Fort for them that were to inhabite there the whole yeere, [III. 86.] and that presently the Masons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. First therefore they perused the Bils of lading, what every man received into his Shippe, and found that there was arrived onely the Eastside, and the Southside of the house, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were used for fenders in many Shippes, and so broken in pieces whilest they were distressed in the yce. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to serve one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted first to inhabite there, because their greatest store was in the Shippes which were not yet arrived. Then Captaine Fenton seeing the scarcitie of the necessary things aforesayd, was contented, and offred himselfe to inhabite there with sixtie men. Whereupon they caused the Carpenters and Masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take upon them to erect up a lesse house for sixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber sufficient, whereas now they had but sixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed upon, and resolved by the Generall and his counsell, that no habitation should be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Master Selman the Register to set downe this decree with all their consents, for the better satisfying of her Majestie, the Lords of the Counsell, and the Adventurers.

Consultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.

An hundred men appointed to inhabite.

No habitation this yeere.

The Anne Francis, since shee was parted from the Fleete, in the last storme before spoken of, could never recover above five leagues within the streights, the winde being sometime contrary, and most times the Yce compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the seven and twentieth of July, they could neither heare nor have sight of any of the Fleete, until the 3. of August, when they descryed a sayle neere unto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could understand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes, ever since that foresayd storme, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loose one another againe, the Moone being consort alwayes with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed up together into the streights, with great desire to recover their long wished Port: and they attempted as often, and passed as farre as possible the winde, weather, & yce gave them leave, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Easterly or Southerly, which would serve their turnes, then had they so great a fogge and darke miste therewith, that eyther they could not discerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay so thicke together, that it was impossible for them to passe. And on the other side, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, having no Winde to cary them from the danger thereof.

And by the sixt of August being with much adoe got up as high as Leicester point, they had good hope to finde the Souther shore cleare, and so to passe up towardes their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly upon the great Bay which commeth out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with yce round about by meanes of the swift Tydes which run in that place, that they were never afore so hardly beset as now. And in seeking to avoyde these dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two Ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could have given them any remedie, being so busily occupied to winde themselves out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaved above the water with the force of the yce, and received a great leake thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Anne Francis were sore brused at that instant, having their false stemmes borne away, and their ship sides stroken quite through.

Now considering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leasure that they had left to tarie in these partes, besides that every night the ropes of their Shippes were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes safety, thinking it an impossibilitie for them to passe unto their Port, as well for that they saw themselves, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooved before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen over within: They thought it now very hie time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and masters of these Shippes, desired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Upcote of the Moone, with his master John Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the Captaines Cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller sort of Mariners being overtyred with the continuall

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone consult.

[III. 87.]

labour of the former dangers, coveted to returne homeward, saying that they would not againe tempt God so much, who had given them so many warnings, and delivered them from so wonderfull dangers: that they rather desired to lose wages, fraight, and all, then to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were so leake, and the men so wearie, that to amend the one, and refresh the other, they must of necessitie seeke into harborough.

But on the other side it was argued againe to the contrary, that to seeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to subject themselves to double dangers: if happily they escaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neverthelesse subject there to the danger of the Ice, which with the swift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables asunder, drive them upon the shoare, and bring them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subject to broken ground and rockes, especially in the mouth and entrance of every Harborough, that albeit the Channell be sounded over and over againe, yet are you never the neerer to discerne the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like shape and forme as the Land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rockes, suffreth you not by your soundings to knowe and keepe a true gesse of the depth. For you shall sound upon the side or hollownesse of one Hill or Rocke under water, and have a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next cast, yer you shall be able to heave your lead againe, you shall be upon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your utter confusion.

Another reason against going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a sudden freezing up of the sounds, seeing that every night there was new congealed yce, even of that water which remayned within their shippes. And therefore it should seeme to be more safe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them footh of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut up the whole yeere.

After many such dangers and reasons alledged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis delivered his opinion unto the company to this effect. First concerning the question of returning home, hee thought it so much dishonorable, as not to grow in any farther question: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they must needes) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were living or lost, or whether any of them had recovered their Port or not, in the Countesses sound, (as it was to bee thought the most part would if they were living) hee sayde that it would be so great an argument eyther of want of courage or discretion in them, as hee resolved rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should never bee spoken of him, that hee would ever returne without doing his endevour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinnisse of five tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was caryed in pieces, and unmade up for the use of those which should inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to joyne together, hee offered himselfe to proove before therewith, whether it were possible for any Boate to passe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might also thereby give true notice, if any of the Fleete were arrived at their Port or not.

Captaine Bests resolution.

A Pinnisse for the inhabiters.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceived that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to encline thereunto. At first, to search alongst the same coast, and the soundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to finde some of the Fleete there, which being leake, and sore brused with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being distressed with foule weather in the last storme, then to hazard their uncertaine safeties amongst the yce: for about this place they lost them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely, also, that they might finde some fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoovefull for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to finde some Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to fraight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neerenesse to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the streights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a shorter time, howsoever the streight should be pestered with yce within, so that if it might come to passe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or convenient harborough, any of these three would serve their present [III. 88.] turnes, and give some hope and comfort unto their companies, which now were altogether comfortlesse. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neyther recover their Port, nor any of these aforesayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coast, as long as it was possible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall conclusion was set downe thus, First, that the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone should consort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithfull friends, should supply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, every Shippe to send off his Boate with a sufficient Pylot, to search out and sound the harboroughs for the safe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arrived in harborough, where they might finde convenient place for the purpose, they resolved foorthwith to joyne and sette together the Pinnesse, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, discover up into the streights.

After these determinations thus set downe, the Thomas of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other Shippes, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward, which fell out as it manifestly appeared, very much against their Captaine Master Tanfields minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell it hath since bene prooved, to the great discredite of the Pilot Cox, who specially persuaded his company against the opinion of his sayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witnesse, even at their conference togither, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little suspect the sayd Pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duetie, manhoode, nor constancie. Notwithstanding the sayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his Shippe boate (being accompanied also with the Moones Skiffe) to proove amongst the Ilands which lye under Hattons Hedland, if any convenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while under Sayle, searching through many sounds, they sawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently sound over, and searched againe.

Here the sayde Captaine found a great blacke Iland, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully unto the place: where when they arrived, they found such plentie of blacke Ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last yeere, that if the goodnesse might answere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the world. This Iland the Captaine for cause of his good

Bestes blessing. hap, called after his owne name, Bestes blessing, and with these good tydings returning aboord his Ship the ninth of August about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was joyfully welcommed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his handes.

The next day being the tenth of August, the weather reasonably fayre, they put into the foresayde Harborough, having their Boate for their better securitie sounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in sounding the Channell over and over againe, *Anne Francis in danger.* the Anne Francis came aground upon a suncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye untill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty providence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to undersette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwise was likely to overset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had above two thousand strokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, so sore shee was brused by lying upon the Rockes. *The Moone in harborough.* The Moone came safely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whose helpe in their necessitie they could not well have missed.

Now whilest the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amisse, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indevoured to doe their best for the making up of the Boate or Pinnesse: which to bring to passe, they wanted two speciall and most necessarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called Knees, which are the chiefest strength of any Boate, and also nayles, wherewithall to joyne the plancks together. Whereupon having by chance a Smyth amongst them, (and yet unfurnished of his necessary tooles to worke and [III. 89.] make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anvile to worke upon, and to use a pickaxe in stead of a sledge to beate withall, and also to occupy two small bellowes in steade of one payre of greater Smiths bellowes. And for lacke of small Yron for the easier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireshovell in pieces.

Hattons Hedland.

The eleventh of August the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Master of his Shippe with him, went up to the toppe of Hattons Hedland, which is the highest land of all the streights, to the ende to descry the situation of the Countrey underneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby also to see what store of Yce was yet left in the streights, as also to search what Mineral matter or fruite that soyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the said Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name which himselfe gave thereunto the last yeere, in the highest part of this Hedland he caused his company to make a Columne or Crosse of stone, in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plentie of Blacke Ore, and divers pretie stones.

Pretie stones.

A mightie white Beare.

The seventeenth of August the Captaines with their companies chaced and killed a great white Beare, which adventured and gave a fierce assault upon twentie men being weaponed. And he served them for good meate many dayes.

A Pinnesse there built.

The eighteenth of August the Pinnesse with much adoe being set together, the sayd Captaine Best determined to depart up the streights, to proove and make tryall, as before was pretended, some of his company greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the Carpenter that set the same together, who sayde that hee would not adventure himselfe therein for five hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the strength of the nayles, and lacked some of her principall knees and tymbers.

These wordes somewhat discouraged some of the company which should have gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne selfe-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Master and Mariners of best judgement together, declared unto them how much the cause imported him in his credite to seeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and tryall of the goodnesse of the Ore, whereof they had no assurance but by gesse of the eye, and it was well like the other: which so to cary home, not knowing the goodnesse thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore hee desired them to deliver their plaine and honest opinion, whether the Pinnesse were sufficient for him so to adventure in or no. It was answered, that by carefull heede taking thereunto amongst the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinnesse might suffice. And hereupon the Masters mate of the Anne Francis called John Gray, manfully and honestly offering himselfe unto his Captaine in this adventure and service, gave cause to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

And upon the nineteenth of August the sayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Upcote of the Moone, and eighteene persons in the small Pinnesse, having convenient portion of victuals and things necessary, departed upon the sayd pretended Voyage, leaving their shippe at anchor in a good readinesse for the taking in of their fraight. And having little winde to sayle withall, they plyed alongst the Souther shore, and passed above 30. leagues, having the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and so intending to keepe that shore aboord until they were got up to the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to crosse over, and to search likewise alongst the Northerland unto the Countesses sound, and from thence to passe all that coast along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene distressed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceived of them, and so they thereby to give them such

They adventure by the streight in a weake Pinnesse.

helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and ever suspect that some of the Fleete were surely cast away, and driven to seeke sowre sallets amongst the colde cliffes.

And being shotte up about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put over towardes the Norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates. And by meanes of a sudden flawe were dryven, and faine to seeke harborough in the night amongst all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place so named within the streights above the Countesse of Warwicks sound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great stones set up by the Countrey people as it seemed, for markes, where they also made many Crosses of stone, in token that Christians had bene there. The 22. of August they had sight of the Countesses sound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther shore, perceived the smoke of a fire under a hils side: whereof they diversly perdeemed. When they came neere the place, they perceived people which wafted unto them, as it seemed, with a flagge or ensigne. And because the Countrey people had used to doe the like, when they perceived any of our boats to passe by, they suspected them to be the same. And comming somewhat neerer, they might perceive certaine tents, and discerne this ensigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the English fashion. But because they could see no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within five or sixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent those partes, they could not tell what to judge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storme and mistes, had made shipwracke amongst the yce or the broken Islands there, and were spoyled by the countrey people, who might use the sundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies, resolved to recover the same ensigne, if it

40. leagues within the streights.

Gabriels Ilands.

[III. 90.]

were so, from those base people, or els to lose their lives, and all together. In the ende they discerned them to be their countreymen, and then they deemed them to have lost their Ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the other side, the company ashoare feared that the Captaine having lost his Shippe, came to seeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinnisse, so that their extremities caused eche part to suspect the worst.

Proximus sum egomet mihi.

The Captaine now with his Pinnisse being come neere the shoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, lest in their necessitie they might winne the same from him, and seeke first to save themselves: for every man in that case is next himselfe. They haled one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie answered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a sudden and joyfull outshoote, with great flinging up of caps, and a brave voly of shotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a most strange case to see how joyfull and gladde every partie was to see themselves meete in safetie againe, after so strange and incredible dangers: Yet to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

Captain Yorke arrived.

And here the company were working upon new Mines, which Captaine Yorke being here arrived not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countesse of Sussex Mine.

After some conference with our friends here, the Captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Countesse of Warwicks sound, to speake with the Generall, and to have tryall made of such mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And so he determined to dispatch againe towards his ship. And having spoken with the General, he received order for all causes, and direction as well for the bringing up of his Shippe to the Countesses sound, as also to fraight his Ship with the same Oare which he himselfe had found, which upon triall made, was supposed to be very good.

The 23. of August, the sayd Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commissioners in counsell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done against another yeere.

The 24. of August, the Generall with two Pinnisses and good numbers of men went to Beares sound, commanding the sayde Captaine with his Pinnesse to attend the service, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for sundry times they shewed themselves busie thereabouts, sometimes with seven or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceived any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did never shewe themselves againe there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their Pinnisses to compasse about the Iland where they did use, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come neere, having belike some watch in the toppe of the mountaines, they conveyed themselves privily away, and left (as it should seeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haste, which we found neere to a place of their caves and housing. Therefore, though our Generall were very desirous to have taken some of them to have brought into England, they being now growen more wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and set his course over the streights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues over, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of August, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his

None of the people will be taken.

Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Countesses sound, where he arrived the 28. of the same. [III. 91.] By the way he set his Miners ashore at Beares sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the Ore togither: for that some of the ships were behind hand with their fraight, the time of the yeere passing suddenly away.

A house builded and left there.

The thirtith of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which she had received by meanes of the rocks and yce. This day the Masons finished a house which Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone upon the Countesse of Warwickes Island, to the ende we might prove against the next yeere, whither the snow could overwhelme it, the frost breake it up, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and uncivill people to courtesie against other times of our comming, we left therein divers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and knives, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary use, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Oven, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed pease, corne, and other graine, to prove the fruitfulnesse of the soyle against the next yeere.

M. Wolfall a godly Preacher.

Master Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the divine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion ever knowen in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in severall and sundry ships, because the whole company could never meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in some good readinesse for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discovery should be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discovery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to passe (having sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost invincible. And considering that already they had spent sometime in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straites, therefore it could not be sayd, but that by this voyage they have notice of a further discovery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and encreased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any meanes might be further devised, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall shoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterprise in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First the darke foggy mists, the continuall falling snowe and stormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily ever more and more increased, have no small argument of the Winters drawing neere. And also the frost every night was so hard congealed within the sound, that if by evill hap they should bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they should be shut up there fast the whole yeere, which being utterly unprovided, would be their utter destruction. Againe, drinke was so scant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the provision which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each shippes severall provision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne since, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage

Consultation for a further discovery.

and wasting was, for that the great timber and seacole, which lay so waighty upon the barrels, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoopes insunder. Yet notwithstanding these reasons alleaged the Generall himselfe (willing the rest of the Gentlemen and Captaines every man to looke to his severall charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in a readinesse to set homeward) went in a Pinnesse and discovered further Northward in the straights, and found that by Beares sound and Halles Island, the land was not firme, as it was first supposed, but all broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himselfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where presently upon his arrivall at the Countesses sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their returne, which Articles were delivered to every Captaine.

Broken Ilands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

HAving now received Articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardnesse and in good order, the last day of August the whole Fleete departed from the Countesses sound, excepting the Judith, and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water, and came the next day and mette the Fleete lying off and on, athwart Beares sound, who stayed for the Generall, which then was gone ashore to dispatch the two Barkes and the Busse of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboord. The Captaine of the Anne Francis having most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to Beares sound in his Pinnesse to fetch his men aboord, but the wind grewe so great immediatly upon their landing, that the shippes at Sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be utterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and

[III. 92.]

Returne homeward.

others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most: for having mightie rockes threatning on the one side, and driving Islands of cutting yce on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwracke, the yce driving so neere them that it touched their bolt-sprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne so hie, they were not able to put to sea with their small Pinnesses to recover their shippes. And againe, the shippes were not able to tarrie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outragious windes and swelling seas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboord the Busse of Bridgewater, and went himselfe with the rest of his men aboord the Barkes. But their numbers were so great, and the provision of the Barkes so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recover their shippes. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storme continued greater, the Sea being more swollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of Bridgewater which was of greatest receit, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, roade so farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a saile. And the Barks were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with provision, that they had scarce meat for sixe dayes for such numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to seeke the Fleete, leaving the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares sound. The Busse set sayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better safetie, amongst a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of ever getting forth againe. The Michael set sayle to follow the Generall, and could give the Busse no reliefe, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two evils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of ever getting forth, or else to bee towed in his small Pinnesse at the sterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receive or relieve halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee resolved to commit himselfe with all his company unto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the sterne of the Barke for many miles, untill at length they espyed the Anne Francis under sayle, hard under their Lee, which was no small comfort unto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lacke of victuals, and convenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the sayd Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of duetie towardes his Generall, suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleete besides departed. And the Pinnesse came no sooner aboord the shippe, and the men entred, but shee presently shivered and fell in pieces and sunke at the ships sterne, with all the poore mens furniture: so weake was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all saved.

At this present in this storme many of the Fleete were dangerously distressed, and were severed almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arrived safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marveilous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of never getting forth, was forced to seeke a way North-

An unknowen channell into the Northeast, discovered by the Busse of Bridgewater.

ward thorow an unknowen channell full of rocks, upon the backe side of Beares sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North sea, a very dangerous attempt: save that necessitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie masteries. This aforesayd North sea is the same which lyeth upon the backe side of Frobishers straits, where first the Generall himselfe in his Pinnesses, and after some other of our company have discovered (as they affirme) a great foreland, where they would have also a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South sea, or Mar del Sur.

[III. 93.]

A fruitful new Island discovered.

The Busse of Bridgewater, as she came homeward, to the Southeastward of Friseland, discovered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was never yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion Countrey.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not above forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

A generall and briefe description of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in Meta Incognita.

HAving now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particuler handling of every occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobisher, it shal not be from the purpose to speake somewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the savages there inhabiting.

A Topographicall description of Meta Incognita.

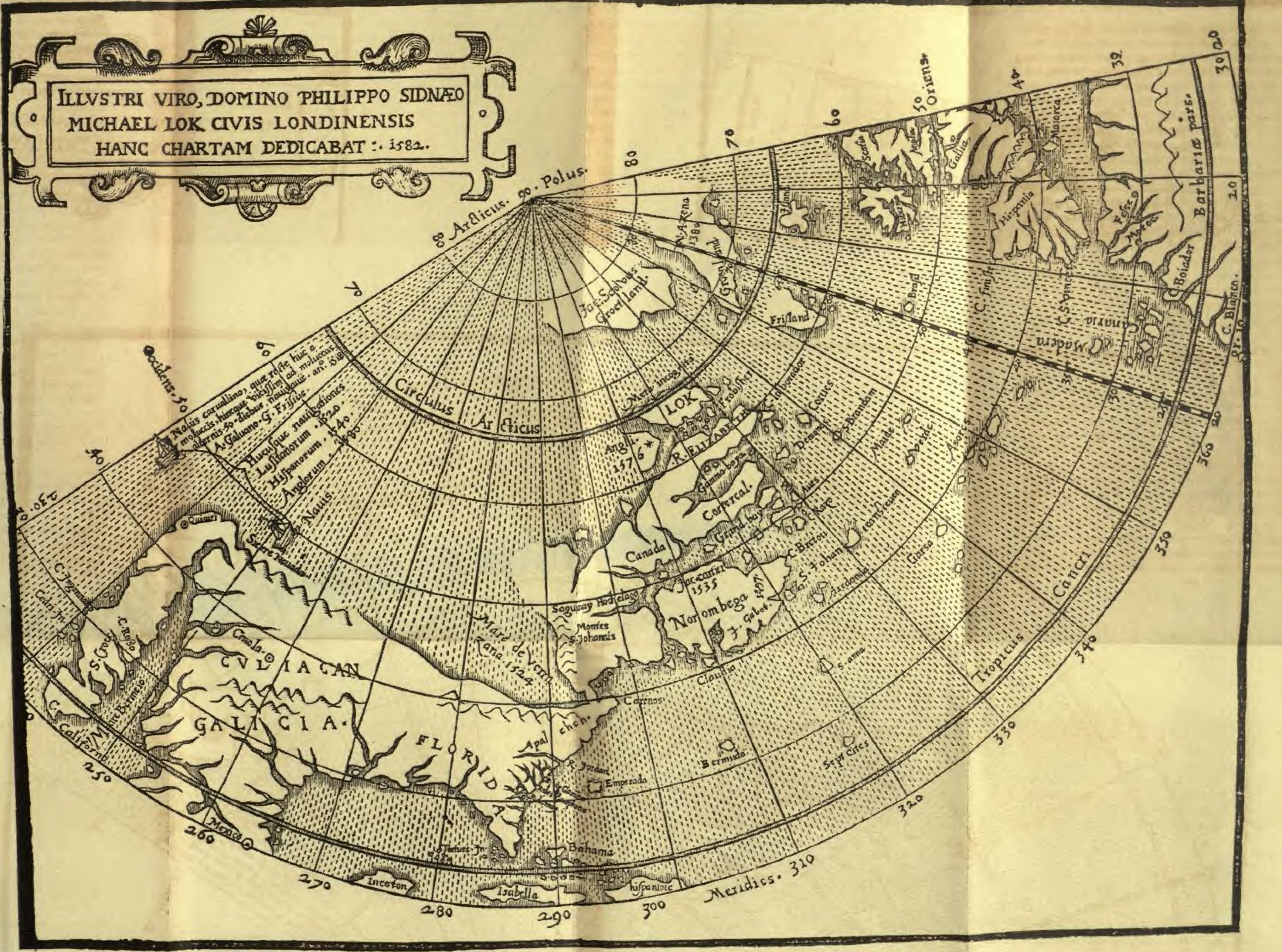
First therefore touching the Topographical description of the place, It is now found in the last voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being situate in latitude at 61.

degrees and a halfe, which before was supposed to be part of the firme land of America, and also al the rest of the South side of Frobishers straites, are all severall Islands and broken land, and likewise so will all the North side of the said straites fall out to be as I thinke. And some of our company being entred above 60. leagues within the mistaken straites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainely that they had discryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and Islands being very many in number, do seeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatnesse, forme, and fashion one from another; so are they in goodnesse, colour, and soyle much unlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in most parts covered with snow even all the Sommer long. The Norther lands have lesse store of snow, more grasse, and are more plaine Countreys: the cause whereof may be, for that the Souther Ilands receive all the snow, that the cold winds and percing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receive more warme blasts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cause why the people covet to inhabit more upon the North parts then the South, as farre as we can yet by our experience perceive they doe. These people I judge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeastwards beyond Moscovy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Moscovy tongue as eaters of themselves, and so the Russians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did sometime travell in the parts of Moscovy) who hath great experience of those Samoeds and people of the Northeast, I find that in all their maner of living, those people of the Northeast, and these of the Northwest are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Olive, which how it may come to passe, being borne

The people of Meta Incognita like unto Samoeds.

Their native colour.


ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNÆO
MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT :. 1582.
90. Polus.
80 Arcticus.
Occidens. 50
Oriens. 50
Meridies. 310
Circulus Arcticus
Tropicus Canceri
Nauis caruallino, quæ rectè huc a moluccis, hincque vicissim ad moluccas, alternis 50 diebus nauigauit. an.º 1528
A. Galuano. G. Frisius.
Huc usque nauigationes Lusitanorum 1520. Hispanorum 1540. Anglorum 1580.
Nauis
Jac. Scolvus Groetland
Groetland
Frisland
Mare incognitum
LOK
R. ELIZABETH
Frobisher
Anglia 1576
Gamma baya
Cortercal.
Grand bay
Canada
Jac. cartier 1535
Saguinay Hochelaga
Montes S. Johannis
Norombega
J. Gabot 1497
C. Breton
S. Johan
Claudia
Bermuda
Sept Cites
Mare de Verrazana 1524
CVLIACAN
Cnola
GALICIA
FLORIDA
Apalchen
R. Jordan
C. California
C. Ingannio
S. Cruz
Mar Bermeio
Bahama
Incoton
Isabella
hispaniola
Hispania
Gallia
Scotia
Hibernia
Anglia
Islanda
Majorca
Fessa
Barbariæ pars
C. Bojador
C. Blanco
Canaria
Madera
Azores
Brasil
S. Brandam
Maida
Corues
Demons
Terra Nuova
Arcadia
S. anna
Emperado
Canaria
20 30 40 50 60 70 80
250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360

MICHAEL LOK'S MAP OF THE NEW WORLD, A.D. 1582 in so cold a climate I referre to the judgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell under the Equinoctiall line.

They are men very active and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight upon the toppes of the hilles they would often muster themselves, and after the maner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexterity. They go clad in coates made of the skinnes of beasts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They have also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of Foules, finely sowed and compact togither. Of all which sorts wee brought home some with us into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they use to weare the hairie side of their coates outward, and sometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by signes they have declared) they weare foure or five folde upon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is fervent hote, or els extreme cold, & farre more excessive in both qualities, then the reason of the climate should yeeld. For there it is colder, being under 62. degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moscovie, being at above 72. degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Easterne and Northeastern winds, which from the sea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was also the cause that this yeere our straits were so long shut up with so great store of yce. But there is great hope and likelihood, that further within [III. 94.] the Straights it will bee more constant and temperate weather.

Their apparel.

The accidentall cause of the cold ayre at Meta Incognita.

These people are in nature very subtill and sharpe witted, ready to conceive our meaning by signes, and to make answere well to be understood againe. And if they have not seene the thing whereof you aske them, they will wincke, or cover their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath bene hid from their sight. If they understand you not whereof you aske them, they wil stop their eares. They will teach us the names of each thing in their language which wee desire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of us. They delight in Musicke above measure, and will keepe time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true stroke with our Mariners, and seeme to take great delight therein. They live in Caves of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, even as the beare or other wild beastes do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat howsoever it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, sullen of nature, and ravenous in their maner of feeding.

The Savages delight in Musicke.

Hard kind of living.

Their sullen & desperate nature doth herein manifestly appeare, that a company of them being environed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, so that they could by no meanes escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather then to yeeld themselves to our mens mercies.

Their weapons.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they have darts, slings, bowes, and arrowes headed with sharpe stones, bones, and some with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mourneful song, and Dirges. They are very shamefast in bewraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the maner of their living: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the last voyage,

Their chastity.

should put off his coat or discover his whole body for change, hee would not suffer the woman to bee present, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the space of two or three moneths, while the man lived in company of the woman, there was never any thing seene or perceived betweene them, more then might have passed betweene brother and sister: but the woman was in all things very serviceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sicke, and he likewise in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carve unto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more civill, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst us in very short time.

Their boates.

They have boates made of leather, and covered cleane over saving one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber, and they use to row therein with one Ore, more swiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They have one sort of greater boates wherein they can carrie above twentie persons, and have a Mast with a saile thereon, which saile is made of thinne skinnes or bladders, sowed togither with the sinewes of fishes.

They are good Fishermen, and in their small Boates being disguised with their coates of Seales skinnes, they deceive the fish, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiving men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they shoote at a great fish with any of their darts, they use to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fish not able to cary it so easily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

Traffique with some other nation unknowen.

They use to traffike and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they have such things as their miserable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to have, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure square, certaine buttons of copper, which they use to weare upon their forehads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe use great pearle.

Gold. Also they have made signes unto us, that they have seene gold, and such bright plates of mettals, which are used for ornaments amongst some people with whom they have conference.

We found also in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth usually grow in they hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or else themselves are great travellers.

Their fewell. They have nothing in use among them to make fire withall, saving a kinde of Heath and Mosse which groweth there.

[III. 95.] *How they make fire.* And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one sticke against another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in sleads upon the yce, and remoove their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and provision against Winter. They doe sometime parboyle *Their kettles and pannes.* their meat a little and seeth the same in kettles made of beasts skins: they have also pannes cut and made of stone very artificially; they use prety ginnes wherewith they take foule. The women carry their sucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women have their faces marked or painted over with small blewe spots: they have blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the same in a decent order. The men have but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirst withall. Their earth yeeldeth no *The people eate grasse and shrubs.* graine or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast to live upon: and the people will eate grasse and shrubs of the ground, even as our kine doe. They have no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee find they have some timber among them, which we thinke doth growe farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or some other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees standing on the cliffes of the sea side, by the waight of yce and snow in Winter overcharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth above, and also the Sea underfretting them beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are undermined and fall downe from those cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driven to and fro upon the coastes further off, and by conjecture are taken up here by these Countrey people, to serve them to planke and strengthen their boates withall, and to make dartes, bowes, and arrowes, and such other things necessarie for their use. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas over great store, which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driving in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

A strange kind of gnat.

We have not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurtful thing in these parts, but there is a kind of small flie or gnat that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leaving many red spots in the face, and other places where she stingeth. They have snow and haile in the best time of their Sommer, and the ground frosen three fadome deepe.

Inchanters.

These people are great inchanters, and use many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great stone with a string unto a sticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the sticke, they lift up the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a mans force they cannot stirre, and sometime againe they lift as easily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to have ease and helpe. And they made us by signes to understand, lying groveling with their faces upon the ground, and making a noise downeward, that they worship the devill under them.

The beasts and foules of the Countrey.

They have great store of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of sundry sorts of wild foule, as Seawmewes, Gulles, Wilmotes, Ducks, &c. wherof our men killed in one day fifteene hundred.

They have also store of haukes, as Falkons, Tassels, &c. whereof two alighted upon one of our ships at their returne, and were brought into England, which some thinke wil prove very good.

There are also great store of ravens, larkes, and partriges, wherof the Countrey people feed.

All these foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and have thicker skinnes then any in England have: for as that countrey is colder, so nature hath provided a remedie thereunto.

Our men have eaten of the Beares, Hares, Partridges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours.

Their wild foule must be all fleine, their skins are so thicke: and they tast best fryed in pannes.

The Countrey seemeth to be much subject to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very subtile, piercing and searching, so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will presently breake forth and shew it selfe, and cannot there by any kind of salve or medicine be cured.

Their longest Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, so that in July al the night long, we might perfitly and easily write and reade whatsoever had pleased us, which lightsome nights were very beneficiall unto us, being so distressed with abundance of yce as we were.

The length of their day.

The Sunne setteth to them in the Evening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riseth againe in the morning at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, so that in Sommer their Sunne shineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is absent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee absent these 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not darke that time, for that the Sunne is never above three or foure degrees under the edge of their Horizon: the cause is, that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very uneven and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, having North latitude, doth make a full revolution above their Horizon, so that sometime they see the Moone above 24. houres togither. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually have seene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

[III. 96.]

A full revolution of the Moone above their Horizon.

The people are now become so warie, and so circumspect, by reason of their former losses, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this last voyage. But to say trueth, wee could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great businesse in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Majestie, granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discovery of the Northwest Passage to China.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our trustie and welbeloved subject Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Devon, Gentleman, to his great costes and charges, hath greatly and earnestly travelled and sought, and yet doth travell and seeke, and by divers meanes indevoureth and laboureth, that the Passage unto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, unto which part or partes of the world, none of our loyall Subjects have hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be discovered, knowen, and frequented by the Subjects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the considerations aforesayd and for divers other good considerations us thereunto specially mooving. We of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe give and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other person by him or his heires to be assigned, and to those his associates and assistants, whose names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one assignee of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of these presents, under our Banners and Ensignes freely, without let, interruption, or restraint, of us, our heires or successors, any law, statute, proclamation, patent, charter, or proviso to the contrary notwithstanding, to saile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to passe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Isles, Countreys, Regions, Provinces, Territories, Seas, Rivers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Havens, and all maner of other places whatsoever, that by the sayde Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, is to be by him, his associates or assignes discovered, and for and in the sayde sayling, voyage, and passage, to have and use so many shippes, Barkes, Pinnesses, or other vessels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of necessary provision, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances whatsoever, as to such a voyage shall or may be requisite, convenient or commodious, any lawe, statute, ordinance or proviso to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And also we doe give and grant to the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, and to such assignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one assignee of every of his sayde associates for ever, full power and absolute authoritie to trade and make their resiance in any of the sayde Isles, Countreys, Regions, Provinces, Territories, Seas, Rivers, Portes, Bayes, and Havens, and all maner of other places whatsoever with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the sayde places or any of them, growing and arising, with all maner of priviledges, prerogatives, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land whatsoever, yeelding and paying therefore unto us, our heires and successors, the tenth part of all such golde and silver oare, pearles, jewels, and precious stones, or the value thereof, as the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associates, their heires and assignes, servants, factors, or workemen, and every or any of them shall finde, the sayd tenth to bee delivered duely to our Customer, or other officers by us, our heires or successors thereunto assigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, their sayde heires and assignes, shall lade, charge, arrive, and discharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatsoever to the sayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreover, wee have given, granted, and authorized, and by these presents for us, [III. 97.] our heires and successors, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe give, graunt, and authorize the sayd Adrian Gilbert, and his sayd associats for ever, their heires and their said assignes & every of them, that if the aforesayd Iles, Countreys, Regions, Provinces, Territories, Seas, Rivers, Ports, Bayes, or Havens, or any other of the premisses by the sayd Adrian Gylbert or his associats, their heires and their said assignes or any of them, to be found by them, discovered and traffiqued unto by any trade as aforesayd, shall be by any other our subjects visited, frequented, haunted, traded unto or inhabited by the wayes aforesayd, without the special licence in writing of the said Adrian Gylbert and his associats, and their heires and assignes for ever, or by the most part of them, so that the sayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or assignes be one of them, that then aswell their ship, or ships in any such voyage or voyages be used, as all and singuler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoever, from or to any of the places aforesayd transported, that so shall presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade unto, or inhabite, shall be forfaited and confiscated, ipso facto, the one halfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoever, or the value thereof to be to the use of us, our heires or successours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the use of the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes for ever: and unto the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes wee impose, give, assigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discoverie of the Northwest passage, and them for us, our heires and successours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to have continuance for ever. Moreover unto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his said associats, and unto their heires and their sayd assignes for ever, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship, for the discoverie of the Northwest passage, we have given, granted, and confirmed, and doe by these presents give, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoynt all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the sayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowship for the discoverie of the Northwest passage, shall thinke meete, necessary, and convenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary

The collegues of the fellowship for the discovery of the Northwest passage.

to the lawes of this realme, and of this our present graunt.

And we by our Royall prerogative, and fulnesse of our authority, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do establish, confirme & ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in so full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or successours may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our loving subjects in this discoverie, we by our Royall prerogative, and fulnesse of authority for us, our heires and successours, doe give, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and every of them for ever, and to all other person or persons of our loving subjects whatsoever that shall hereafter travaile, sayle, discover, or make voyage as aforesayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Territories whatsoever, by vertue of this our graunt to be discovered, that the heires and assignes of them and every of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatsoever before mentioned, shall have and injoy all the privileges of free Denizens, as persons native borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for ever, in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayd Realme, any law, statute, proclamation, custome or usage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Free Denization granted.

Moreover, for the consideration aforesayd by vertue hereof, we give and graunt unto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for ever, free libertie, licence and privilege, that during the space of five yeeres next and immediatly ensuing the date hereof, it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoever, to visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage

This Patent remained in force five yeeres.

to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Provinces, Territories, Seas, Rivers, Ports, Bayes, and Havens, nor to any other Havens or places whatsoever hitherto not yet discovered by any of our subjects by vertue of this graunt to be traded unto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associats of the sayd Adrian, his heires or assignes, or any other person or persons whatsoever, free of this discovery, shall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayd five yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for ever shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and privilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt.

[III. 98.] And further by vertue hereof wee give and graunt, for us, our heires and successours at all times during the space of five yeers next ensuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authority to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any ship or ships sayling on their sayd voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disordered, or any way unruly to the prejudice or hinderance of the hope for the successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discoverie or trade intended, to use or execute upon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution, as the cause shall be found in justice to require by the verdict of twelve of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case apperteineth: That expresse mention of the certaintie of the premisses, or of other gifts or graunts by us to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his associats before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, proviso, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwith-

Authoritie to proceede at Sea against mutiners.

standing. In witnesse whereof we have made these our Letters to bee made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twenty yeere of our reigne. 1583.

The first voyage of M. John Davis, undertaken in June 1585. for the discoverie of the Northwest passage, Written by M. John Janes Marchant, sometimes servant to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson.

Certaine Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court & Countrey, with divers worshipful Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooved with desire to advance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their native Countrey, consulting together of the likelyhood of the Discoverie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but unhappily given over by accidents unlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolved after good deliberation, to put downe their adventures to provide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this Action was committed by the adventurers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his travaile which was not small, hee became the greatest adventurer with his purse, and commended unto the rest of the companie one M. John Davis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Navigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seventh of June, towards the discoverie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, M. John Davis Captaine, William Eston Master, Richard Pope Masters mate, John Jane Marchant, Henry Davie gunner, William Crosse boatswayne, John Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, John Ellis, John Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russell, Christopher Gorney boy: James Cole, Francis Ridley, John Russell, Robert Cornish Musicians.

Musitians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, William Bruton Captaine, John Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of June the Captaine and the Master drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southwest and West southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained untill the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, having the wind North and by East moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driven backe againe, and were constrained to arrive at newe Grymsby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact use of Navigation, with lines and scale thereunto convenient.

They depart from Silley.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Easterly but calme.

July.

The first of July wee sawe great store of Porposes; The Master called for an harping yron, and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the [III. 99.] ship: when we had him aboord, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons, pastime and all: yet neverthelesse the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not prevaile, so at length we let them alone.

The 6. we saw a very great Whale, and every day we saw whales continually.

The 16. 17. and 18. we saw great store of Whales.

Great store of whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so foggie and full of thicke mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust how the tyde might set them, caused the Mooneshine to hoyse out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giving charge to our gunners that at every glasse they should shoote off a musket-shot, to the intent we might keepe our selves from loosing them. Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compassed us about: then we went upon some of them, and did perceive that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie seeing us not to returne

The rowling of the yce together made a great roaring.

according to our appoyntment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen us, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge brake up, and we discovered the land, which was the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that ever we saw: The first sight whereof did shew as if it had bene in forme of a sugar-loafe, standing to our sight above the cloudes, for that it did shew over the fogge like a white liste in the skie, the tops altogether covered with snow, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such yrkesome noyse as that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

The land of Desolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and overblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceived that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest: and this day and this night wee cleared our selves of the yce, running Southsouthwest along the shoare.

Upon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with sixe saylers went towards the shoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceive the coast to be voyde of yce to our judgement, and the same night wee were all perswaded that we had seene a Canoa rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shoare by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales upon the coast, and the birds did beate upon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods upon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discerne them, yet it might be so very well: for we had wood floting upon the coast every day, and the Mooneshine tooke up a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being sixtie foote of length and foureteene handfuls about, having the roote upon it: After this the Captaine came aboord, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood.

The 23. we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, and the better to encourage our men, their allowance was increased: the captaine and the master tooke order that every messe, being five persons, should have halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere every morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was some what colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hote.

Colde by reason of yce.

[III. 100.]

The 25 of this moneth we departed from sight of this land at sixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage, and so continued above foure dayes.

They saile Northwestward above foure dayes.

The 29 of July we discovered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeast from us. The

Land in 64 degrees 15 min.

winde being contrary to goe to the Northwestwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being utterly void of the pester of yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many faire sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we judged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Heere having mored our barke in good order, we went on shoare upon a small Island to seeke for water and wood. Upon this Island we did perceive that there had bene people: for we found a small shoo and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Bever. Then we went upon another Island on the other side of our shippes: and the Captaine, the Master, and I, being got up to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey having espied us, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolves. At last I hallowed againe, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiving where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to us, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Master of his shippe, with others of their company, made great haste towards us, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue us, if need should so require, or with courtesie to allure the people. When they came unto us, we caused our Musicians to play, our selves dancing, and making many signes of friendship. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with us, the other being in their boats a prety way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their speech such as we could not understand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of curtesie. At length one of them pointing up to the Sunne with his hand, would presently strike his breast so

The sound where our ships did ride was called Gilberts sound.

Musicians.

The people of the countrey came and conferred with men.

hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before he would any way trust us. Then John Ellis the Master of the Mooneshine was appointed to use his best policie to gaine their friendship; who strooke his breast, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had divers times done, they beganne to trust him, and one of them came on shoare, to whom we threw our cappes, stockings and gloves, and such other things as then we had about us, playing with our musicke, and making signes of joy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboord our barks.

Thirty seven Canoas.

The next morning being the 30 of July there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ships, calling to us to come on shoare: we not making any great haste unto them, one of them went up to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing us a seales skinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat upon with a sticke, making a noise like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas: we came to the water side were they were: and after we had sworne by the Sunne after their fashion, they did trust us. So I shooke hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them upon this single acquaintance, that we could have any thing they had. We bought five Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skinnes & birds skinnes; their buskins, their hose, their gloves, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded that they have divers artificers among them. We had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wooll like bever. Their apparell for heat was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glovers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that

Their musike.

Great familiarity with the Savages.

they would by no meanes displease us, but would give us whatsoever we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoever we gave them. They tooke great care one of another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had solde us his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easie to be [III. 101.] brought to any civility or good order: but we judge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

Divers sorts of wood.

During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantity of wood, both firre, spruse and juniper; which whether it came floting any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by us not yet discovered, we know not; but we judge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, because the people had great store of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gave them to us for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We saw about this coast marveilous great abundance of seales skulling together like skuls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but onely snow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. We had divers shewes of Study or Muscovy glasse shining not altogether unlike to Christall. We found an herbe growing upon the rocks, whose fruit was sweet, full of red juice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubbes low to the ground. These people have great store of furres as we judge. They made shewes unto us the 30 of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceived we would have skinnes and furres, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with such things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the master would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discovery. And so the last of this moneth about foure

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to use it.

Moscovie glasse.

A fruit like corinths.

of the clocke in the morning in Gods name we set saile, and were all that day becalmed upon the coast.

August.

The first of August we had a faire winde, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discovery.

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

The sixt of August we discovered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode under a brave mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ships lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The sound which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode under Mount Raleigh, we espied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats or wolves, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot & a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-speares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes; but we judged by their dung that they fed upon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes.

Foure white beares.

A huge white beare.

The 7 we went on shore to another beare which lay all night upon the top of an Island under Mount Raleigh, and when we came up to him he lay fast asleep. I levelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gave no fire: with that he looked up, and layed downe his head againe: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all upon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Master shot his boare-speare, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a cove fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was foureteene inches over. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a raven upon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs & flowers like Primroses in the sayd place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grasse, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of stone; but the bravest stone that ever we saw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shoare, which lieth Southsouthwest, and Eastnortheast.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: wherupon we made a new proportion; every messe being five to a messe should have foure pound of bread a day, twelve wine quarts of beere, six Newland fishes; and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

[III. 102.] The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discovery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake up, we perceived that we were shot into a very faire entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gave us the greater hope of our passage. Having sailed Northwest sixty leagues in this entrance we discovered certaine Islands standing in the midst thereof, having open passage on both sides. Wherupon our ships divided themselves, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the sayd Isles, where we stayed five dayes, having the winde at Southeast, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layed up together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the shoare, which we thought had bene wolves, and therefore we went on shoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray upon us, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne coller, wherupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastives with prickt eares and long bush tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two sleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, spruse and oken boords sawen like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, & there hung on the tops of the sleads three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw here larks, ravens, and partridges.

Timber sawen.

Fowle.

The 17 we went on shoare, and in a little thing made like an oven with stones I found many small trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads having small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, & other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grasse: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of divers colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid under stones.

An image.

Our Captaine and Master searched still for probabilities of the passage, and first found, ‖ that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing betweene them.

Probabilities for the passage.

Wee never came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackish.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Thirdly, we saw to the West of those Isles three or foure whales in a skull, which they judged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, from whence these whales came, upon the sudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was mainteined.

Fiftly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90 fadoms, faire grey osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water; so that hard aboord the shoare among these Isles we could not have ground in 330 fadoms.

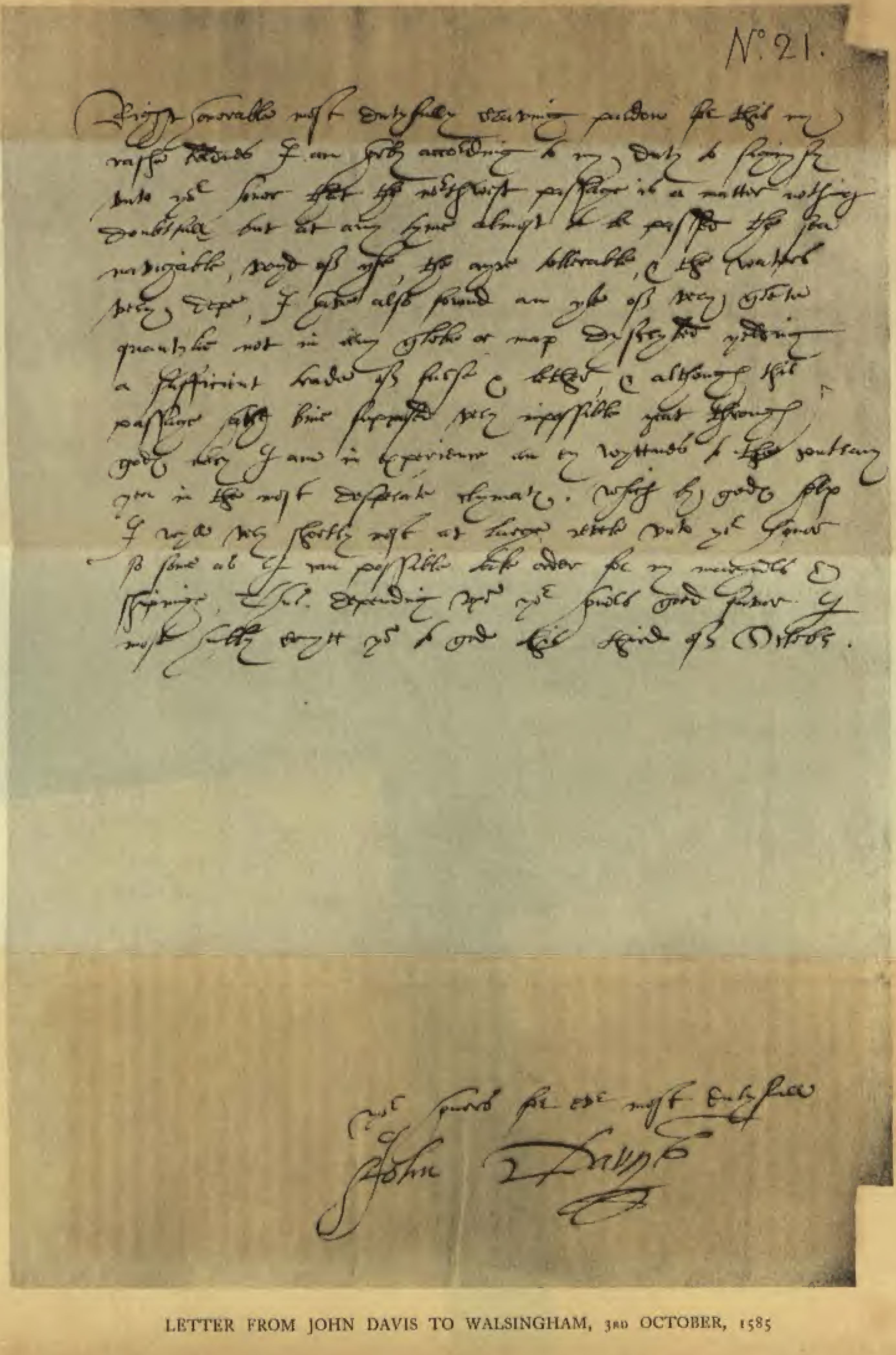
Lastly, it did ebbe and flow sixe or seven fadome up and downe, the flood comming from divers parts, so as we could not perceive the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safegard of their credits, and satisfying of the adventurers, and resolved, if the weather brake up, to make further search.

The 20 the winde came directly against us: so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northwest, we departed from these Islands; and as we coasted the South shoare we saw many faire sounds, whereby we were perswaded that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foule weather: so we were constrained to seeke harborow upon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire sound, & ankered in 25 fadoms greene osie sand. Here we went on shore, where we had manifest signes of people where they had made their fire, and layed stones like a wall. In this place we



N° 21.

Right honorable most dutyfully craving pardon for this my
rashe boldnes I am herby according to my duty to signifye
unto your honor that the northwest passage is a matter nothing
doubtfull but at any tyme almost to be passed the sea
navigable, voyd of yse, the ayre tollerable, & the waters
very depe, I have also found an yle of very greate
quantitye not in any globe or map dyscribed yeelding
a sufficient trade of furre & lether, & although this
passage hath bin supposed very impossible yet thorough
gods help I am in experience an by reasons to the contrary
yea in the most desperate clymate. which by gods help
I will very shortly most at large revele unto your honor
so sone as I can possible take order for my marryners &
shipping. Thus depending upon your honors good favor I
most humbly commytt you to god this third of October.

Your honors most dutyfull
John Davys

LETTER FROM JOHN DAVIS TO WALSINGHAM, 3RD OCTOBER, 1585

Faulcons.

saw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we judged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming somewhat faire, we departed from this road, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England.

Their returne.

The 26 we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homewards untill the tenth of the next moneth.

September.

[III. 103.]

The 10. of September wee fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get never a good harborough. That night wee put to sea againe thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Mooneshine.

They saile from The land of desolation to England in 14. dayes.

The 13. about noone (having tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, & within two houres after we had sight of the Mooneshine againe: this day we departed from this land.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marveilous storme and lost the Mooneshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneshine being come in not two houres before.

The second voyage attempted by M. John Davis with others, for the discovery of the Northwest passage, in Anno 1586.

The 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discovery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneshine, and a pinnesse of tenne tunnes named the North starre.

Land discovered in 60. degrees.

And the 15. of June I discovered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in some places tenne leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shore, so that wee were constrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the same, and to recover a free Sea, which through Gods favourable mercy we at length obtained.

The 29. of June after many tempestuous storms we againe discovered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being East from us: into which course sith it please God by contrary winds to force us, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, & there to set up our pinnesse, provided in the Mermayd to be our scout for this discovery, and so much the rather because the yere before I had bene in the same place, and found it very convenient for such a purpose, wel stored with flote wood, & possessed by a people of tractable conversation: so that the 29. of this moneth we arrived within the Isles which lay before this land, lying North northwest, and South southeast, we know not how farre. This land is very high & mountainous, having before it on the West side a mighty company of Isles full of faire sounds, and harboroughs. This land was very litle troubled with snow, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

The ships being within the sounds wee sent our boates to search for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went sounding and searching, the people of the countrey having espied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many shoutes and cries: but after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were the yeere before here with us, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable joy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our ships, making signes that they knewe all those that the yeere before had bene with them. After I perceived their joy and small feare of us, my selfe with the Merchants & others of the company went a shoare, bearing with me twentie knives: I had no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the rest, and embraced us with many signes of heartie welcome: at this present there were eighteene of them, and to eche of them I gave a knife: they offred skinnes to me for reward, but I made signes that they were not solde, but given them of courtesie: and so dismissed them for that time, with signes that they should returne againe after certaine houres.

Gentle and loving Savages.

The next day with all possible speede the pinnesse was landed upon an Isle there to be finished to serve our purpose for the discoverie, which Isle was so convenient for that purpose, as that we were very wel able to defend our selves against many enemies. During the time that the pinnesse, was there setting up, the people came continually unto us sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fourtie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion served. They brought with them seale skinnes, stagge skinnes, white hares, Seale fish, samon peale, smal cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and birds such as the countrey did yeeld.

An 100 Canoas with divers commodities.

My selfe still desirous to have a further search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the lande, and my selfe went to another part to search for the habitation of this people, with straight commandement [III. 104.] that there should be no injurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnes set up upon timber, wherein they found great store of dried Caplin, being a litle fish no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale skinnes in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

Images, trane oyle, and Seale skins in tan tubs.

A plaine champion countrey. They also found tenne miles within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and grasse, such as our moory and waste grounds of England are: *A goodly river.* they went up into a river (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another river, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proved but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leaving the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor saw any thing, save onely gripes, ravens, and small birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending upon me up into another sound where the people by signes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should goe into a warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppe of an high hill to see into the countrey, but perceiving my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend us, and to helpe us up the rockes, and likewise downe: at length I was desirous to have our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did overleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to have skil in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of July we lanched our pinnesse, and had fortie of the people to helpe us, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilfull. This fourth of July the Master of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to store himselfe with wood, where *A grave with a crosse layd over.* he found a grave with divers buried in it, only covered with seale skinnes, having a crosse laid over them. The people are of good stature, wel in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and smal eyes, wide mouthes, the most part unbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they go from us, still at their returne to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand up to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and striketh his brest with like signes, being promised safety, he giveth credit. These people are much given to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deeres haire, or the haire of an elan. They are idolaters and have images great store, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and have many kinds of inchantments, which they often used, but to small purpose, thankes be to God.

The Tartars and people of Japon are also smal eyed.

Being among them at shore the fourth of July, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like unto a bedstaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in fashion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put diverse things, which wee supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and divers of my company standing by, they were desirous to have me go into the smoke, I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their sorcery. These people are very simple in all their conversation, but marveilous theevish, especially for iron, which they have in great account. They began through our lenitie to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke unto it, they stole our oares, a caliver, a boare speare, a sword, with divers other things, wherat

Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.

A fire made of turfes.

Great theeves.

the company and Masters being grieved, for our better securitie, desired me to dissolve this new friendship, and to leave the company of these theevish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliver shot among them, and immediatly upon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicitie is such, that within ten houres after they came againe to us to entreat peace; which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought us Seale skinnes, and sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbeare stealing: which when I perceived, it did but minister unto mee an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicitie, and I willed that in no case they should bee any more [III. 105.] hardly used, but that our owne company should be the more vigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their evils. They eate all their meat raw, they live most upon fish, they drinke salt water, and eate grasse and ice with delight: they are never out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, save only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then under a warme rocke laying his boat upon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them have bow and arrowes and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the finne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially: and it should seeme that these simple theevish Islanders have warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they received upon the maine land, as by signes they gave us to understand. We had among them copper oare, black copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them.

Their rude diet.

Their weapons.

Strange nets.

These Islanders warre with the people of the maine.

Copper oare.

Their language.

Kesinyoh, Eate some.
Madlycoyte, Musicke.
Aginyoh, go fetch.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.
Ponameg, A boat.
Paaotyck, An oare.
Asanock, A dart.
Sawygmeg, A knife.
Uderah, A nose.
Aoh, Iron.

Blete, An eye.
Unuicke, Give it.
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A needle.
Aob, The Sea.
Mysacoah, Wash it.
Lethicksaneg, A seale skinne.
Canyglow, Kisse me.
Ugnera, My sonne.
Acu, Shot.
Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fish.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Wil you have this.
Cocah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Yonder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechiksah, A skinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Ugnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A seale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoysah, Give it to me.

The 7. of July being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went myselfe with our new pinnesse into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing up a very large river, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were constrained to seeke succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose prevailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinnesse, and willing divers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, my selfe having espied a very strange sight, especially to me that never before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking up the water in very great quantitie, furiously mounting it into the aire, which whirlewinde, was not for a puffe or blast, but continual, for the space of three houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take up our lodging under the rockes.

Muscles.

A strange whirlewinde.

The next morning the storme being broken up, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great river directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene Sea and Sea. Whereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, wee found the burial of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bagges, plaices, and caplin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ships, where wee found the people desirous in their fashion, of friendship and barter: our Mariners complained heavily against the people, and said that my lenitie and friendly using of them gave them stomacke to mischiefe: for they have stollen an anker from us, they have cut our cable very dangerously, they have cut our boats from our sterne, and nowe since your departure, with slings they spare us not with stones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you stil indure these injuries? It is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said, I doubted not but al should be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on shore, and used them with much courtesie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gave some of them bracelets, & caused seven or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus curteously using them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practise their devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonelight, and strake one of her men then boatswaine, that he overthrew withall: whereat being moved, I changed my curtesie, and grew to hatred, my self in my owne boate well manned with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, and gave them divers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so smally content we returned.

Great Ilands.

Slings.

[III. 106.]

The 11. of this moneth there came five of them to make a new truce: the master of the Admiral came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to have them taken and kept as prisoners untill we had his anker againe: but when he sawe that the chiefe ringleader and master of mischiefe was one of the five, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and striking his brest offered a paire of gloves to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to us, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captive among us: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at libertie: within one houre after he came aboord the winde came faire, whereupon we weyed and set saile, and so brought the fellow with us: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboord, talked with him and made a kinde of lamentation, we still using him wel with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboord us spake foure or five words unto the other and clapped his two hands upon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heavie chere. We judged the covering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among us. I gave him a new sute of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very joyfull, he trimmed up his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end upon occasion. He lived with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newland fish.

One of the people taken which after dyed.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise given to God by service, was cast overboord.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degres 8. minuts, we fell upon a most mighty and strange quantitie of yce in one intire masse, so bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so very high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnesse off to discover it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to us all considering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was never seene: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

We coasted this mightie masse of yce untill the 30 of July, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with yce, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of July all our shrowds, ropes and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with yce, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last yeere I found this sea free and navigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sicke and feeble, and withall hopelesse of good successe: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this busines, and withall advised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the saftie of mine owne life with the preservation of theirs, and that I should not through my overboldnes leave their widowes and fatherlesse children to give me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly move me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellencie of the businesse if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the last yeeres discovery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practise, I thought it would growe to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredite: whereupon seeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his divine majestie to move my heart to prosecute that which I hope shal be to his glory, and to the contentation of every Christian minde. Whereupon falling into consideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong & sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so convenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazzards: further having in account her great charge to the adventurers being at 100.li. the moneth, and that in doubtfull service: all the premisses considered with divers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with revictualling and sufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the yce, and bare Eastsoutheast to recover the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with favourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discovered the land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. [III. 107.] and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August wee harboured our selves in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graved the Moonelight, and revictualled her: wee searched this countrey with our pinnesse while the barke was trimming, which William Eston did: he found all this land to be onely Ilands, with a Sea on the East, a Sea on the West, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot, and wee were very much troubled *Great heat.* with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grievously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a Seale, and with bladders fast tied to him sent him unto us with the floud, so as hee came right with our shippes, which we tooke as a friendly present from them.

The fift of August I went with the two Masters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William

Eston espied three Canoas lying under a rocke, and went unto them: there were in them skinnes, darts, with divers superstitious toyes, whereof wee diminished nothing, but left upon every boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the sixt of August, the people came unto us without feare, and did barter with us for skinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Savage aboord us kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine have another companion. Thus being provided, I departed from this lande the twelft of August at sixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermayd at an anker: the foureteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discovered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Iland of yce, twelve leagues off the shore, being mored to the yce.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discovered land Northwest from us in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, having no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a through passage.

Great hope of a passage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe discovered lande Southwest and by South from us, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by observation, we were in 64. degrees 20. minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone unto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, wee had sailed 15. leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact observation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainely perceived a great current striking to the West.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Isles, which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night five leagues off the shore: In the morning being the twentieth of August, the fogge and storme breaking up, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and safe road and lockt for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on shore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceived that this land was Islands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, having a faire North northeast winde, with very faire weather; at six of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discover the coast, whereby the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentieth of August, finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marveilous great store of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse upon the lee, to prove for fish, in which space we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly provided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight and twentieth having great distrust of the weather, we arrived in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and sailed 10. leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both sides: in this place wee continued until the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. I landed, & went sixe miles by ghesse into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here wee saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geese, ducks, black birdes, jeyes, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. Of the partridge and fezant we killed great store with bow and

They runne 8. dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees upon the coast.

A harborough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great store of cod.

Store of cod.

The first of September at tenne a clocke wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to prove whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sooner overboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best fed fish that ever I sawe, and divers fisher men that were with me sayd that they never saw a more suavle or better skull of fish in their lives: yet had they seene great abundance.

[III. 108.]

The fourth of September at five a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Isles, the countrey low land, pleasant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing betweene two lands West. The South land to our judgement being nothing but Isles: we greatly desired to goe into this sea, but the winde was directly against us. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mightie store.

A perfect hope of the passage about 54. degrees and an halfe.

The sixt of September having a faire Northnorthwest winde, having trimmed our Barke we purposed to depart, and sent five of our sailers yong men a shore to an Island, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it al night covered upon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and upon the sudden assaulted our men: which when we perceived, we presently let slip our cables upon the halse, and under our foresaile bare into the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket upon them twise, at the noyse whereof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grievously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, onely one escaped by swimming, with an arrow

Two of our men slaine by the Savages.

shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants never offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

This present evening it pleased God further to increase our sorowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being Northnortheast, which lasted unto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We unrigged our ship, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shutanker brake, so that we onely expected to be driven on shoare among these Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mightie mercie of God, when hope was past, gave us succour, and sent us a faire lee, so as we recovered our anker againe, and newe mored our ship: where we saw that God manifestly delivered us: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, and we only roade by an olde junke. Thus being freshly mored a new storme arose, the winde being Westnorthwest, very forcible, which lasted unto the tenth day at night.

The eleventh day with a faire Westnorthwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercie, shaping our course for England, and arrived in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

Master Davis being arrived, wrote his letter to M. William Sanderson of London, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

Sir, the Sunneshine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: she hath bene at Island, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estotiland, from thence to Desolation, and to our Marchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twentie dayes. They have brought home five hundred seale skinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe skinnes and pieces of skinnes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull unto the poore men, and preserve them, if it be his blessed will.

I have now experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, & have brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further I can assure you upon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the adventurers, if I may have but your favour in the action. I hope I shall finde favour with you to see your Card. I pray God it be so true as the Card shal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your skill in Navigation shall be gaineful unto you, although at the first it hath not proved so. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to live, then I shall be yours most faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command

John Davis.

[III. 109.]

The relation of the course which the Sunshine a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the Northstarre a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the fleete of M. John Davis, helde after hee had sent them from him to discover the passage betweene Groenland and Island, written by Henry Morgan servant to M. William Sanderson of London.

May.

THe seventh day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth haven foure sailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunshine, the Mooneshine, & the Northstarre. In the Sunshine were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope Master, Marke Carter Masters mate, Henry Morgan Purser, George Draward, John Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Jane, Hugh Hempson, Richard Borden, John Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, John Bruskome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.

Our course was Westnorthwest the seventh and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarrose of Silley. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorses: and our course was Southsouthwest untill sixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our course was Northwest. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneshine until we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Davis to divide his fleete, himself sayling to the Northwest, and to direct the Sunshine, wherein I was, and the pinnesse called the Northstarre, to seeke a passage Northward betweene Groenland and Island to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let us. So the seventh day of June wee departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of yce, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh dayes of June: and the eleventh day at sixe of the clocke at night we saw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Island: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth East and by North in 66. degrees.

M. Davis in the latitude of 60. deg. divideth his fleete into 2. parts.

The 7. of June.

Island descryed.

66. degrees.

Their commodities were greene fish, and Island lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called Scatefish: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheep and horses, and hay for their cattell, and for their horses. Wee saw also their dogs. Their dwelling houses were made on both sides with stones, and wood layd crosse over them, which was covered over with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of these stood hard by the shore. Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our English boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fish-hookes and other things for to catch fish as we have here in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boats.

and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tooles as necessary as we have. They drie their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them up in the top of their houses. If we would goe thither to fishing more then we doe, we should make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fish in one morning. Wee found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of us, and brought us two lambs. The English mans name was M. John Roydon of Ipswich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ship. And this is the summe of that which I observed in Island. We departed from Island the sixteenth day of June in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and we saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course unto the end of this moneth.

M. John Roydon of Ipswich.

They departed from Island Northwest.

The third day of July we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and passed in betweene them all that day untill it was night: and then the Master turned backe againe, and so away we went towards Groenland. And the seventh day of July we did see Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same divers dayes together. The seventeenth day of July wee saw the place which our Captaine M. John Davis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not goe on shore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with yce, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our selves thereof, wee ranged all along the coast of Desolation untill the ende of the aforesayd moneth.

July.

Groneland discovered.

The land of Desolation.

Groenland coasted from the 7. till the last of July.

August.

The third day of August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where wee were appoynted to meete our Generall and the rest of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

[III. 110.]

The 4. day in the morning the Master went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought us foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with 6. of our men, and there came to us seven of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their staves lying by them, and their olde skinnes wrapped about them and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We also saw their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed over with poles and then covered over with earth: we found Foxes running upon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

The houses of Gronland.

The 21. of August the Master sent the boate on shore for wood with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, & they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ship, did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the Master sent the pinnesse after them, and when they saw the pinnesse comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Master of the pinnesse did shoote off a caliver to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Divers times they did wave us on shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the ball. And thus much of that which we did see and do in that harborough where we arrived first.

Our men play at footeball with the Savages.

The 23. day wee departed from the Merchants Isle, where wee had beene first, and our course from thence was South & by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, untill we came to another harborough.

The 24. about eleven of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforesayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did see dogs running upon the Islands. When we were come in, there came to us foure of the people which were with us before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood upon the Islands, & some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we received of the Savages I cannot tell of what beasts they be.

Sweete wood found.

The stones that we found in the countrey were black, and some white, as I thinke they be of no value, nevertheless I have brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborough towards England, & the wind tooke us contrary, so that we were faine to go to another harborough the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to us 39. of the people, and brought us 13. Seale skins, and after we received these skins of them, the Master sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would have taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from us, they shot with their dartes at us, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and John Filpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. And they came to us againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests,

A skirmish between the Savages and our men.

and he that was aboord our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with staves, whome our men cast overboord, but the people caught him and carried him on shore upon their boates, and the other two also, and so departed from us. And three of them went on shore hard by us, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards us hard aboord the ship, whereupon our Master caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ship, but they would not come to us as they did come before.

The 31. of August we departed from Gylberts sound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after us 17. of the people looking which way we went.

September.

The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

The pinnesse never returned home.

The third day at night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnesse in a very great storme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day Southsoutheast, and sayling untill the 27. of the sayd moneth, we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Isle of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

[III. 111.]

The 6. of the said moneth of October wee came into the river of Thames as high as Ratliffe in safetie God be thanked.

[The third

The third voyage Northwestward, made by M. John Davis Gentleman, as chiefe captaine & Pilot generall, for the discovery of a passage to the Isles of the Moluccas, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by M. John Janes.

May.

THe 19. of this present moneth about midnight wee weyed our ankers, set sayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunneshine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of London: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast a good fresh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnesse: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Master of the Sunshine to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descry them, we bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was: they answered that the tiller of their helme was burst. So shaping our course Westsouthwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of us were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher; neverthelesse we put our trust in God.

The 21. we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we desired the Master to carie our letters for London directed to my uncle Sanderson, who promised us a safe deliverie. And after wee had heaved them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the Sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost; notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeast by East with faire weather, and so the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ships on the Lee for the Sunneshine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.

The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the pinnesses foremast was blowen overboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnesse, which was so much bragged off by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine asked if the pinnesse were stanch, Peerson answered that she was as sound and stanch as a cup. This made us something glad, when we sawe she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

June.

THe first 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12. wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneshine and the Master could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the yeere began to waste: the Master would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Master told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would shape some contrary course while he was asleepe, and so he should lose us. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring us to the land which we looked for daily.

The 14. day we discovered land at five of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being covered with snow. Here the *Land descried.*

wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, Eastnortheast, and East by North: but we imagined ourselves to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the shore.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after nonne, the people came presently to us after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and shewing us Seales skinnes. The 17. we began to set up the pinnesse that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

Salt kerned on the rockes.

The 18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships began to set on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Island, were found blacke Pumise stones, and salt kerned on the rockes, very white and glistering. This day also the Master of the Sunneshine tooke of the people a very strong lusty yoong fellow.

[III. 112.] The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Savages came to the Island where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two upper strakes, and carried them away onely for the love of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practise, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a shore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were so long before they came to shore, that our Captaine willed them to stay, and made the Gunner give fire to a Saker, and layd the piece levell with the boate which the Savages had turned on the one side because wee should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which we shot at them. Our Gunner having made all things readie, gave fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would save a Sakers shot, doubting wee should have occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking stil when the Savages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceive never a man hurt, but all having their legges could carrie away their bodies: wee had no sooner shot off the piece, but the Master of the Sunneshine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Island, the very sight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as fast as they could to another Island about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Isle. when we came on shore, and saw how they had spoiled the boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth should have her to fish withall: whereupon she was presently caryed aboord, and stowed.

Now after this trouble, being resolved to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. John Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and master Bruton, and told them that the good ship which we must all hazard our lives in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted us all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be governed, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, wee purposed to live and die together, and committed our selves to the ship. Now the 21. having brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Isles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ships being all now at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards upon the Easterne shore, which we called the shore of our Marchants, because there we met with people which traffiqued with us, but here wee were not without doubt of our ship.

Isles in 64. degrees.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, untill wee sawe their oares

Store of Whales in 67 degrees.

glistering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes us, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held up their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many signes: and at last they came to us, giving us birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did judge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife, he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. howres.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. Savages rowing after us, being by judgement 10. leagues off from the shore: they brought us Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gave them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, knives, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would sell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. Wee had but few skinnes of them, about 20. but they made signes to us that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should have more store of Chichsanege: they stayed with us till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from us.

72. deg. 12. min.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with cloudes, the 30. day wee tooke the heigth, and found our selves in 72. degrees and 12 minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees above the Horizon. At midnight the compasse set to the variation of 28. degrees to the Westward. Now having coasted the land, which wee called London coast, from the 21. of this present, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Westwards and Northwards, the land on starboord side East from us, the winde shifted to the North, whereupon we left that shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and shaped our course West, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the sight of any land.

The great variation of the compasse. London coast. Betweene Gronland & the North of America above 40. leagues.

July.

[III. 113.]

THe second of July wee fell with a mightie banke of yce West from us, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly have doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not suffer us, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might have run so farre West till wee had found land, or els to have beene thorowly resolved of our pretended purpose.

A mightie banke of yce lying North and South.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed us.

The 4. was foggie: so was the 5. also with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, seeing the Sea free on the West side, as we thought, which falling out otherwise, caused us to returne after we had stayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recovered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10. we coasted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coasted againe the yce, having the wind at Northnorthwest. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the shoare and come to an anker, and to stay 5. or 6. dayes for the dissolving of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes shining upon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might have a further search upon the Westerne shore. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our companie fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people seeing us goe away againe, came rowing after us into the Sea, the waves being somewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gave them beads, nailes, pinnes,

Extreme heate of the Sunne.

needles and cardes, they poynting to the shore, as though they would shew us some great friendship: but we little regarding their curtesie, gave them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

They were driven West sixe points out of their course in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.

Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of Cumberlands Isles.

The variation of the compasse 30. deg. Westward.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current, for wee were driven sixe points beyond our course West. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce West from us. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had sight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the streights which we discovered the first yeere. The 20. wee traversed in the mouth of the streight, the wind being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. The 23. having sayled threescore leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same The Earle of Cumberlands Isles, where riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West in among the Isles. Heere the compasse set at thirtie degrees Westward variation. The 23. wee departed, shaping our course Southeast to recover the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Master Bruton and some of the Mariners went on shoare to course dogs, where they found many Graves and Trane spilt on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to run.

The land trendeth from this place Southwest and by South.

My lord Lumleys Inlet.

The 26. wee had a prety storme, the winde being at Southeast. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the streights, having coasted the South shore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coasted a banke of yce, which lay on the shore, and passed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes, as we sailed alongst the coast, great ruttes, the water as it were whirling and overfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.

Warwicks Foreland.

The 31. as we sayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of those overfals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, wee looking upon an Island of yce betweene us and the shoare, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused us to take markes on the shoare: at length wee perceived our selves to goe very fast, and the Island of yce which we saw before, was carried very forcibly with the set of the current faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

A very forcible current Westward.

[III. 114.]

August.

THe first of August having coasted a banke of ice which was driven out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermost cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a frisking gale at Westnorthwest. The 11 faire. The 12 we saw five deere on the top of an Island, called by us Darcies Island. And we hoised out our boat, and went ashore to them, thinking to have killed some of them. But when we came on shore, and had coursed them twise about the Island, they tooke the sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that three leagues. When we perceived that they had taken the sea we gave them over because our boat was so small that it could not carrie us, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here upon this Island I killed with my piece a gray hare.

Chidleys cape.

The lord Darcies Island.

The 13 in the morning we saw three or foure white beares, but durst not go on shore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we stroke a rocke seeking for an harborow, and received a leake: and this day we were in 54 degrees of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme not very outragious, at noone.

The fishing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

The 15 being almost in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to set up, and they protested to do so upon every head land, Island or cape, within twenty leagues every way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I say we shaped our course homewards for England, having in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of stewardship: but because every man was so willing to depart, we consented to returne for our owne countrey: and so we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southwest.

Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.

The 17 we met a ship at sea, and as farre as we could judge it was a Biskaine: we thought she went a fishing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we saw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19 faire also, with much winde at West and by South.

They arrive at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arrived the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giving thanks to God for our safe arrivall.

A letter of the sayd M. John Davis written to M. Sanderson of London concerning his fore-written voyage.

GOod M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I have made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and have sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I have bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which
by triall you shall best know,
John Davis.

[A Traverse-Booke

[III. 115.]

A Traverse-Booke made by M. John Davis in west passage.

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
					Deg.	Min.	
	19		W. S. W. Westerly.		50	30	N. E.
	20						
	21	35	W. S. W. Westerly.	50	50		N. E.
	22	15	W. N. W.	14			N. E. by E.
	22	6	W. N. W.	6			N. E. by E.
	22	3	W. N. W.	2			
	23	15	N. W. by W.	18			N. E.
	23	39	W. N. W.	36	50	40	
		3	W. N. W.	2			N. N. E.
		6	N. W. by W.	5			N. E. by N.
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.
		12	W. N. W.	12			N. E.
Noone the	24	24	W. N. W. Northerly.	25	51	16	
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.
		3	W. N. W.	2½			N. by E.
		6	W. by N.	5			N.
		6	W. by N.	5			N.
		2	S.	½			N.
Noone the	25	24	W. by N.	20	51	30	
		3	W.	3			N. N. W.
		3	W. S. W.	2			N. W.
		1	S. W.	1			W. N. W.
		2	W. N. W.	1½			N.
		3	W. N. W.	1½			N.
		3					Calme.
		4	W. N. W.	4			S. S. E.
		5	W.	6			S. S. E.

his third voyage for the discoverie of the North-
Anno 1587.

THE DISCOURSE.

This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.

This day we descried Silly N. W. by W. from us.

This day at noone we departed from Silly.

The true course, distance and latitude.

The true course, distance, and latitude.

Now we lay upon the lee for the Sunshine, which had taken a leake of 500 strokes in a watch.

The true course, distance and latitude.

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
					Deg.	Min.	
Noone the	26	24	W. by N. Westerly.	23	51	40	
		11	W.	16			S. S. E.
		6	W. N. W.	2			S. S. E.
		7	W.	5			S. E.
Noone the	27	24	W. Northerly.	23			
Noone the	28	24	W.	20	52	13	E. S. E.
Noone the	28	28	W. by N. Northerly.	43	52	13	
Noone the	29	24	N. W.	30			S. by E.
		6	N. W.	10			S.
		3	N. by W.	2			W. by N.
		3	W. by N.	3			W. by S.
		12	N. W.	12			S. S. W.
Noone the	30	48	N. W. by N.	65	54	50	
		9	N. W.	12			S. W.
		9	N. W. by W.	12			S. S. W.
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.
		3	W. by N.	4			N.
	30	24	W. N. W. Northerly.	27	55	30	
June	1	12	W.	10			N. N. W.
		9	N. W.	8			E. N. E.
		3	N. W.	2½			E. N. E.
	1	24	W. N. W. Westerly.	17	55	45	
		12	N. W.	16			E. S. E.
		6	N. W.	7			S.
		6	N. W.	8			S. S. W.
Noone the	2	24	N. W. Northerly.	32	56	55	
Noone the	5	72	W. by S. southerly.	45	56	20	
Noone the	6	24	S. W.	16			W. N. W.
		7	S. W. by W.	6			W. by N.

[III. 116.]

A.D. 1587.

THE DISCOURSE.

The true course, distance, &c.

We lay at hull with much winde, raine, and fog.

The common course supposed.

We towed the pinnesse 18 houres of this day.

The true course, distance, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. drawen from divers traverses.

Moneth. June.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
					Deg.	Min.	
		5					Calme.
		3	W. N. W.	1			S.
Noone the	7	9	W. N. W.	12			S.
		12	W. N. W.	20			S.
		3	W. N. W.	4			S.
Noone the	8	9	W. N. W.	7			S.
		12	W. N. W.	5			S.
Noone the	9	12	W. N. W.	13			S. E.
Noone the	9	96	W. by N. northerly.	86	57	30	
		3	W. N. W.	4			S. E.
		3	W. N. W.	2			S. E.
		6	W. N. W.	1			Calme.
Noone the	10	12	W. N. W.	16½			E.
		7	W. N. W.	12			E.
		2	N. W.	2			E.
Noone the	11	15	N. W.	18			E. N. E.
		12	N. W.	12			E. N. E.
		12	N. W.	13			E. by S.
Noone the	12	72	N. W. by W. northerly.	78	59	50	
Noone the	13	24	N. N. W. Westerly.	26	60	58	E. by N.
Noone the	14	24	N. N. W.	32	62	30	N. E.
		9	W. N. W.	7			N.
		3	N. W.	2			N. N. E.
		3	N. W. by N.	2			N. E. by N.
	15	9	N. N. W.	8			N. E.
Noone the	15	24	N. W. Northerly.	23	63	20	

A.D. 1587.

THE DISCOURSE.

The true course, distance, & latitude for 96 houres.

The true course, &c. for 72 houres.

This day in the morning at five of the clocke we discovered land being distant from us at the neerest place sixteene leagues. This land in generall lay Northwest and to the Westwards, being very mountainous. The winde was this day variable, and the aire sometime foggie, and sometime cleere. The foresayd land bare from us (so neere as we could judge) North, Northwest, and Southeast.

The true course, &c.

Moneth. June.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.
Noone the	16	24	N. N. E. Easterly.	14	64		
	17						
	20						
*At midnight ye	21	8	W. N. W.	7			S. E.
Noone the	22	4	N. W.	6			S. E.
		13	N. W.	18			S. E.
		11	N.	13			S. E.
Noone the	23	36	N. W. by N.	42	65	40	
[III. 117.] Noone the	24	24	N. by E. Northerly.	41	67	40	S. S. E.
	25						
Noone the	26	48	N.				S.
		3	N. W.	2			S. W.
		7	N. N. E.	10			S.
		6	N.	8			S. W.
		8	W. N. W.	5			S. E.
Noone the	27	72	N. Westerly.	52	70	4	
Noone the	30	72	N.	43	72	12	
	30						
July	1	30	W. by S. Westerly.	44	71	36	N. W. by N.
	2	24	S. E.	12	71	9	
Noone the	3	8	N. N. W.	11	71	40	N.
Noone the	5	48	S. S. E.	36	70		N.

THE DISCOURSE.

The true course, &c. This 16 of June at 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an anker among many low islands which lay before the high land. This 17 of June we set up our pinnesse. The 20 she was spoiled by the Savages. At midnight the 21 of June wee departed from this coast, our two barks for their fishing voyage, and my selfe in the pinnesse for the discovery. From midnight the 21 we shaped our course as followeth.*

At this time we saw great store of whales.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of June at 6 of the clocke at night we met two savages at sea in their small canoas, unto whom we gave bracelets, and nailes, for skins & birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from us. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came unto us 30 savages 20 leagues off the shore, intreating us to goe to the shore. We had of them fish, birds, skinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, knives &c. They remained with us foure houres, and departed.

The true course, &c. for 72 houres.

The true course, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I have continually coasted the shore of Gronland, having the sea all open towards the West, and the land on ye starboord side East from me. For these last 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees above the horizon at midnight. The compasse in this place varieth 28 degrees towards ye West.

The true course, &c. This day at noone wee coasted a mighty banke of ice West from us.

This day we fell againe with the ice, seeking to double it out by the North.

The True course, &c.

Moneth. July.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
					Deg.	Min.	
	6	24	S. S. W.	22	69		Variable.
	7						
	8						
Noone the	9	72	E. S. E.	7	68	50	Calme.
Noone the	10	24	S. E. by S.	8	68	30	E. by N.
Noone the	11	24	E. N. E.	11½	68	45	Variable.
Noone the	12	24	S. S. E.	16	68		N. N. W.
	13	24	E. by S.	20			S.
Noone the	14	24	W. by N.	11	67	50	S.
Noone the	15	24	W. S. W.	5	67	45	E.
Noone the	16	24	S. W. by W. westerly.	23	67	10	S.
Noone the	18	48	S. by W.	30	65	33	N. fog.
Noone the	19	24	W. southerly.	13	65	30	S. fog.
	20						
	23						
	24						
	25						

THE DISCOURSE.

The true course, &c. This 6 of July we put our barke thorow the ice, seeing the sea free on the West side: and having sailed 5 leagues West, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not passe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our selves the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and so recovered the sea through Gods favour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. This day we coasted the ice.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

This day the people came to us off the shore, and bartered with us. Being within the Isles, & not finding good ankorage, we bare off againe into the sea.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. This day a great current set us West 6 points from our course.

The true course, &c. This day we fell w^t a mighty banke of ice West of us.

The true course, &c. Collected by divers experiments.

The true course, &c. This 19 of July at one a clocke in the afternoone we had sight of the land of Mount Ralegh, and by 12. of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights which (by Gods helpe) I discovered the first yere.

The 20 day wee traversed in the mouth of the sayd Streights with a contrary winde, being West and faire weather.

This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, having sailed 60 leagues Northwest, we ankered among an huge number of isles lying in the bottome of the sayd supposed passage, at which place the water riseth 4 fadome upright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale passed by us, and swam West in among the isles. In this place a S. W. by W. moone maketh, a full sea. Here the compasse varied 30 degrees.

The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we set saile, departing from this place, and shaping our course S. E. to recover the maine Ocean againe.

This 25 we were becalmed almost in the bottome of the Streights, & had the weather marvellous extreame hot.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
July.					Deg.	Min.	
	26						S. E.
	27						S.
Noone the	29				64		
Noone the	30	24	S. S. W.	22	63		
[III. 118.]	31	24	S. by W.	27	62		N. W.
August.							
Noone the	1	24	S.E. by S.	16	61	10	W. S. W.
Noone the	3	48	S. S. E.	16	60	26	Variable.
Noone the	6	72	S. E. Southerly.	22	59	35	Variable w^t calme.
	7	24	S. S. E.	22	58	40	W. S. W.
	8	24	S. E.	13	58	12	W. fog.
	9	24	S. by W.	13	57	30	Variable & calme.
	10	24	S. S. E.	17	56	40	S. W. by W.
	11	24	S. E. easterly.	40	55	13	W. N. W.
	12	24	S. E. easterly.	20	54	32	W. S. W.
	13	24	S. S. E.	4	54		N. W.

THE DISCOURSE.

This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke storme.

Being still in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.

At this present we got cleere of the Streights, having coasted the South shore, the land trending from hence S. W. by S.

This day we coasted the shore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Also this 30 of July in the afternoone we crossed over the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or passage, being 20 leagues broad, and situate betweene 62 & 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great rases, currents or overfals, lothsomly crying like the rage of the waters under London bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe.

This 31 at noone, comming close by a foreland or great cape, we fell into a mighty rase, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current as fast as our barke could saile with lum wind, all sailes bearing. This cape as it was the most Southerly limit of the gulfe which we passed over the 30 day of this moneth, so was it the North promontory or first beginning of another very great inlet, whose South limit at this present wee saw not. Which inlet or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we passed over: where to our great admiration we saw the sea falling down into the gulfe with a mighty overfal, and roring, and with divers circular motions like whirlepooles, in such sort as forcible streames passe thorow the arches of bridges.

The true course, &c. This first of August we fell with the promontory of the sayd gulfe or second passage, having coasted by divers courses for our savegard, a great banke of the ice driven out of that gulfe.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

This day seeking for our ships that went to fish, we strooke on a rocke, being among many iles, and had a great leake.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
August.					Deg.	Min.	
Noone the	14	24	S. S. E.	28	52	40	N. W.
*Noone ye	15				52	12	S. S. W.
	16	20	E. S. E. halfe point S.	50	51		S. W.
	17	24	E. by S.	30	50	40	S.
	18	24	E. by N. northerly.	49	51	18	W.
	19	24	E. halfe point north	51	51	35	Variable W. & S.
	20	24	E. S. E.	31	50	50	S. W.
Noone the	22	48	E. by N.	68	51	30	S. S. W.
	23	24	E. by N. Northerly.	33	51	52	S.
	24	24	E. by N.	31	52	10	Variable.
Noone the	27	72	E. Northerly.	40	52	23	Variable & calme.
Noone the	29	48	E. S. E.	47	51	28	Variable W. & N.
Noone the	31	48	S. E. by E. Easterly.	14	51	9	Variable.
September	2	48	E. Southerly.	65	51		N. W.
	3	24	E. by S. Easterly.	24	50	50	W. N. W.
	4	24	S. E. by E.	20	50	21	N. N. E.
	5	24	S. E. by E.	18	49	48	N. N. E.
	6	24	E. by S.	15	49	40	N.
	7	24	E. S. E.	20	49	15	N. N. W.
	8	24	N. E.	18	49	40	
	9	24	W. S. W.	7	49	42	
	10	24	S. E. by E.	8½	49	28	Variable.

THE DISCOURSE.

This day we stopped our leake in a storme. The 15 of August at noon, being in the latitude of 52 degrees 12. min. and 16 leagues from the shore, we shaped our course for England, in Gods name, as followeth.*

The true latitude.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. This day upon the Banke we met a Biscaine bound either for the Grand Bay or for the passage. He chased us.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. This 24 of August observing the variation, I found the compasse to vary towards the East, from the true Meridian, one degree.

The true course, &c. for 72 houres.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c. Now we supposed our selves to be 55 leagues from Sillie.

The true course, &c.

The true course, &c.

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole.		The winde.
September.					Deg.	Min.	
	11	24	N. E. by E.	10	49	45	Variable.
	12	24	N. W. by W.	6	50		N. E.
	13	24	E. by S. southerly.	15	49	47	N. E.
	15						

Under the title of the houres, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the next before, as conteine

A.D. 1587.

THE DISCOURSE.

This 15 of September 1587 we arrived at Dartmouth.

summe or casting up of so many other dayes and partes of dayes going the foresayd summe.

[A report

[III. 119.]

A report of Master John Davis of his three Voyages made for the discovery of the North-west passage, taken out of a Treatise of his, Intituled the worlds Hydrographicall description.

NOw there onely resteth the North parts of America, upon which coast my selfe have had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that waye imployed for the discovery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Majestie, with whom divers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London joyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from adventuring therein.

The 1.voyage. In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and having no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell upon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, five hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all covered with snow, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among us, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading therof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling upon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene & pleasant Isles bordering upon the shore, but the hils of the maine were still covered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there mored to refresh our selves in our weary travell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countrey having espyed our shippes came downe unto us in their Canoas, & holding up their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, unbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we understood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and using the people with kindenes in giving them nayles and knives which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selves to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entered into the same thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29. of September we arived at Dartmouth. And acquainting master Secretary Walsingham with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull adventurers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by *The 2. voyage.* us laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became adventurers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and having direction to search these straights, untill we found the same to fall into another sea upon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conveied to China, and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and ariving upon the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same upon his West shore to the latitude of sixetie sixe degrees, and there ancored among the Isles bordering upon the same, where we refreshed our selves, the people of this place came likewise unto us, by whom I understood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being unwilling to proceed, shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had given my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest adventurer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance [III. 120.] thereof, that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any five others whatsoever, out of his owne purse, when some of the companie have bene slacke in giving in their adventure: And also knowing that I should loose the favor of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriving at these straights followed the same 80. leagues, untill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome upright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had used that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore recovered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceive therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seventh of September, but coasting the shore towardes the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: having divers fishermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being unprovided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastened the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserved some thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and so returned for England. And having reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present unto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, & heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I received favourable countenance from his honour, advising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceived a very good opinion. The next yere, although divers of the adventurers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the adventurers both honorable & worshipfull continued their willing favor and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discoverie.

The North parts of America, all Islands.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull

The 3. voyage.

favour, I arrived at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart untill my returne unto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discoverie: but after my departure, in sixeteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discoverie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Gronland, which I called Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would proove but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out unto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would give me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides divers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we understood them, then I departed from that coast, thinking to discover the North parts of America: & after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel upon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, & of an unsearchable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken & left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull providence of God, I shaped my course for England, & unhoped for of any, God alone releeving me, I arrived at Dartmouth. By this last discovery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish fleet & unfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & never sithens attempted. The cause why I use this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discovery, is to stay this objection, why hath not Davis discovered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this discovery lieth, doth appeare upon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserveth great favor & commendations.

The discoverie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino. [III. 121.]

IN the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Messer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and singular wisedome, was called and elected governour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himselfe so discretly, that he was beloved of all men, and his name greatly reverenced of those that never knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grievous civile dissentions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his grave advise and great diligence they had not bene prevented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the first Podesta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the yeere 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a sonne named Messer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire M. Andrea, the sonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in him. He had a sonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counsellour: of whom descended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his shield, in stead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the first, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall against the Genowayes in those cruell warres, when as almost all the cheife Princes of Europe did oppugne and seeke to overthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and prowesse, as Furius Camillus delivered Rome, so he delivered his country from the present perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and spoile unto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward surnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gave the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Grocecchieri. This M. Pietro had sonnes M. Caterino, that died the last yere, being brother unto M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo, that is yet living.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genouan warre of Chioggia that troubled so our predecessours, entred into a great desire and fansie to see the fashions of the worlde and to travell and acquaint himselfe with the maners of sundry nations and learne their languages, whereby afterwards upon occasions he might be the better able to doe service to his countrey, and purchase to himselfe credite and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and having furnished her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas, and passing the straites of Gibraltar, he sailed for certaine dayes upon the Ocean, keeping his course still to the Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. Where being assalted in those Seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the sea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he discovered land, and not being able any longer to susteine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away upon the Isle of Friseland. The men were saved, and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running in great multitudes with weapons to set upon M. Nicolo and his men, who being sore weather-beaten and overlaboured at sea, and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defend themselves couragiously, as it behooved them in such a dangerous case. And they should have bene doubtlesse very discourteously intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who understanding that there was even at that present a great ship cast away upon the Island, came runing at the noyse and outcryes that they made against our poore Mariners, and dryving away the inhabitants, spake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiving that they came from Italy and that they were men of the said Countrey, he was surprised with marvelous great joy. Wherefore promising them all, that they should receive no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they should be well used and very welcome, he tooke

The ship of M. N. Zeno cast away upon Frisland in Anno 1380.

A forraine prince hapning to be in Frisland with armed men, when M. Zeno suffered shipwracke there came unto him and spake Latine.

Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorani.

them into his protection upon his faith. This was a great Lord, and possessed certaine Islands called Porland, lying on the South side of Frisland, being the richest and most populous of all those parts, his name was Zichmni: and beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying over against Scotland.

[III. 122.] Of these North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities I have in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serve for some light to the understanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceived. Zichmni being Lord of those Sygnories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and above all things famous in Sea causes. And having the yere before given the overthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Island, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to give the attempt for the winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of judgement & discretion, and very expert both in sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gave him commission to goe aboord his Navy with all his men, charging the captaine to honour him and in all things to use his counsaile.

Frisland the King of Norwayes.

This Navy of Zichmni was of thirteene vessels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the rest small barkes and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwards and with little paines wonne Ledovo and Ilofe and divers other small Islands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the haven of the towne named Sanestol, they tooke certaine small barks laden with fish. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they stayed here but a while, and led on their course to the Westwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulfe or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Islandes and broken lands which they reduced al unto the Signorie & possession of Zichmni. These seas, forasmuch as they sailed, were in maner nothing but sholds & rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in judgement of all that were in it, had bene cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmnis men, in respect of ours, who had bene trained up in the arte and practise of Navigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete having done such things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counsaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to understand what successe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemie: by reason of which victory, they sent Embassadours from all parts of the Island to yeeld the countrey up into his handes, taking downe their ensignes in every towne and castle: they thought good to stay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many signes of gladnesse shewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great favourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behave themselves well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after having commended him with many honourable speeches, and praysed his great industrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himselfe to have received an inestimable benefite, as the saving of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich & bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Frisland,

N. Zeno, made knight by Zichmni.

the chiefe citie of that Island, situate on the Southeast side of the Isle, within a gulfe, as there are many in that Island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serve Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

Ships laden with fish at Frisland, for Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmarke. But not to be proved that ever any came thence.

A letter sent by M. N. Zeno, from Frisland to his brother M. Antonio in Venice. The end of the first letter.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to travaile as his brother, bought a ship, and directed his course that way: & after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers, he arrived at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who received him very joyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frisland and dwelt there for the space of 14 yeres, 4 yeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in such grace and favour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Navy, and with great preparation of warre they were sent forth for the enterprise of Estland, which lyeth upon the coast betweene Frisland and Norway, where they did many dammages: but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driven upon certaine sholds: were a great part of their ships were cast away, the rest were saved upon Grisland, a great Island but dishabited. The king of Norway his fleete being taken with the same storme, did utterly perish in those seas: Whereof Zichmni having notice, by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance upon Grisland, having repayred his fleet, and perceiving himself Northerly neere unto the Islands, determined to set upon Island, [III. 123.] which together with the rest, was subject to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey so well fortified and defended, that his fleete being so small, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterprise without performing any thing at all: and in the same chanels he assaulted the other Isles called Islande, which are seven, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and having spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frisland. M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discover land: wherefore arming out three small barkes in the moneth of July, he sayled to the Northwards, and arrived in Engroneland. Where he found a Monasterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire, like Vesuvius and Etna.

Engroneland. Preaching Fryers of Saint Thomas.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monastery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth also into the kitchin so boyling hot, that they use no other fire to dresse their meate: and putting their breade into brasse pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot oven. They have also smal gardens covered over in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and colde, which in those partes being situate farre under the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundry sorts, even as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and savage people of those partes seeing these supernaturall effects, doe take those Fryers for Gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and divers other things, and have them all in great reverence as Lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner beforesaid, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the Monasterie they use no other matter but that which is ministred unto them by the fire: for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water upon them, whereby they are dissolved and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contrived in building it lasteth for ever. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serve in stead of stones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde they wil never dissolve or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentaccle or prop to holde them up, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Fryers have made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The coverts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in maner following: first they rayse up the wall up to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, because the climate (as I have saide) is extreme colde: for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish: for wheras the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide haven, which by reason of the heate of the water, doeth never freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such aboundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, wherby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and busines about the Monasterie.

Winter of 9. *moneths.*

Their houses are built about the hill on every side, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting upwards they goe narower and narower, leaving at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to give light to the house, and the flore of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Islands their about, and from the cape above Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, & skins of divers kindes of beasts. For the which they have wood to burne and timber very artificially carved, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them covet to trafficke with them, and so they without any travell or expences have that which they desire. To this Monasterie resort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dissolve the yce. The fishers boates are made like unto a weavers shuttle: taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles they make them so sure and substanciall, that it is miraculous to see, howe in tempests they will shut themselves close within and let the sea and winde cary them they care not whether, without any feare either [III. 124.] of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driven upon any rocks, they remaine sound without the least bruse in the world: & they have as it were a sleeve in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the sleeve, then fastening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they convey the water forth of the boat: and this they doe as often as they have occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Trade in summer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland.

Resort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monastery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.

M. Frobisher brought these kinde of boats from these parts into England.

Moreover, the water of the Monastery, being of sulphurious or brimstonie nature, is conveyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine vesselles of brasse, tinne, or stone, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stove, not carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they have another conveyance to bring hot water with a wall under the ground, to the end it should not freeze, unto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke & to water their gardens, & thus they have from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished: and so these Fryers employ al their travaile and studie for the most part in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious: neyther are they destitute of ingenious and paineful artificers for the purpose; for they give very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and give they care not what. So that there is great resort of workemen and masters in divers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

In the Monastery of Saint Thomas most of them spake the Latine tongue. The end of the 2. letter.

The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals of the Monastery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a river that he discovered, as is to be seene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being used & acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two sonnes, M. Giovanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos, that are living at this day.

N. Zeno dyed in Frisland.

Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted divers wayes, and made great supplication, he could never obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself Lord of the sea. Wherfore using alwayes the counsaile and service of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the Westwards, for that towards those parts, some of his fishermen had discovred certaine Islands very rich and populous: which discovery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, saving that we have changed some old words, leaving the matter entire as it was.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fisher boats, the which, a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately upon the Sea, when at length, the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discovered an Island called Estotiland, lying to the Westwards above 1000 Miles from Frisland, upon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that understood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance upon the same Island, who in the behalfe of the king asked them what countreymen they were: and so understanding their case, rehearsed it unto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt five yeres in the Island, & learned the language, and one of them was in divers partes of the Island, and reporteths that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitfull, having in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there spring foure rivers that passe through the whole countrey.

The discoverie of Estotiland Westward.

Sixe fishermen taken.

Fishermen of Frisland speake Latine.

Sixe were five yeeres in Estotiland.

One of the fishers of Frisland, reporteth of Estotiland.

Estotiland rich, abounding with all the commodities of the world.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and have all artes and faculties, as we have: and it is credible that in time past they have had trafficke with our men, for

Abundance of golde. Trade from Estotiland, to Engroneland: Skins, brimstone, and pitch: golde, corne, and beere, or ale. Many cities and castles.

he said, that he saw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this present do not understand: they have a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themselves. They have mines of all maner of mettals, but especial they abound with gold. They have their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimstone & pitch: and he saith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They sow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do use as we do wine. They have mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, & there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and have sayling, but they have not the load stone, nor know not the use of the compasse. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, insomuch that the king sent them with twelve barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to have perished in the sea: but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the most part of them eaten by the Savage people, which fed upon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their judgements that is.

[III. 125.]
A countrey called Drogio.

The 6 fishermen of Frisland onely saved, by shewing the maner to take fish.

But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the maner of taking fish with nets, saved their lives: and would goe every day a fishing to the sea and in fresh rivers, and take great abundance of fish and give it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himselfe so great favour, that he was very well beloved and honoured of every one.

The chiefest of the 6 fishers, specified before and his companions.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very desirous to have him with him, and to see how he used his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end prevailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent unto him with the rest of his company. And for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith, that he was sent in this order to more then 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongst themselves, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to have him to dwell with them: so that wandring up and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith, that it is a very great countrey & as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse, they goe all naked so that they are miserably vexed with colde, neither have they the wit to cover their bodyes with beasts skins which they take in hunting, they have no kinde of mettal, they live by hunting, they cary certaine lances of wood made sharpe at the point, they have bowes, ye strings wherof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they have governours & certaine lawes very divers among themselves. But the farther to the Southwestwards, the more civiltie there is, the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they have cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they have there some knowledge and use of gold and silver.

In the space of 13 yeeres he served 25 lords of Drogio.

Now this fisherman having dwelt so many yeeres in those countreys purposed, if it were possible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions despairing ever to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themselves where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farwell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well received of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord; and so running from one Lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time & many travels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arrived upon the coast: wherefore entring into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what countrey they were; they answered of Estotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could speake it, they used him for their interpreter.

He returned from Estotiland to Frisland.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in such sort, that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Frislande, where he made reporte unto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

Zichmni minded to send M. Antonio Zeno with a fleete towards those parts of Estotiland.

And he is throughly credited because of the mariners, who approve many strange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherfore this Lord is resolved to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage, for the noveltie and strangenesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I have here set downe to give intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being set out with many barkes, and men, notwithstanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the first he should: for Zichmni went in his owne person: and concerning that matter I have a letter in forme following.

The 4 letter. The fisherman dyed that should have bene interpreter. Certaine mariners taken in his steede, which came with him from Estotiland.

Isle Ilofe.

One great preparation for the voyage of Estotiland was begun in an unlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fisherman died that should have bene our guide: notwithstanding this Lord would not give over the enterprize, but instead of the fisherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Island with him: and so making our Navigation to the Westwards, we discovered certaine Islands subject to Frisland, and having passed certaine shelves we stayed at Ledovo for the space of 7 daies to refresh our selves, and to furnish the fleet with necessarie provision. Departing from thence we arrived the first of July at the Isle of Ilofe: and for that the wind made for us, we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being upon the maine sea, there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherwith for eight dayes space we were miserably vexed, not knowing where we were: [III. 126.] & a great part of the barks were cast away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered up the broken peices of the barks that were lost, and sayling with a prosperous winde we discovered land at West. Wherefore keeping our course directly upon it, we arrived in a good and safe harborough, where we saw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the Island. Wherfore Zichmni causing his men to make signes of peace unto them, they sent 10 men unto us that could speake ten languages, but we could understand none of them, except one that was of Island. He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, & who governed it, answered, that the Island was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the sonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left them those lawes that they retaine to this present, and after this, he desiring to sayle further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call those seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island Icari, and for that they were contented with that state, which God had given them, neither would they alter one jote of their lawes and customes, they would not receive any stranger: wherefore they requested our prince, that hee would not seeke to violate their lawes, which they had received from that king of worthy memory and observed very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leave their life, then to loose in any respect the use of their lawes. Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they did altogether refuse conversation and traffick with other

Zichmni his discoverie of the Island Icaria.

An Island man in Icari.

The kings of Icaria called Icari after the name of the first king of that place, who as they report, was sonne to Dedalus king of Scots.

Icarian Sea.

men, they tolde us for conclusion that they would willingly receive one of our men, & preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongst them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customes, as they had already received those other ten of ten sundry nations, that came into their Island. To these things our Prince answered nothing at all, but causing his men to seke some good harbrough, he made signes as though he would depart, and sayling round about the Island, he espied at length a harbrough on the East side of the Island, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speede as they could, doubting least they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for those that dwelt therabouts, making signes unto the other with fire and smoke, put themselves presently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the sea side upon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, so that many were slaine and divers sore wounded. And we made signes of peace unto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and living. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sayle along in a great circuite about the Islande, being alwayes accompanyed upon the hil tops & the sea coastes with an infinite number of armed men: and so doubling the Cape of the Island towards the North, we found many great sholdes, amongst the which for the space of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of loosing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send us faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the East cape, we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keepe with us, and in making great outcryes and shooting at us a farre off, they uttered their old spitefull affection towards us. Wherefore wee determined to stay in some safe harborough, and see if wee might speake once againe with the Islander, but our

The people of Icaria desirous of the Italian tongue.

Ten men of ten sundry nations.

Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.

Zichmni departed from Icaria Westwards.

determination was frustrate: for the people more like unto beasts then men, stood continually in armes with intent to beat us back, if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not prevaile, and thinking if he should have persevered and followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would have failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and sailed sixe daies to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the Southwest, and the sea waxing rough, wee sayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length discovering land, were afraid to approch nere unto it, the sea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God so provided for us, that the winde ceasing there came a great calme. Wherefore some of our company rowing to land with oares, returned & brought us newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countery and a better harborough: upon which newes we towed our ships and smal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we saw a farre off a great mountain, that cast forth smoke, which gave us good hope that we should finde some inhabitants in the Island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off, but sent 100 souldiers to search the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, & in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the provision of the fleet, and catcht great store of fish and sea foule and found such aboundance of birds egges, that our men that were halfe famished, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of June, at which time the aire in the Island was so temperate and pleasant as is impossible to expresse: but when we could see no people at al, we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and dishabited. We gave name to the heaven calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin. The 100 souldiers that were sent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Island and at the mountaine, and that the smoke was a naturall thing pro-

100 *men sent to discrie the countrey.*

[III. 127.]

The 100 *souldiers returned which had bene through the Island, report what they saw and found.*

ceding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themselves in caves of the ground, of small stature, and very fearefull; for as soone as they saw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great river and a very good and safe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a holesome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull soyle and faire rivers, with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious travell began to murmure, saying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, and willed that I, (though unwilling) should be their captaine. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise chuse, sayled for the space of twenty dayes to the Eastwards without sight of any land; then turning my course towards the Southeast, in 5. dayes I discovered land, and found my selfe upon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceived I was past Island: wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subject to Zichmni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, where the people, who thought they had lost their prince, because of his long absence, in this our voyage received us very joyfully.

M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of those ships which went back to Frisland.

What followed after this letter I know not but by conjecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter, which I will set downe here underneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Island that he discovered, and that he searched the countrey very diligently and discovered it all, and also the rivers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus.

The 5 letter.

Concerning those things that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and customes, of the beasts, and of the countries adjoyning, I have made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I have described the countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Estland, the kingdome of Norway, Estotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discovery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I have also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as any that ever lived, for his great valiancie and singuler humanitie, wherein I have described the discovery of Engroneland on both sides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

All these letters were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother: and it grieveth me, that the booke and divers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost: whatsoever I could get of this matter, I have disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoveries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoveries of strange counteries, made by the great mindes, and industrie of our ancestours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former

Historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I have heere annexed the judgement of that famous Cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his judgement thereunto: who in his Theatrum Orbis, fol. 6. next before the map of Mar del Zur, boroweth proofe and authoritie out of this relation, to shew that the Northeast parte of America called Estotiland, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Islande, was about the yeere 1390 discovered by the aforesayd Venetian Gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, above 100 yeeres before ever Christopher Columbus set saile for those Westerne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were even then sayled by our Europæan Pilots through the helpe of the loadstone: with divers [III. 128.] other particulars concerning the customes, religion and wealth of the Southern Americans, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spanish Histories of Nueva Espanna and Peru.

Estotiland first discovered.

The second discoverie thereof.

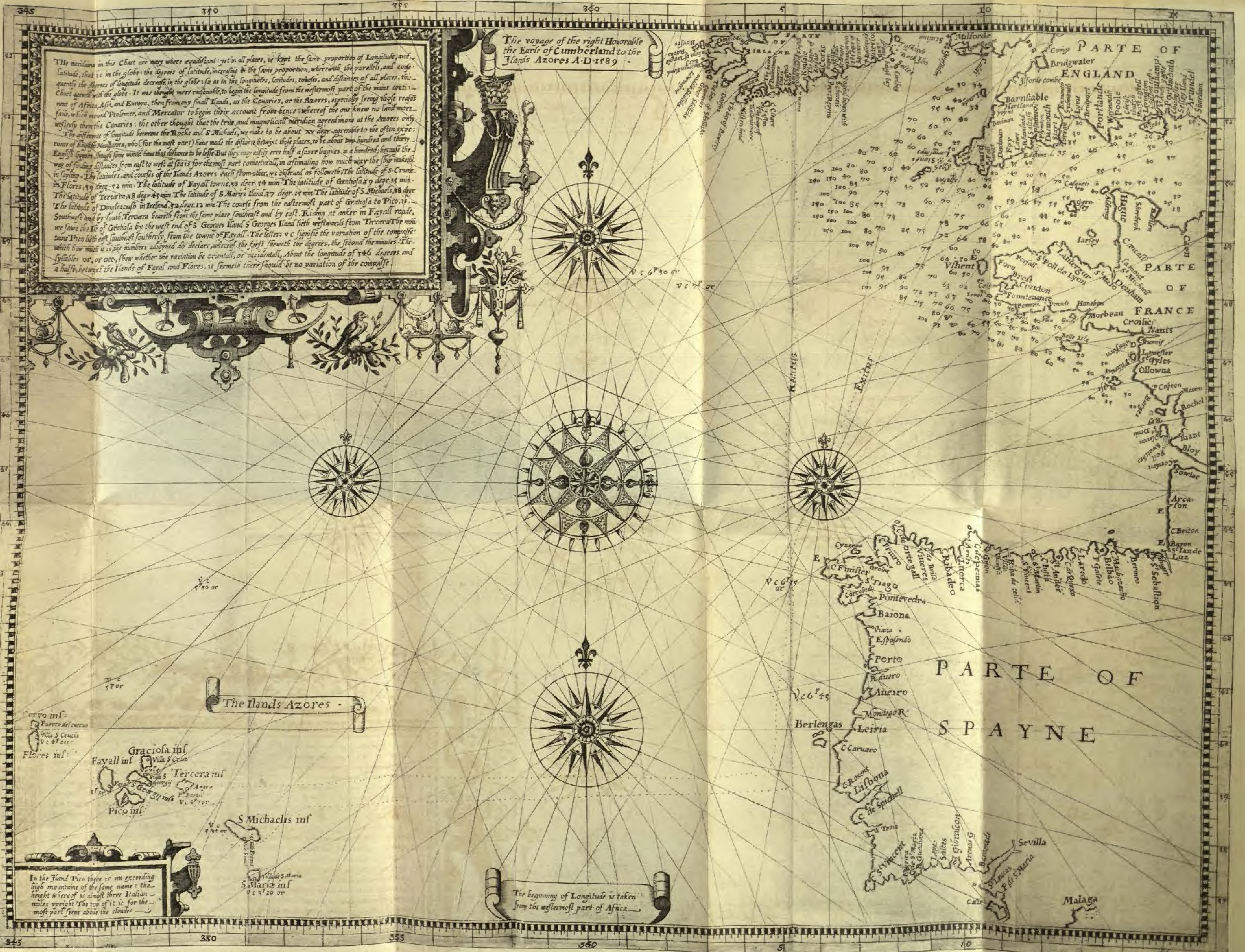
AND here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconvenience, or absurditie, in adding unto this History of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the first discovery therof, not commonly known. Which discoverie al the writers of our time ascribe (& that not unworthily) unto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner first discovered, made knowen, and profitably communicated unto the Christian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Estotiland, (which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Islands of the same, namely, Groneland, Island, and Frisland,) was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driven by tempest upon the shore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 discovered a new, by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which sayled thither under the conduct of Zichmni king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which lived in those partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following.

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankinde. In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure rivers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in all Mechanicall arts. They have a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preserved certaine Latine bookes, which they understand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before by some Europeans, which traffiqued thither. They have all kinde of mettals; but especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch skinnes, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they have many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The use of the loadstone for Navigation is unknowen unto them. They make relation also of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, unto whom mans flesh is delicate meat: wherof being destitute they live by fishing, which they use very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit against the colde they cloth themselves in beastes skinnes. These have no kinde of metall: and they live by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long staves with sharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They have governours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence

Drogio.

more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, unto whom they sacrifice living men, whose flesh they afterwards devoure. These nations have the use of silver and gold.

Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaide collections or abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the observation, that even then our Europæan Pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone. For concerning the use thereof in Navigation, I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I have annexed the rather unto this table of Mar del Zur; considering that none of those Authours which have written the Histories of the Newe world, have in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.



The voyage of the right Honorable the Earle of Cumberland to the Ilands Azores A·D·1589·

THe meridians in this Chart are euery where æquidiſtant: yet in all places, is kept the ſame proportion of Longitude, and latitude, that is in the globe: the degrees of latitude, increaſing in the ſame proportion, wherewith the parallels, and conſequently the degrees of longitude decreaſe in the globe: ſo as in the longitudes, latitudes, courſes, and diſtances of all places, this Chart agreeth with the globe. It was thought more reaſonable, to begin the longitude from the weſtermoſt part of the maine continent of Africa, Aſia, and Europe, then from any ſmall Ilands, as the Canaries, or the Azores, eſpecially ſeeing thoſe reaſons faile, which moued Ptolemee, and Mercator to begin their account from thence: whereof the one knew no land more weſterly then the Canaries: the other thought that the true and magneticall meridian agreed more at the Azores only.

The difference of longitude betweene the Rocke and S Michaels, we make to be about xv degr. agreeable to the often experience of Engliſh Nauigators, who (for the moſt part) haue made the diſtance betwixt thoſe places, to be about two hundred and thirty Engliſh leagues, though ſome would haue that diſtance to be leſſe. But they may eaſily erre halfe a ſcore leagues in a hundred; becauſe the way of finding diſtances from eaſt to weſt at ſea is for the moſt part coniecturall, in æſtimating how much way the ſhip maketh in ſayling. The latitudes, and courſes of the Ilands Azores each from other, we obſerued as followeth: The latitude of S. Cruz in Flores, 39 degr. 52 min. The latitude of Fayall towne, 38 degr. 54 min. The latitude of Gratioſa 39 degr. 15 min. The latitude of Tercera 38 degr 45 min. The latitude of S Maries Iland 37 degr. 15 min. The latitude of S Michaels 38 degr. The latitude of Dingleacuſh in Ireland, 52 degr. 12 min. The courſe from the eaſtermoſt part of Gratioſa to Pico, is Southweſt and by ſouth. Tercera beareth from the ſame place ſoutheaſt and by eaſt. Riding at anker in Fayall roade, we ſawe the Ile of Gratioſa by the weſt end of S Georges Iland. S Georges Iland lieth weſtwards from Tercera. The mountaine Pico lieth eaſt ſoutheaſt ſoutherly, from the towne of Fayall. The letters v c ſignifie the variation of the compaſſe: which how much it is the numbers adioyned do declare, whereof the firſt ſheweth the degrees, the ſecond the minutes. The ſyllables or, or occ, ſhew whether the variation be orientall, or occidentall. About the longitude of 346 degrees and a halfe, betwixt the Ilands of Fayal and Flores, it ſeemeth there ſhould be no variation of the compaſſe.

In the Iland Pico there is an exceeding high mountaine of the ſame name: the height whereof is almoſt three Italian miles vpright. The top of it is for the moſt part ſeene aboue the cloudes.

The beginning of Longitude is taken from the weſtermoſt part of Africa.

345
350
355
360
5
10
15
PARTE OF ENGLAND
IRELAND
Milforde
Bridgwater
Barnſtable
Portland
Poole
Weymouth
Lizard
Vſhent
S. Poll de Lyon
S. Malo
Breſt
Croidon
Fonteneau
Morbeau
Belle Isle
Croiſic
Nants
PARTE OF FRANCE
Rochel
Blaut
Bloy
Arcaſſon
C. Briton
Baion
S. Iande Luz
Remissis
Exitus
C. Ortegal
C. Finiſter
Ribadeo
Bilbao
S. Sebaſtion
S. Tiago
Pontevedra
Baiona
Viana
Eſpoſendo
Porto
R. duero
Aueiro
Mondego R.
Berlengas
Leiria
C. Carueiro
C. Roxent
Lisbona
C. de Spichell
Troia
S. Vincent
Sevilla
S. Lucas
P. de S. Maria
Calis
Malaga
PARTE OF SPAYNE
v c 6 gr 30 or
v c 7 gr or
v c 6 gr 35 or
v c 6 gr 45
The Ilands Azores
Corvo inſ.
Puerto del cuervo
Villa S. Crucis
Flores inſ.
Graciosa inſ.
Fayall inſ.
Villa S. Cruz
Tercera inſ.
Angra
S. Georgii inſ.
Pico inſ.
S. Michaelis inſ.
Villa de S. Maria
S. Mariæ inſ.
v c 7 gr 20 or

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The Voyages of the English Nation to Newfoundland, to the Isles of Ramea, and the Isles of Assumption otherwise called Natiscotec, situate at the mouth of the River of Canada, and to the coastes of Cape Briton, and Arambec, corruptly called Norumbega, with the Patents, letters, and advertisements thereunto belonging.

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the discoverie of the North partes. [III. 129.]

MAster Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesaid king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discovery even to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned & victualled, having in them divers cunning men to seeke strange regions, & so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas master Hal, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were divers cunning men, I have made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Navigation, might give me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much advance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called The Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be given by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Majestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

ONe master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie upon the Northwest parts of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes by the yeere living. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately living, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serjeant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and divers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwardes Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the privie Counsell, M. Oliver Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with divers other of good account.

[III. 130.]

M. Armigil Wade.

The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike maner at Graves-end, and after the receiving of the Sacrament, they embarked themselves in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

Cape Briton.

The Island of Penguin standeth about the latitude of 30. degrees.

From the time of their setting out from Gravesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, above two moneths, and never touched any land untill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, untill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They drave a great number of the foules into their boates upon their sayles, and tooke up many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Dawbenys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

They beheld the Savages of Newfoundland.

M. Oliver Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arrivall in Newfoundland, and having bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not having yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Savages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were under the hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up, and tooke viewe of the Savages rowing toward them and their ship, and upon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay up in the Bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Savages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Savages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine brave trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieve themselves of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them.

Extreme famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterve, enjoying plentie as

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither devoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Savages: And hereupon hee stood up and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to have holpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to have perished in body, and to have lived everlastingly, then to have relieved for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned everlastingly both body and soule to the unquenchable fire of hell. And thus [III. 131.] having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arrived a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

Haukes and other foules.

In their journey they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselves being weary of flying over farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed unto a certaine castle belonging to sir John Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, untill they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie.

Foules supposed to be storkes.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooved with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence unto the French.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into Iseland & Newfoundland, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there have bene levied, perceived & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as have used and practised the adventures and journeys into Iseland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and upon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, divers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints have bene made, & informations also yerely to the kings Majesties most honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may have occasion the rather to practise & use the same trade of marchandizing, & fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, wherby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to have the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our soveraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receive, or take by himselfe, his servant, deputie, servants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefit or advantage whatsoever it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor upon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, upon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or advantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter have or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieved, and every other person or persons whatsoever he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to have the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will and pleasure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England [III. 132.] to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marveiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578.

Master Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto have beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and all such poore men as have any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as servant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that have authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your travelling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and travell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the devils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes have not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harvest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to moove men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captivitie of that spirituall Pharao, the devill.

Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundry navies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra nova, for fish: you shal understand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among us: who since my first travell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. sayle to 50. which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours have had greater gaines then in very deed they have, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and havens, and also the land much more then ever any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soever it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall understand that I am informed that there are above 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation saving the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish, and do use all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against rovers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be

English.

Spaniards.

neere five or sixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly above 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tuns, and not upwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Aviero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

Portugals.

French Britons.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall understand that I have in sundry places sowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which have prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for Roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: But neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cole, and also willow, which will serve for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of us a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles, in which I have found pearles above 40. in one Muskle, and generally all have some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth

The fertility of Newfoundland.

[III. 133.]

Several sortes of fish.

Called by the Spaniards Anchovas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a *Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and conjure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and never wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoever they be appoynted by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would devoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driven drie by the surge of the Sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take up with a shove-net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shovell, sufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of strange newes, that I take as fast as one would gather up stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeve so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke those Flounders as fast as you would take up fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take up in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastive I have, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentle-

man that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of shelving ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him up backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to judge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my travaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oisters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall understand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but up in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small rivers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that ever I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most covered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares every where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may drive them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete cloven, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were cloven, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to [III. 134.] bee a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adjacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stoode they not in feare till wee gave shot and set the dogs upon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I beleeve assuredly would not hurt any bodie unlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes Majestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discovered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeve that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we have used, where wee shall have not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire undoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I finde salt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I have some knowledge in such matters, and have most desired the finding of them by painefull travaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I have bene over long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the river of Canada should bee inhabited, and the river searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that river, and about Cape Briton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolves, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke, white & gray: other beasts I know none save those before remembred. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Island of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I have brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceived by the vile Portugals descending of the Jewes and Judas kinde, I had not failed to have searched this river, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might have bene found to have benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should have brought me in part of recompense of my good service in defending them two yeeres against French Rovers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse above 600. li. For recompence whereof I have sent my man into Portugall to demaund justice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put up my supplication to the Queenes Majesty & her honourable councell, to grant me leave to stay here so much of their goods as they have damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might have made. I pray you advertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Majestie and the councell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me have susteined three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. John, or the river of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall give my diligence for the true and perfect discoverie, and leave some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of November, 1578.

Yours to use and command
ANTHONY PARCKHURST.

A.D.
1578.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Majestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

[III. 135.]

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Devonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heires & assignes, and to every or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to have, hold, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of us, our heires and successours, shall goe and travell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for us, our heires and successours, give full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that hee and they, and every, or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the same voyages, to travell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and every or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by us, our heires and successors. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them shall have, hold, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires or assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had or used with ful power to dispose thereof, & of every part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successours, paying unto us for all services, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, shall for ever bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of us, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to every of them, that hee and they, and every or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all, and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subjects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Majesty, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giving and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the sayd sir [III. 136.] Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayd sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subjects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, being driven by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and every of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterprise: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of us, our heires, and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this journey for discoverie, or in the second journey for conquest hereafter, travel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and every of their heires: that they and every or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may have, and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as upon the finding out, discovering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voiages, to determine to live together in Christian peace and civill quietnesse each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit, enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for us, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe and rule by their, and every or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our subjects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter adventure themselves in the sayd journeys or voyages habitative or possessive, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or every, or any of them devised or established for the better governement of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soveraignes under God. And further we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloved counseller, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of us, for the time being, and to the privie counsell of us, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him and themselves, or by their or any of their sufficient atturneys, deputies officers, ministers, factors and servants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the privie counsell of us, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisedoms or discretions thought meete and convenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them, and his and their, [III. 137.] and every or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of unjust and unlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subjects of us, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subjects of any King, prince, ruler, governour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires or successours: and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governour or state, or their subjects, wee our heires or successors shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde us and themselves fully contended: And that if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly,

within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to us, our heires and successors, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered as is aforesaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subjects, nor by us any way to bee advowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 11. day of June, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

De Navigatione Illustris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in novum Orbem coloniam susceptâ, Carmen ἐπιβατικὸν STEPHANI PARMENII BUDEII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda est, quàm fieri potest brevissime, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo novus & exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putaverim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, fœtum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In servitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam ætatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Panzoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis salvæ adhuc earum reliquiæ florescunt, in literis adolevissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad invisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solùm complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, jam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, ut non tantùm mores & urbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introëundum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, ut hoc à nobis sine invidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica ulla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem eventum consilii mei considerem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis civibus, quibuscum aliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passìm humanitate acceptus essem, ut jam (sit hoc salva pietate à me dictum) suavissimæ Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleverint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ab caussas cùm sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ hujus voluntatis & existimationis edendi; accidit utique secundùm sententiam, ut dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propedièm colonia in novum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnovi profectò, eáque tali ac tanta observantia prosequi cœpi; ut cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passìm audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum [III. 138.] existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officii studiique nostri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ovum, unde nostrum ἐπιβατικὸν originem ducit. Reliquum est, ut eas & redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, & benevolentia tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

Ad Thamesin.

AMnis, inoffensa qui tàm requiete beatus
  Antipodum quæris jam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
  Fecimus, & raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
  Ornatu perages gaudia festa novo.

QUæ nova tàm subitò mutati gratia cœli?
Unde graves nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora Titan?
Nimirum posuere Noti, meliorque resurgit
Eurus, & in ventos solvuntur vela secundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale Britanniæ
Tendit ad ignotum nostris majoribus orbem
Vix notis Gilebertus aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta silendum est
Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obvia plano
Jamdudum Fortuna solo, quibus omne per undas
Nereidum genus exultat, faustoque tridenti
Ipse pater Nereus placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curvi Delphines ab imo
In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus evectæ sulcent freta prospera puppes.
Et quasi diluvium, tempestatesque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela physeter.
Et favet Ægæon, & qui Neptunia Proteus
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat

Sceptra CHALEDONIDUM: seclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad seros canit eventura minores.
Ut pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
Insula in OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;
Postquam opibus dives, populo numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, nova mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat sua regna recessum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis sublimibus aptæ
In nidis crevere grues, proficiscitur ingens
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILUM.
Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli
Servata est regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata COLUMBUM;
Jam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, jamque regenda
Imperio superest. EUROPAM ASIAMQUE relinque,
Et fortunatam nimiùm, nisi sole propinquo
Arderet, LIBYEN: illis sua facta viasque
Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illustranda quiescit
[III. 139.] Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA sceptra,
Non MACEDUM invictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
Attigit, aut unquam LATIÆ feriere secures.
Non illo soboles MAHOMETI mugiit orbe:
Non vafer HISPANUS, cœlo, superisque relictis,
Sacra PAPÆ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
Sive illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à prisca FAUNORUM stirpe supersint
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus urbes
Sylvasque & pingues habitant civilibus agros:
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
ITALIÆ antiquæ, & primi rude temporis ævum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens SATURNUS ob iram
In LATIO posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpisse feruntur

Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati;
Ut simul argenti percùrrens tempora, & æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas;
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) ævo vertente rediret.
Fallor an est tempus, revolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?
Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus urbes
Respicio, & passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LIBYAMQUE cruento
MARTE premi, domitaque jugum cervice subire:
Jamque per EUROPÆ fines immane tribunal
BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQUE, PELASGISQUE
ÆMATHIISQUE, omnique solo quod dividit HEBRUS,
Et quondam bello invictis, nunc MARTE sinistro
Angustos fines, parvamque tuentibus oram
PANNONIÆ populis, & prisca in gente LIBURNIS.
Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri
Patribus AUSONIIS: ardere in bella, necesque
SARMATICAS gentes: & adhuc à cæde recenti
HISPANUM sancto GALLUMQUE madere cruore.
Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum, & si dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.
At verò ad niveos alia si parte BRITANNOS
Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus,
Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta juventus
Illius ad sacra jussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara DEO tua sceptra gubernat AMAZON,
Quàm DEA, cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud ullis inclusas mœnibus urbes
Aurea libertas, & nescia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
Quòd regio nullis injuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,

Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladii, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
In rastros abiere, & bello assueta juventus
[III. 140.] Pacem & amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes
Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
Illa cui assurgunt MUSÆ, quam conscia PALLAS
Lætior exaudit, GILEBERTI gloria nostri.
Illius auxilium, & socialia prælia amici
Mirantur BELGÆ, & quamvis injustus IBERUS
Commemorat justas acies, domitasque per oras
Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quassatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus urbes,
Fluminaque & portus capti, hostilique notatum
Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
Hîc ubi per medios projectus SE QUANA CELTAS
Labitur, & nomen mox amissurus, & undas.
Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
Tàm varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri
Oscula conjugii, numerantemque ordine longo
AUCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AUCHERIOS exempla suos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute sequuntur,
Obsessi in muris soli portisque CALETI,
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus urbem,
Et decus ALBIONUM, turpi superesse salute.
    Quòd si parva loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens vivere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis ut possit surgere terris?
Auguror, & faveat dictis DEUS, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in urbes

Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cùm nova saxa vocaret
Amphion Thebas, Trojana ad mœnia Phœbus.
Atque ubi sic ultrò junctas sociaverit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges caustoditurus easdem;
In quibus ignari cives fraudumque, dolique,
A solida assuescant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignavam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
Vivere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibusve premetur
Libertas populi, non contrâ in deside vulgo
Oppugnabit opes civis sub nomine pauper:
Quisque suo partem fœlix in jure capesset.
Tum sua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura juventam
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda cives.
O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim:
Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relictâ
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Mecum unâ Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima novæ ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ [III. 141.]
Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Invitum retrahunt. His his me fata reservent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum spreto Helicone manebit
Illa Aganippæis sacrata Oxonia Musis.
Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis olivæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immensi longè venerantur Elisam.
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
Prospicit, & jamjam Tamesino in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis Gilebertum albescere velis.

Sic dea Peliaco spectasse è vertice Pallas
Fertur Jasonios comites, ad Phasidos undas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
Diva fave, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
Vela juva; Si sola geris dignissima totum
Talibus auspiciis proferri sceptra per orbem.
Propter eà quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
Tranquilla populos, ut jam te principe possint
Augere imperii fines. Quia sola videris
Quo niveæ Charites, quo corpore Delia virgo
Pingitur, & justo si sit pro teste vetustas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
Semideos homines: tali est de sanguine magnus
Sive Hector genitus, sive Hectore major Achilles:
Duntaxat sine fraude ulla, sine crimine possint
Ulla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
Nympha, diis dignas laudes æquare Latinis.
Mentior infœlix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, & taceo, nisi sola audiris ubique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monstris furtiva per ocia somno.
Mentior & taceo, solam nisi vivere cives
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere torvo,
Nec cædis pœnæve thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis majestas parta, & inermis
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:
Ut quot penè rei justum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod justumque piumque
Agnoscit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, solis
Legibus usurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur

Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In castris Bellona tuis: Quin pronus adorat
Gradivus tua jussa pater, sequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
Dumque fores aliis, vitamque & regna tuetur
Janitor externus, cingunt tua limina cives:
Dumque aliis sordet sapientia regibus, almo [III. 142.]
Pegasidum tu fonte satur, tot Apollinis artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
Nil nostri invenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
Christiadum gentes, quas te, divina virago,
Justius Aoniæ possint jactare sorores.
Audiit hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: & quæ fortè recusat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptra
Incurva Mahometigenæ cervice salutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera Galli:
Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus Iberus,
Nescia Romano Germania Marte domari
Quærit amicitias Britonum: procul oscula mittit
Virgineis pedibus Latium, longéque remoti
Pannones in tutos optant coalescere fines.
Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
Obtulit invictis fascesque fidemque Britannis. *Nova Albion.*
Nonne vides passis ut crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris America dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror Anglia, nostras
Respicis, & dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
An verò nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non ullus amor virtutis Iberos
In nostrum migrare solum, pietasve coëgit.
Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væsana litabam
Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque
Discere posse Deum, jubeor mortalibus aras
Erigere, & mutas statuas truncosque precata
Nescio quod demens Romanum numen adoro.

Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris
Cur Deus in cœlis rectâ non quæritur? aut si
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque reatu
Oenotriæ sedis majestas læsa labascit?
Non sic relligio, non sic me judice gaudet
Defendi sua regna Deus, quòd si optimus ille est;
Quòd si cuncta potest, & nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora servos
Abjecta, immanique jugum Busiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus urbes,
Ut nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aëriæ; quanquam latissima, desit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi jam sub sole jacens penetratus utroque est
Mundus, utroque jacens peragrata est terra sub axe.

Hugo Willobeius eques auratus.

Ni frustrà gelidam vectus Wilobeius ad arcton
Illa in gente jacet, cui dum Sol circinat umbras,
Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.

Martinus Frobisherus eques auratus.

[III. 143.]

Ni frustrà quæsivit iter, duraque bipenni
Illo Frobiserus reditum sibi in æquore fecit,
Horridum ubi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni
Frigora nativos simulant immitia montes.

Antonius Jenkinsonus.

Ni frustrà per Cimmerios, sylvisque propinqua
Flumina Riphæis eoa profectus ad usque est
Mœnia Jencisonus, Persasque & proxima Persis
Bactra, & Bactrorum confines regibus Indos.

Franciscus Dracus eques auratus.

Ni frustrà, quod mortali tot secla negarant,
Hâc tuus immensum nuper Dracus ambiit orbem,
Quà patri Oceano clausas circumdare terras
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, & duplici secludere littore mundos.
Jam si fortuna, jam si virtute sequare
Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum

Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub HERCULE non sit
Dedecus, OGIGIUS non quæ aspernetur IACCUS.
Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Aversare meos multo ut tibi sanguine fines
Invidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in ISTHMO.
Hanc tibi jamdudum primi invenere BRITANNI,
Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione CABOTUS
Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela COLUMBO.
Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigescit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:
Frigus & æstatem justo moderamine servat,
Sive leves auras, grati spiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque
Junge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere Solem.
Quòd si consiliis superûm, fatisque negatum est
Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:
Quòd si de immerita justum est cervice revelli
Ignarum imperii dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd si nulla unquam potuit superesse potestas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obsequium. A miti quæsita potentia CYRO
Amissa est sævæ soboli. Parcendo subegit
Tot reges MACEDUM virtus, tot postera sensim
Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod ROMULEIS crevit sub patribus olim
Imperium, diri semper minuêre NERONES.

Sebastianus Cabotus.

[A report

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haie gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

Many voyages have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually [III. 144] possesse therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest unto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres have had opportunity nor meanes so great to discover and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace:

yet have they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and setled government of many provinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coasts from Florida Northward first discovered by the English nation.

The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discovery upon the coast, and outparts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Majesties territories and revenue had bene mightily inlarged and advanced by this day. And which is more; the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought foorth a most plentifull harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely judge (which onely belongeth to God) what have bene the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discovery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdome hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

A fit consideration.

In the meane while, it behooveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules; advancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of

Probable conjectures y^t these lands North of Florida, are reserved for the English nation to possesse.

the West Indies for Spaine, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoveries, yet unhappy in these Northerne.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endevouring to bring those Northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

[III. 145.]

The French are but usurpers upon our right.

The French also infortunate in those North parts of America.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title unto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as unto Florida, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approched the Spanish limits: even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right unto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining unto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards, & at last unto the West, where it is like to end, unlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: even so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens unto Christianity.

The word of God moveth circularly.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause (which was just in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neverthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subjected to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to upholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well advised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarse justifiable: which doth excite Gods heavy judgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his just proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how just soever, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reverence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting upon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (unto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended adversly. [III. 146.]

The first and great preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Westerne discovery of America, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neverthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers, which bred a jarre, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready upon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A constant resolution of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment & purpose to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the river of Canada, to whom if God gave good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly advance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice unto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolve himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joyned unto him, resolving to adventure their substance & lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere unto Plimmouth: then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neverthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Consultation about our course.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controversie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Commodities in discovering from South Northward.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arrived to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained; and there might with lesse detriment have wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the yere, and untill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart unto us.

[III. 147.] Not staying long upon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, untill we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

Cause why we began our discovery from the North.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida unto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments unto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell us to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Incommodities in beginning North.

Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way unto Newfoundland:

from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed upon the maner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing unto the captaines and masters of every ship a copy in maner following.

Every shippe had delivered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed up in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included severall watch-words. That open, serving upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up untill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serve untill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were upon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord us by night without mistrust, having our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters to be observed by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

FIrst the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights untill he be answered againe by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one above another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently every shippe to beare up with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answere it with one shot: and every man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, every evening every ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall asterne him, sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, every ship to haile him both morning and evening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon every man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to give knowledge that they have seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then every man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated:

then every ship to repaire unto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed upon.

[III. 148.]

THe course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our selves either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours unto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

A direction of our course unto the Newfound land.

BEginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by Westsouthwest (if the winde serve) untill such time as we have brought our selves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subject much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes: if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indevour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driven backe upon the coast of England, then to repaire unto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driven backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare haven or Baltimore haven.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour unto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; every ship leaving their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the Generals private device written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and delivered unto every shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened untill occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after commers: that every of us comming into any harbour or river might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himselfe unto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes under saile, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight aliâs The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Davis, of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

Our fleet consisted of five sailes, in which we had about 260 men.

Provisions fit for such discoveries.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

[III. 149.]

June 11.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleventh day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

June 13.

Observe.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening (according to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke us, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooved her flagge from the mizon unto the foretop.

June 15.

From Saturday the 15 of June untill the 28, which was upon a Friday, we never had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driven Southward unto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our traverse was great, running South unto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

July 20. *Great fogges upon the Ocean sea Northward.*

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were dissevered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill upon the 20. day of July, whom we met againe at severall places upon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

July 27.

Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from us, as it were mountaines of yce driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of us: whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

The banke in length unknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. *leagues, in depth of water upon it* 30. *fadome.*

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water upon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and have ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, having no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

A great fishing upon ye banke.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering over the same, to pray upon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting upon the sea.

Abundance of foules.

Upon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (seven weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great hase and fogge did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

July 30. First sight of land.

Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men use to take without difficulty upon that Iland, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made us there the like provision.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

[III. 150.]

An Iland called Baccalaos, the fish taken there.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South therof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the aire and overboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by us surprised upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his judgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Misdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favorably, they came aboord the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboord their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserved even by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reveale the fact, and justifie to the world Gods judgements inflicted upon them, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, untill we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Majestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 buts length) the Admirall fell upon

English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing upon the South parts of Newfound land.

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a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other habors adjoyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priviledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he [III. 151.] dismissed them, after promise given of their best indevour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused foorthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision:

whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and have weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in Newfound land. No Savages in the South part of Newfound land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

August 4.

Munday following, the General had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Majestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of

August 5.

Possession taken.

the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised under her Majestie to possesse and enjoy it. And to ordaine lawes for the governement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & delivered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Majesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudiciall, the partie or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

Three Lawes.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being prevented

Actuall possession maintained in Newfoundland.

by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Men appointed to make search.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering togither our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what [III. 152.] eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawen a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

New found land is al Islands or broken lands.

THat which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfe and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) unto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

Goodly roads and harbours.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie under the climats of Briton, Anjou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unlesse upon the outcoast lying open unto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subject to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere unto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, even under the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome uncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Even so all hils having their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth give in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the

New found land is habitable.

Cold by accidental meanes.

Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth over (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike unto America over the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reverberation upon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neverthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable under the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be unhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we have seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the South parts neere unto Cape Rece, untill after Hollandtide, have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which have arrived there after November and December, have found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no marvaile, considering the ground upon the coast, is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off [III. 153.] the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with us here: it can not be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscovia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoves, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: *Commodities.*

all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are savages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made divers: so yt it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmons and other fish to us unknowen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that have bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters having pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Fish of sea and fresh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to us unknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like unto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proved by English marchants which have caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreymen have sowen in the time of May, have come up faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming up by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not unlike to have pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling unto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diversitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land divers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, bevers, marternes:

And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought unto him a Sable alive, which he sent unto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Devonshire: but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundreth part of creatures in those unhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce us to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used a fift part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to adventure as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister unto mens endevours, and for art to worke upon.

Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art & industrie.

[III. 154.]

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not averre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Silver Ore brought unto the Generall.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my private humor, I would proceede no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we have alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I have sent it aboord, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I judged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reasons why no further search was made for the silver mine.

WHile the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew togither in company, and caried away out of the harbors adjoyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Insomuch as after

Misdemeanor in our companie.

we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore unto the Generall to leave the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

God brought togither these men into the ship ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

Why sir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, then with judgement to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

Now having made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discovery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

August 20 S. Johns in 47 deg. 40 min.

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns upon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league:

within the sea riseth up a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

[III. 155.] Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision.

Fish large and plentifull.

From hence we shaped our course unto the Island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Cattel in the Isle of Sablon.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Johns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (above thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an Island lying so neere unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance every where.

Good soile.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Navigation we spent 8 dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped: where nevertheleſſe we lost our Admiral with al the men and provision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and John Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West,	14.	leagues.
	West and by South.	25.	
	Westnorthwest,	25.	
	Westnorthwest,	9.	
	Southsouthwest,	10.	
	Southwest,	12.	
	Southsouthwest,	10.	
August 29.	Westnorthwest.	12.	Here we lost our Admiral.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of John Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14	leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.	
24	Southwest and by South,	5.	
25	West and by South,	40.	
26	West and by North,	7.	
27	Southwest,	3.	
28	Southwest,	9.	
	Southwest,	7.	
	Westsouthwest,	7.	
29	Northwest and by West,	20.	Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

[III. 156.]

Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marveilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

August 27.

UPon Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neverthelesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived of power to prevent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions before the wracke.

The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their jolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, having first striken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the yron, but could recover onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite frivolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Losse of our Admirall.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in every three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, untill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his judgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the windes eye, because that way caried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye unto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped overboord to save themselves, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and downe as neere unto the wracke as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraighted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope.

Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No lesse heavy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, overseene onely in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captaine was advised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, shewing an ill president unto his men, by leaving the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and unavoidable: how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

[III. 157.]

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the

A wonderfull scape and deliverance. A great distresse. A desperate resolution.

bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming overcharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen overboord upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to live, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

Two men famished.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weake) upon the New found land, saving that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of us Brasile, of his travell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better sustenance then their owne urine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being upon that coast.

After this heavie chance, wee continued in beating the sea up and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we judged not farre off, either the continent or some

A.D. 1583.

Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming upon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Causes inforcing us to returne home againe.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe upon us every day. The Leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknowen. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons having also moved the Generall to have compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved upon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this unexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe, greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we have seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his [III. 158.]

owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, proving an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31. So upon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and againe rising above the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe above water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.

A monster of the sea.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swalowed up.

September 2. Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This munday the Generall came aboord the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading upon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we overpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

Our last conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarying of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of the New found land, neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send againe

Circumstances to be well observed in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a silver Mine.

aboord the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversly, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had never before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

[III. 159.] Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrivall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: having determined upon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leave that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing us therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers nevertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept unto himselfe. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing availe, to divert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged upon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

A token of a good mind.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was urged to be so over hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then advised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboord his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of us, yet wee then keeping much to the North, until we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales upon the land) upon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which having power to move the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diversitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, never saw more outragious Seas. We had also upon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more tempest: the same is usuall in stormes.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving foorth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, untill wee arrived upon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens betweene us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

Arrivall in England of the Golden Hinde.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Haven.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily have bene before us. Also to certifie Sir John Gilbert, brother unto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endevour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to have his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

[III. 160.]

A fit motion of the Captain unto sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Neverthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he found his men bent to depart, every man to his home: and then the winde serving to proceede higher upon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then serving to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge unto the Captaine, and great ease unto the men, having els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure unto sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so unprofitable a voiage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine neverthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the

An ill recompense.

goodnes of God, and his undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever have confidence in him alone. Yet have we more neere feeling and perseverance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring us together with others into one same peril, in which he leaveth them, and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inveterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so, he may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

His temeritie and presumption.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: nevertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance upon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, having thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite foyled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst, refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from every evill deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues. [III. 161.]

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God: so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired.

[Ornatissimo viro,

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richardo Hakluyto Oxonii in Collegio ædis Christi, Artium & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico, & fratri suo.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore jam Junio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri jusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te iisdem ferè verbis, quia nova meditari & συνονυμίζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Undecimo Junii ex Anglia revera tandem & seriò solvimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque navibus constabat: maxima, quam* frater Amiralii accommodaverat, ignotum quo consilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò conjunctim navigavimus ad 23. Julii, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alii aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm ultrà 41. paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spiravêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab avium ejusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aves vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm convenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idqúe intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Divum Joannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & angustiam navis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & jam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso juveni me conjunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salvi & longè

Dominus Ralegh.

Insula Penguin.

firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemque vendicavit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs & lautiùs. Certè enim & qualibus ventis usi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naves Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regii diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra universa* montana & sylvestris: arbores ut plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, ut nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ: sed rarò à nostris diversæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inveni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facilè cultura & satione in usum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in sylvis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suavitate. Ursi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, ut mihi ex pellibus conjicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an ullus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec ullum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quæso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli sub sit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus sylvas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spacium pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est

In the south side of Newe found land, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris unda ex terebynthina, quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per rivulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est, ut nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est à comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem hæsisse, ut 60. orgyas altæ essent insulæ: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquescerent, liberatione quadam universam molem ita inversam, ut quòd ante pronum erat, supinum evaderet, magno præsentium discrimine, ut consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est: ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum ubi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluvia. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo juvante) progrediemur, tantò indies majori spe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Untonus meus absentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Revera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituto usui futuram. Nunc restat, ut me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, ut neminem magis. Juvet dei filius labores nostros eatenus, ut tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suavissime, ornatissime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Johannis 6. Augusti 1583.

The great heate of the sunne in summer.

[III. 162.]

Stephanus Parmenius.
Budeius, tuus.

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluit at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purposed to write unto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent us, withdrew her selfe from us the third day, wee know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way, and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and

48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Johns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixe: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was never more healthy. Wee arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary winds wee have found, and what great travell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us, suffer us not to bee hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed us all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that travell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne up with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles [III. 163.] and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the

A.D. 1583.

grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing up like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to have some Mynes in them: we mooved the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might have space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides wherof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope, that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6. of August. 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIUS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.

DEparting out of Saint Johns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of August unto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course unto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly have seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controversie of our course. The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and unknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings, because he presented her Majesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would have had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to save a man, for there was not water upon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day

20. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

[III. 164.]

15. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke untruely chargeth sir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ship cast away on Thursday being the 29 *of August* 1583.

before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyse out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyse it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could never see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them up, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate lived in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe us withall but one oare, which we kept up the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went even as the Sea would drive us) there was in our company one master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyveth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of us may come to the land if our boate were not overladen. Let us make sixteene lots, and those foure that have the foure shortest lots we will cast overboord preserving the Master among us all. I replied unto him, saying, no, we will live and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gave God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the

Sixteene gate into the ship-boate.

Master Hedlyes ungodly proposition.

land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seventie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, save onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreover: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die saving onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should never come to land, but that I promised them the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me over boord: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted upon any other point, wee had never come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arrivall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of us out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe upon our knees and gave God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with us. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes unto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selves with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as ever I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre every way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as ever I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees,

They came on land the 7 day after their shipwracke.

The fruitfulnesse of the south part of Newfound land.

firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I devided the company three and three to goe every way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboord we found great store of peason as good as any wee have in England : a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and lived very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly river [III. 165.] like the river of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selves wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to have gone to the Grande Bay to have come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale : And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore five dayes : about which time we came to a very goodly river that ranne farre up into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened upon a ship of Saint John de Luz, which ship brought us into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put us on land and bad us shift for our selves. Then had wee but tenne or twelve miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the year 1583.

Foureteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of St. John de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last journey for the Westerne discoveries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

Master Edward Hays.

By him I understand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleventh of June last past, with five sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arrive at Saint Johns Haven, in Newfound

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arrive at Saint Johns Haven in Newfound land, the 3. of August. Anno 1583.

land, the 3. of August last. Upon whose arrivall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Haven before, endevoring to fraight themselves with fish, repaired unto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Majesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of divers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall understand in this treatise hereafter, in place more convenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7 ynches and a halfe over.

[III. 166.]
Sir Humfrey tooke possession of the New-found land in right of the Crowne of England.

On Munday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set upon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre unto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission under the great Seale of England to bee openly and solemnely read unto them, whereby were granted unto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priviledges. The effect whereof being signified unto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiving the same with an Hasell wand, delivered unto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Then he signified unto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to live in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be governed by such Lawes as by good advise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

Three lawes established there by Sir Humfrey.

First, that Religion publiquely exercised, should be such, and none other, then is used in the Church of England.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully convicted of any practise against her Majestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adjudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Majestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the use of the Generall.

Sundry persons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe mainteine possession for him in divers places there.

All men did very willingly submit themselves to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Majesties Armes to be ingraved, set up, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, divers Englishmen made sute unto Sir Humfrey to have of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings & drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted unto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, set, give and dispose of many things, as absolute Governor there, by vertue of her Majesties letters patents.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driven to leave behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of August, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fit to discover and approch the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gave great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly have stayed and wintred there. But having the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could never see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all upon a breach in a great and outragious storme, having under 3. fathome water. But God delivered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their unspeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary provisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come upon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so covered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arrived, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified unto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had invented a devise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be revealed, before private conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse. *Plutarch.*

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisedome and vertue, made choyse of him to have conference with Themystcles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd devise: which was, that they might set on fire the Navie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as [III. 167.] he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme devised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reject and condemne it, preferring honesty and upright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late undertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Savages, as gainefull to the Christians. And upon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now alive: which being by me herein sufficiently prooved, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endevour themselves to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and undertaken.

Now whereas I doe understand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a convenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselves and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that under the cope of heaven there is not any where to be found a more convenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both ‖ of our owne nation and strangers, (who have bene travailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Savages (who have no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

*‖ Englishmen.
Master John Hawkins.
Sir Francis Drake.
M. William Winter.
M. John Chester.
M. Martin Frobisher.
Anthony Parkhurst.
William Battes.
John Lovel.
David Ingram.
Strangers.
French.
John Ribault.
Jaques Cartier.
Andrew Thevet.
Monsieur Gourgues.
Monsieur Laudonniere.
Italians.
Christopher Columbus.
John Verazanus.*

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes advanced) above the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discoverie of our nation, and other strangers, who have oftentimes travailed upon the same coasts.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercie of Almightie God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long unknowen regions, having in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Majesties grandfather King Henry the seventh, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoveries, was not onely derided and mocked generally, even here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselves, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred up the man to that enterprise.

God doeth not alwayes begin his greatest workes by the greatest persons.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the pildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to jest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe, which did take upon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some judged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may know more particularly. All which their discoveries, travailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This devise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

Hernando Cortes. Francisco Pizarro.

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient proofe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the subjects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowen, that sithence the time of Columbus his first [III. 168.] discoverie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Silver, Pearle, and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we have so long slumbered:

That wee may now not suffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun & enterprised. For which purpose, I have taken upon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as have bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this journey, (by reason perhaps that they have not deliberately and advisedly entred into the judgement of the matter) that yet now upon better consideration they will become favourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende have I taken pen in hand, as in conscience thereunto mooved, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would have pleased some one of them to have undertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endevour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistance of almightie God) to proove that the Voyage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement

The argument of the booke.

of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Savages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countreyes in some mens judgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffique, and planting.

The second Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Savages: And to plant in their Countries: And divideth planting into two sorts.

AND first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully travell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Savages may not justly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men have agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadours: That the Sea with his Havens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be servants or slaves: And that strangers should not bee driven away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to use trade and traffique with Infidels or Savages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And forasmuch as the use of trade and traffique (be it never so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers never so carefull and diligent) which I meane to divide into two sortes.

The principall causes why this voyage is undertaken. [III. 169.]

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The second, when Christians being unjustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and justly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Josua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first, saving that for their safetie as well against the Savages, as all other forreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselves: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to understand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieving them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell injury, be a just cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Savages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endevour to take away such feare as may growe unto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conversation, and letting them live in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Savages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensive and not offensive.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught us by naturall reason, it is first to be put in ure.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so throughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceive the Savages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be used by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Savages may easily perceive (were their sences never so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented unto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Jet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to us of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with us.

Moreover, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie unto them, that once league of friendship with all loving conversation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their just quarrels, from all invasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Adversaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person upon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely David Ingram, (who travelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Savages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adjoyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and have teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with ravenous mindes to eate their flesh, and devoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case justly and lawfully ayde the Savages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the loving company of the Christians, proffering unto them both commodities, succour, and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of Land, as every way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they have of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

[III. 170.] *The seconde kinde of planting.*

But if after these good and fayre meanes used, the Savages neverthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safelandings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enjoy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thither:

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the atteining of their safetie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for avoyding the extremitie of injurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I judge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in avoyding murtherous tyrannie) to use the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day is used: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Savages as have bene converted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Joshua) and continue their wicked custome of most unnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie or civilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Governours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Nativitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings have performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saved in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in divers sortes divided themselves to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwardes being under the government of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adjoyning thereunto. Neverthelesse, before they came to possession thereof, having bene afflicted with many grievous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enjoy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselves with all patience, to suffer whatsoever it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Josua 4. Notwithstanding, Josua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the justnesse of his quarell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge river Jordan, and having before *Josua* 6. sent privie spies for the discoverie of the famous citie Jerico, to understand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and environed it round about with his whole power the space of seven dayes.

In which respite, perceiving none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Jerico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Josua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, silver, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserved and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

Josua 8. In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged up their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like event) sent *Josua* 9. Ambassadours unto Josua to intreate for grace, favour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their lives should bee saved, and that they should be admitted to the company of the children of Israel. Yet understanding afterwards they wrought this by a policie, he used them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and never left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Peresites, Hevites, and Jebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & divers other strange nations, besides whose lands & dominions he wholy divided among Gods people.

[III. 171.]

Judg. 11. 13.

After that Josua was deceased, Juda was constituted Lord over the armie, who receiving like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Josua, and utterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and adversaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before unto seventie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather up their victuals underneath his table. In this God shewed his justice to revenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaved himselfe in following the worthy acts of Josua and Juda, that in short time he not only delivered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

Judg. 1.

A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.

Judg. 6. 7.

I could recite divers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indevour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Saviour Jesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselves to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries unvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the uttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out unknowen lands, did first discover the same, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which upon his returne being published, and for certaine understood, there was another grave Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolve himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to travaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arrived there, having in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had throughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient understanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof unto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9.

But by misfortune he was prevented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce drove him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the sayd land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and civill government, they were had in great favour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preserved by the Indians.

wife with her yong sonne to governe, and gave free scope and libertie to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly favoured them was very sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the government of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Frumentius in great favour with ye Queene of the Indians.

An other great worke of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise privily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best prevaile, and that soonest would give eare unto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leave of the Queene to returne to his native countrey. And so soone as he was arrived there, he revealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those events: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the advise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a convenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, unto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Ruffinus received the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

[III. 172.]

Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.

Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9.

Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

Moreover Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in divers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeavoured by all meanes to subject all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came even unto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there utterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the uttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his journey thither, at last became victour over them all, even to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter John, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soever at that time he could have notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subjection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though unknowen unto him, but in time he overcame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also divers other Emperours afterward to their uttermost endevour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour imployed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, utterly subverting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such usurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours,

Theodoret. in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreover, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius junior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the above named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and utterly destroyed all their idolatry, converting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be so briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy lives of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea even in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein have I used more copy of examples then otherwise I would have done, saving that I have bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take upon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I joyne many moe, but whosoever is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authors last above recited. Thus have I (as I trust) prooved that we may justly trade and traffique with the Savages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Majestie hath unto those Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170. *Owen Gwyneth was then Prince of Northwales. Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.*

AND it is very evident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Majesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arrived and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leaving certaine of [III. 173.] his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

This Island was discovered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last journey.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules have white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are divers other Welsh wordes at this day in use, as David Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to have inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration unto his subjects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes used these speeches following.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subjects in presence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

MY kinsmen, friends, and servants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I have bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I have bene unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me good and obedient subjects, and so I hope you will remaine unto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to have in remembrance, that either you have heard of your fathers, or else our divines have instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and governe us, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughly considered, because they have relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the undoubted title of her Majestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her highnesse title sithence the arrivall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seventh, Letters patents were by his Majestie granted to John Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discover remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discovery was afterwardes executed to the use of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, knowen, and called untill this day by the name of Sancius haven, which proveth that they first discovered upon that coast from the height of 63 unto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Oliver Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may stand for another title to her Majesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discovery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Majesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to prove very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to proove very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest jewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall navy of her Majesty, which by reason of this voyage shall have both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships have beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they have no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof David [III. 174.] Ingram (who travelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth give great hope, that though there were none

Cox the master.

naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreover, it is well knowen that all Savages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of civility, will take marvelous delight in any garment, be it never so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe have heard this report made sundry times by divers of our countreymen, who have dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelve yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to civility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent, I do leave to the judgement of such as are discreet.

Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weavers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Cappers. Hatters, &c. and many decayed townes repayred.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both have beene, and now are utterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our navy, and maintenance of our navigation.

To what end need I endevour my selfe by arguments to prove that by this voyage our navie and navigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discovery of the Indies, have not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselves and their subjects: but have also by just account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this journey bee well imployed & set on worke.

Hempe doeth growe neere S. Laurence river naturally.

Besides this, it will proove a generall benefit unto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now live idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & unprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, or under, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreover, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and divers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or science.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Divers voyages touching the discovery of America.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subjects of this Realme, which doe now live here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconveniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound judgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in use and trade amongst us.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to prove to the particular profit of all adventurers.

I Must now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the adventurers in this journey are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore convenient that I doe divide the adventurers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselves, and the [III. 175.] Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so divided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are very easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adjoyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the elevation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily conjecture: the rather because I doe certainly understand, that some of those which have the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reveale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat & settle themselves in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as have bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary use of man are to be found.

Beasts for pleasure.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and divers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as have delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and river, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was upon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of divers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage above two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide; and with this agreeth David Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of divers kinds, which I omit for brevities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be divers of good credit in this realme that have tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palme trees.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as have a desire to the furtherance of every good and commendable action, I will first say unto them, as I have done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abovesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and every other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe travell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscovie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we have them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand upon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as have discovered and travelled those partes, doe testifie that they have found in those countryes all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.
Marterns.
Beavers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of wormes.
Silke wormes great & large.

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geese.
Stocke dooves.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fishes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding sweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Sasafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees to us unknowen.

[III. 176.]

Of fruites.
Grapes very large.
Muskemellons.
Limons.
Dates great.
Orrenges.
Figges.
Prunes.
Raisins great and small.
Pepper.
Almonds.
Citrons.

Of Mettals.
Golde.
Silver.
Copper.
Lead.
Tinne.

Of Stones.
Turkeis.
Rubies.
Pearls great & faire.
Marble, of divers kindes.
Jasper.
Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.

Rosen.
Pitch.
Tarre.
Turpentine.
Frankincense.
Honny.
Waxe.
Rubarbe.
Oyle Olive.
Traine oyle.
Muske codde.

Salt.
Tallow.
Hides.
Hempe.
Flaxe.
Cochenello & dies of divers sorts.
Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these things may be understood (whereof this intended supply will give us more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to adventure some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the adventurers in this voyage, there is provision made, that no adventurer shall be bound to any further charge then his first adventure: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentises and servants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priviledge that adventurers in other voyages have not: and in the said articles it is likewise provided, that none other then such as have adventured in the first voyage, or shal become adventurers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say unto all such according to the olde proverbe, Nothing venture, nothing have. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe rivers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let us omit all presumptions how vehement soever, and dwel upon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which have bene there, it would seeme incredible.

Commodities found in August last.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discovered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then uttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Savages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, silver, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the above specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister just occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serve our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine river doth thereunto adjoyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Jersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the sayd ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the [III. 177.] shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooved very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serve for a taste, untill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send us better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this journey, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the judgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be unto the Savages themselves very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selves and our countrey (as generally other trades and journeis be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Savages shall hereby have just cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was undertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde us (were they many moe) that they should but receive this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee objected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: unto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul, If wee have sowen unto you heavenly *Corinth.* 9. things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heavenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present unto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreover, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receive from us, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal judgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receive, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall unto us. And admit that they had (as they have not) the knowledge to put their land to some use: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to civilitie and knowledge, and made then to understand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What just cause of complaint may they have? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the Christians: for, over and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from unseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well governed common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most upon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their lives shalbe preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore used amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I have already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen cannot be unjust, where both parties are gainers.

The seventh Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take upon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like unto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes [III. 178.] for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand us in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand over this realme, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which live in such penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like journeyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreover, things in the like journyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a journey may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice untill such time as divers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand us in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we have also, which in such like cases is a matter of marveilous cost, and will be in this journey procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely aswell our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, saving some litle fraight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise have given out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priviledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driven into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they have in a few or none of other journeyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our journey, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subject to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes upon slender occasion in other parts have stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen have bene utterly undone, divers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their lives: a thing so fresh in memorie as it needeth no proofe, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beverage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreme dangers: but have a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serve our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing usually done in long journies) because, as I sayd above, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home have found so wholsome and sweete, that they have made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleasures heretofore unknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reveiled unto us, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice have slumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting frivolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selves, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heavenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage us to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Savages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subject in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed over into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse? And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who have bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enjoy so large a

[III. 179.] tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and divers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

2. *Decad. lib.* 5. *fol.* 77. *of the West Indies, in English.*

Canoa is a kind of boat.

3. *Decad. lib.* 1. *fol.* 97. *About the yere of our Lord* 1511.

Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a private gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gave an overthrow unto that mighty king Chemaccus, having an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a private gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance only, he overthrew 40000. Indians.

Conquest of the West Indies. fol. 43. *and* 45. *English.*

The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it above the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obteined not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but private gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discoverie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieved in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subjects, which were ever before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant unto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not having in his company above the number of 210. Spanyards, wherof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered unto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and silver, and such golde and silver vessels as they then used, even as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals & subjects to bring in gold and silver for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and covered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly given out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome under pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and overthrowen: whereupon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and silver already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inventorie of the same, as wel for the Emperour then king of

A marveilous victorie.

Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of silver, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches never before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of silver 26485. pound waight, and to every horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of silver. Every souldiour had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of silver. Every Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and silver, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed upon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, over and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: never were there before that day souldiours so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this journey for want of yron, they did shooe their horses, some with gold, and some with silver. This is to bee seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

[III. 180.] To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquests which the princes of Portugall have made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, ever as they discovered: which being rightly weyed and considered, doth minister just cause of incouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subjects of this noble realme of England, to discover, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from us, but neere adjoyning & offring themselves unto us (as is aforesayd) which have never yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage us to looke out and adventure abroad, understanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number have within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I have thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Islands, so neere as I could upon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera & towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discovered for their use Cape Verd, with the Islands adjoyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonavista and Sant Iago discovering also the river Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discover the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discovered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Ilands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas under the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the haven towne or port of Pavosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent foorth, who was the first man that discovered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, & passing the currents that run upon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, between the said maine land & the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discovered to ye harbor named the River of ye Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the travailes and discoveries of Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, John de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque, they did discover, people, and plant at Ceffala, being upon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the south Pole, and direct West from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, divers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also upon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discover, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so up to the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all upon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and past the great gulfe of Arabia, and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great river Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, under the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discover, people, and plant upon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.

Ceffala accomted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting upon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the subjectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute unto them, ever as they passed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, ever as they passed to and from the havens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of dicipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and use of the Caliver shot, and to enterlace and joyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians have growen to that strength and force, that they have given many mightie and great overthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discovered more East in passing the gulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous river of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, under the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and unto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Java major, Java minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other [III. 181.] the Islands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Japan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoveries. Here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discover, people, and plant to their use the holdes and forts which they have in Brasill, of whom (he being but a private gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

These are the furthest parts of the world from England. At these Islands hath sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Majestie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme over tedious in the recitall of the particular discoveries and conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to urge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoveries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, have as it appeareth both mightily and marveilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowmed memorie, and leave unto our posteritie a divine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let us I say for the considerations alledged, enter into judgement with our selves, whether this action may belong to us or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no just cause of doubt.) Then shal her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles justly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme utterly banished, divers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not dismayed:

for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally undertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, & Alonso de Albuquerque in the East? Let us therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, give the attempt, and leave the sequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against us? Thus leaving the correction and reformation unto the gentle Reader, whatsoever is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise unperfect, I take leave, and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries, &c.

I Understand aswel by a letter I long since received from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endevoured, & given much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknowen: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,
Francis Walsingham.

[III. 182.]

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their adventure in the Westerne discoverie.

AFter my heartie commendations, I have for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of November last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell wil proove profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steventon, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,
Francis Walsingham.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Majestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Right honourable, upon the receit of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me privatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light given by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, & apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discovery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and government of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to have M. Steventon your honours messenger, and one well knowen to us, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most convenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings.

When the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered unto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to judge what the value is of that, which is newly offered unto him. After the example whereof I have thought it good to [III. 183.] make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen unto us, whereby we may be the better able to conceive and judge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended unto your knowledge and resolution.

Moscovie. And first to lay downe that of Moscovia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discovery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their servants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company above fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by every body understood.

Dutchmen. Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperors disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Majesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

Denmarke. And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us, hath likewise an advantage upon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

Easterlings. The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many injuries overlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprive them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose have of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priviledges in all their great townes.

Turkie. The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to have so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the devotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with us upon sudden occasions, and the presents to be given away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

Levant. As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be considered by every one of judgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and travell, are set at such excessive ransoms before they can bee freed of their slaverie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enviously the Venetians doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they have imposed as well upon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also upon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie. The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants have bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For untill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee have very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the provision they have from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprive us not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth every ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieved in his heart to consider, that his children and servants whom hee desireth to have well brought up, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

Spaine. Portugall.

Remember the great arrest of the Hollanders. An. 1598.

[III. 184.]

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereaboutes, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging unto it, as may almost be wished for.

Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

1 As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discoverie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the pas-

sage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subject to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their servants or children, shall have no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their Parents and Masters.

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscovie.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscovian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscovia and other.

But when this of America shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscovia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serve halfe a dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

The severall merchandise.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld us now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselves alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Olives being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Province and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will give them such trifling things as they desire of us, and shewing them once the means how to provide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to have the same in good quantitie for us. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serve for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare unto them, who can judge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

A lake of salt in Vasques his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of travell: but when it may have pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may have planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet understand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee [III. 185.] assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and savage living, and growe to such order and civilitie with us, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diversitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with us, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or give lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which have the government, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most loving and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall utterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall have wonderfull great use of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commodite thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, over many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serve in some reasonable and convenient sort, to transport our marchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, untill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who having long since expected some profits herein, upon the great promises that have bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceive that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discoverie.

Objection.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other objection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Answere.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attemptes unknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly adventured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe upon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one adventureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselves bee willing and desirous to adventure in the next, if there bee never so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobisher, caused two severall supplies, the two yeeres next following: whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Marchants, even in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres have fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and people they have themselves seene, as is by us spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who nowe neither have heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such frivolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not have pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as have great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Proverbe that is used, Nothing venture, nothing have: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especially in private, who take on them the hazard of their life and travell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towardes the undertaking of this adventure, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here [III. 186.] at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently live in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discoverie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion upon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be urged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discovery of the Moscovian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I have beene throughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to understand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who have any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before us, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the savage people to Christianitie and civilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst us, living altogether unprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought up, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their livings after their parents decease, are driven to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselves led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, proove greatly serviceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

Master Carliles owne experience.

This I speake of mine owne experience, having seene divers come over to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had beene very evill and idle livers, and by some little continuance with us, have growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of living then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in every point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath beene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subject wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may understande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. James Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might have beene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater provision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran up the great River that comes downe from Canada and other places, untill at last with his small pinnesses, (having left his great shipping by the way) he arrived at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which travaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it convenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse.

This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with us in these partes, and the savage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of provision, even as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serve the Frenchmen, with any thing [III. 187.] they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was most, as with our selves the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants served all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discoverie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endevoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might have beene well understoode, they resoulved with themselves to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that having once atchieved the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least travaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselves, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further service, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discoverie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee lived foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Thevet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and injurious dealing did put the whole

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, saving a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they have multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure score tunnes: which report is given by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to have credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for every one hundreth: But how soever it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

Nowe, if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared unto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was never touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receive by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your severall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and travaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and unspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscovian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, upon his intended discoverie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America. [III. 188.]

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Staper.
Master John Castelin.
Master Leake.

First the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with savage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are unfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for us to intermeddle withall.

The convenientest maner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conveyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The furnishing foorth of 100. *men for one yeere will cost* 4000. *li.*

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will adventure their money in this first preparation.

The Committies thinke it convenient that a Privilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Majesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually provided for.

First, that they who shall disbursse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Adventurers, and shall have the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and silver, and other metals whatsoever, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discovery: yeelding to her Majestie the fift part of all such gold and silver, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselves personally in the present discoverie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall have the other halfe of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Silver, and other mettals, yeelding to her Majestie the fift part of the Gold and Silver, as the Adventurers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelve discreete persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall bee used to and from those partes, which by this discoverie shall bee found out, shall appertaine onely to the Adventurers which first shall disbursse their money for this discovery, with prohibition to all other her Majesties subjects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Adventurers, upon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall adventure in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter adventure in this discoverie as Adventurers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disbursse their money in this first preparation: and they shall not adventure hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first adventure.

Also, the profite which by this discoverie shall be attained unto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discoverie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall have his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their first adventure, and not otherwise.

The Adventurers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for ever holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these partes: [III. 189.] notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Majesties subjects may transport themselves thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obteined.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Majesties subjects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall shall have setled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discoverie of the Isle Ramea, made by for Monsieur de La court Pre Ravillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonaventure, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we have perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

1591.

The fleete of Canada.

FOr the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them; a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated us.

Cape Rase.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, & had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

The Isles of S. Peter.

Cape de Rey.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591, we were come to Cape de Rey, & saw a ship Southwest off us, and stayed there that night.

The Isles of Aponas.

The next day being the seventh of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, because we had not past 8. leagues to our haven, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it.

And we thought to keepe our course untill the next morning between the Isle of Brion & the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we traversed up and downe eleven dayes, making our prayers unto God to ende the tempest and to send us faire weather, that we might obteine our haven: which of his goodnesse he gave us. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, unto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midst whereof you shall have 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I have sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The Isle of Brion.

The Isle of Ramea.

The Isle of Duoron.

And that you may know the sayd haven, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill divided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the haven. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like unto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd haven 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd haven lie Northeast and Southwest,

The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

An Isle like a Floure de lice.

a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble stone to drie fish upon: But to the west thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of sand, which runneth the length of a cable, having not past one fathom water upon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it joyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I have seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I judged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene above thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I have sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanch, or the white Isle, unto the entrance of a river, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West ¼ to the Northwest unto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: upon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses upon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest; which is all that I have seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would have adventured to have sayled South-southeast, to have discovered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

A banke of sand.

[III. 190.]

Cape du Chapt.

The maine a shold coast.

Lisle Blanche. The place where they killed 1500. *Morses.*

The Isle Hupp.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the haven of Cape du Chapt unto the sayde haven, are sandes and sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island conteining about a league of ground: where there is an haven toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd haven on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the said haven but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd haven. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the haven at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth five foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the sayd haven are to leave the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the haven towarde the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to bee seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they have markes on them. Here you shall not have above two fathom and an halfe at a full sea upon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are upon the barre: and bee not afrayd to passe up the chanell. And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you have brought an Island even, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd haven, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd haven: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth

Sands and sholds.

A smal Island conteining a league of ground.

A hard haven.

Markes to come into the haven.

The Barre.

The best anchorage.

a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde haven there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driven Westward of the sayd haven, you may seeke an entrance, which is right over against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other haven at a full sea: And you must passe upon the West side, and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

Another entrance.

The Isle of Cormorants.

Right over against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one haven, which is good within. I say this, because I have passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues over in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and rivers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then five or sixe cables length from the sayd haven.

A letter sent to the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas James of Bristoll, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

[III. 191.]

Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to advertise your honour of the discovery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley, by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Majesties service. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & June, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of five of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his Olive trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Bristoll, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.

Thomas James.

A briefe note of the Morsse and the use thereof.

IN the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, as you may reade in pag. 205 of this present volume, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouthes like unto Elephants teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Jaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to have teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latin Boves Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, & in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I have seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I have seene divers in her Majesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & have bene sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Ivory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicornes horne.

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redrife unto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593 Written by Richard fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THe ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were Mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof divers have teeth above a cubit long & skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of June 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which upon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should have bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Savages and naturals of the Continent next adjoyning, Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and June, that there have bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and never came after together in all their voyage.

The voyage of M. Drake of Apsham to Ramea.

[III. 192.]

The Isle of Ramea, or Menquit.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with Newfoundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle

Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seazed upon and brought away as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might have had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleventh of Julie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being unacquainted with the place, beate up and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length over shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English men land upon Cape Briton.

Here diverse of our men went on land upon the very Cape, where, at their arrivall they found the spittes of Oke of the Savages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe divers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But having found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here having neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Savages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene

They goe on shore in another place.

long here, but there came one Savage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called unto us, weaving his handes downewarde towardes his bellie, using these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket unawares shot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and rising up suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right up over the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes us with white staves in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired unto our boate without any hurt at all received. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dousen muskets shotte upon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselves to the woodes. One of the Savages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their privities, which were covered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to give their fellowes warning of us.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of us Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diverse other kindes to us unknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to observe them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and divers good for the skurvie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe five or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee judged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their

A secret trade to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

hanging up of their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them upon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake under them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Savages use to doe in Virginia.

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

[III. 193.]

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South:

West of Cape Briton.

Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought our selves into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, having sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betwene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleven. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswell small as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddes with one teate underneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleven weekes.

From our arrivall at the haven of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleventh of July) we continued beating up and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton untill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleven weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Corvo and Flores, where beating up and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for us to bring along with us, and so being forced to leave them behinde and having wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home unto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell overboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke us, and never afterward appeared unto us.

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes, till one of their men fell overboord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher servant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to have bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, & lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and June: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint John de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leave it out. The want whereof, for the better understanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplyed by the voyage of Master Charles

Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly prevented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neverthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given, who should continue or prosecute the same.

[III. 194.] The voyage of the Grace of Bristol of M. Rice Jones, a Barke of thirty five Tunnes, up into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newefoundland, as farre as the Isle of Assumption or Natiscotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Silvester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

WEe departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelve men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newefoundland the nineteneth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz. Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great Bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof. Cape S. Marie.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the said Isles of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship upon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our provision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues. *The Islands of the Martyers.* *The Isles of S. Peter.* *Cape de Rey.* *Cape de Angullie.* *The bay of Saint George.*

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seven or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds & fore shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which covered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we understood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, & were brought to S. John de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Savages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Dovehouse, and covered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted upon wooden spits at the fire, & a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to have dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the said bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont usually to shoot themselves on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great river that runneth up to Canada, we shaped our course over to that long Isle of Natiscotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arrived about the middest of June at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaved a lyne overboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seven of us on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of divers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceived to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to have found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the South-

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

warde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natiscotec some twelve leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arrived in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues up within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint [III. 195.] John de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well used and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and us. There the men of Saint John and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on us to make up our voyage with fish. Then wee departed over to the other side of the Bay, where we arrived in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Savages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinnesses and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Savages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and having passed Cape Raz, we passed Northwarde fourteene leagues and arrived in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made up our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arrived first in Combe and staied there a seven night, and afterward in Hungrod in the river of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

[The voyage

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THe Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, wherof was M. Steven Bennet, bound unto the river of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steven Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselves in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graves-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriving at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were upon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arrived at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was given us at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) untill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of June we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay under the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker under the North-east ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes above ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the 2 Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues from Menego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And upon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or Sea Oxen, which were a sleepe upon the rockes: but when we approched nere unto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued us with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arrived at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was above water she bent the hooke & escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meete with our consort. And approching neere unto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adjoyning to Saint John de luz being the French

The Isle of Menego.

The 2 Islands of Birdes.

Store of Morsses.

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and medow.

The Isle of Ramea.

[III. 196.] Kings subjects, whom they supposed to have bene of Spaine, and so affirmed unto us. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleven foote and an halfe of water upon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those onely of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint John de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboord, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other evidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboord, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subjectes. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliver up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subjectes it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that unlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch any thing else in the ship upon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the saide ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoever they had pillaged, and gave it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboord our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie until we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gave the Baskes possession of their shippe againe and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subjects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolved to cary one of those ships away. But they were prevented of their evill purpose by ayde which the saide ships received from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of June, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted upon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against us, and had prepared them selves in al readinesse to fight with us, which so soone as we had discried them gave the onset upon us with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault us about three hundred Savages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by us: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore unto them: whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendred unto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord unto us one Captaine Charles, who was

Another harborough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and us.

A new treason of the Britons.

captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselves aboord of our ship and held us in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should have entred our ship unawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, & unto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiving their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would have entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischievous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself prevented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene us, and that he would send us our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded us out of the harborough; but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliver his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help us with [III. 197.] our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable upon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should have kept from us both our boat and men) which they promised to do for us, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in every thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse; which we did, & so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leaving two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind us. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke unto us from the shore; but more for feare then love, and requested us to come on shore for our men, whom then they delivered. The same morning in passing over the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ship came on ground upon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great providence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About six of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send us faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane over the bar. The 21 day after we got over the barre the wind arose at east & eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept us within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope & assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, & weaved them with a white flag, they in sted of comming unto us, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against us; so that they would neither speake with us, nor permit us to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would have put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept us within the bay, & inforced us to come to an anker under Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply up to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, & the wind against us, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape

The bar of the haven of Ramea.

They depart from Ramea.

Isle Blanch or the White Isle.

The river of Cape Briton.

Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Savages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary us thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd river, and from the sayd river to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40 leagues to the river, and from the river to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me & the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of June we sent our boat on shore in a great bay upon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arrived on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske on shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay upon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told us that their ship was cast away upon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and upon a rocke within a mile of the shore, upon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her up into a

Their arrivall in the Isle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel cast away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboord many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men even to their very shirts, and using them in savage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians have aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his divine providence and unspeakeable mercy had not onely preserved all the men, but brought us thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboord of us: whom we used well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gave him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompense whereof he gave us two hogsheads of sider, one barrell of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their stage, we saw it uncovered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceive whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelve of the clocke we tooke a Savages boat which our men pursued: but all the Savages ran away into the

Woods on the Isle of Cape Briton.

[III. 198.]

woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the evening three of the Savages, whose boat we had, came unto us for their boat; to whom we gave coats and knives, and restored them their boat againe. The next day being the first of July, the rest of the Savages came unto us, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gave coats and knives, and other trifles. These Savages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that ever we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net above 140. The fourth of July in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port under an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told us, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recovery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Johannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in unto them in peace, they would assist us what they might. This answere we had the sixt day: and the seventh in the fornoone we arrived in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Johannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ship to have

The Savages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ship.

Cibo an harborow in the Isle of Cape Briton.

New Port.

Port Ingles.

them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to restore us the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also have satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere unto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboord, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboord unto him, and desired to have our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our umpires, and what they should advise I would stand unto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace unto them, they would so set me aboord my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most unjustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with us. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and having by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their advantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboord, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our lives: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft us: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at us: for we were to passe by them unto our ship: but we rescued our shallop under our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had served our turne, to have made them to [III. 199.] repent their evill dealing, and to restore us our owne againe, or els to have suncke their ships if we could. But the winde served not our turne for that purpose; but caried us to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discover dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost us: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selves to be neere the shore: and in the evening it pleased God to give us for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selves to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from us. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same evening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence; who presently upon the entrance of our men surrendred up their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Islands.

A Spanish ship taken.

to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put five or sixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. John de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (having received intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped unto them overland) on the sudden surprised the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made unto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that unlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last upon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to save their lives, they yeelded up the ship againe, upon condition, that they should not injury any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their covenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and using them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arrived in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord unto us, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde us the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with five hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke

M. Crafton

the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with us: and the same day we set saile from thence. The 24 we had advice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within five or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discover the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the Racheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could unto the ship of Bell isle, which first began with us with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed us. And we also sent one unto them: then being approched nere unto them ten or twelve of us went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with us to make fast unto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come up to ayd us. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselves to their close fights, playing chiefly upon us with shot & pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

[III. 200.]

the sea; which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld unto our mercy. There were of them in the ship above forty men, most whereof we sent aboord of our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded unto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should have had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboord, and there we taried untill the second of August, fitting our selves for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather served us. During our abode there we divided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolved to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against us by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, having taken in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our provision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceive them. To conclude, they sent us

A Briton ship of 200 tunnes, taken.

word that they would keepe us company for England. But I had given William Crafton commission before to go for the Islands of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, having a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping us company untill midday, whenas having lost us in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seventy fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of judgements, and evill marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East, and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time untill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after divers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gave certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine observations touching the countreys and places where we travelled.

THe Newfoundland we found very subject to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and upon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure severall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Menego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds upon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paved street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. [III. 201.] The second is little lesse. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these three lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, having also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelve or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to have bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, prevented us.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore upon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore upon it in five places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnesse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of divers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

Certaine voyages containing the Discoverie of the Gulfe of Sainct Laurence to the West of Newfoundland, and from thence up the river of Canada, to Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other places: with a description of the temperature of the climate, the disposition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the soile, and other matters of speciall moment.

The first relation of Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Jaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behave themselves truely and faithfully in the service of the most Christian King of France, under the charge of the sayd Carthier, upon the twentieth day of April 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that upon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude * . But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrained to enter into an haven called S. Katherins haven, distant from the other Port about five leagues toward Southsoutheast: there did we stay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dressed our boats.

[III. 202.]

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Isle of Birds.

UPon the 21 of May the winde being in the West, we hoised saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista until we came to the Island of Birds, which was environed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that unlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to have bene brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many hovering about it as within; some of the which are as big as jayes, blacke and white, with beaks like unto crowes: they lie alwayes upon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire levell to the water; they are also exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, every ship did powder and salt five or sixe barrels full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx; and how we came to Carpunt.

BEsides these, there is another kinde of birds which hover in the aire, and over the sea, lesser then the others; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselves under the wings of other birds that are greater: these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite even as dogs: those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great

A great white beare.

as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea; and upon Whitsunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt, where, because we could not come out of it, we stayed til the ninth of June, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the sayd Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

Les Chasteaux.

Carpunt.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad.

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parted into Islands one so nere the other, that there are but small rivers betweene them; thorow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it five and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side & point of the East, because that every where there is nothing els but shelves, and the water is very shallow: you must go about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd Carpunt.

Also you are to take heed of three shelves that are in the chanell under the water: and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water is of three or foure fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on shore.

Of the Island which now is called S. Katherins Island.

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West & by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seven, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island & [III. 203.] the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heede of a shelfe that lyeth about 3. leagues outward from the said white Sands on the Southwest side above water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon, or white Sands.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon, or the white Sand: of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the Islettes.

WHite Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two

Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes under the ground even as Conies. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes unto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and in longitude*. From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreover the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and over them are the other lands above mentioned seene.

Brest a place to the North in Newfound land.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the Islettes.

UPon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selves with water and wood, and to make us ready to passe the saide Bay. Upon S. Barnabas day Service being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selves stayed in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The Islettes.

[Of the

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Servans Port, James Cartiers Port: of the river called S. James: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

THe next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good haven, which we named S. Antonies Haven, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little river towarde the Southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set up a Crosse, and named it S. Servans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and river, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Oven, environed about with many other litle Ilands that give notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater river, in which we tooke good store of salmon, that we named S. James his River. Being in the said river, we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to have gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere unto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West then the said river of S. James, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it James Carthiers Sound. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeve that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and unruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing in stead of a naile, and with them

The river of S. Jaques.

they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments then the men do, with their wastes girded: they paint themselves with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could understand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the saide Seales and other necessaries for their living.

[III. 204.] *Boats made of the barke of Birch trees.*

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed Cape, Cape Royal, and The Cape of Milke: of the mountaines of Granges: of the Ilands of Dove houses: and of the great fishing of Cods.

UPon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather was faire, and upon Sunday we caused Service to be saide: then on munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest, and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed unto us to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one above the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about us. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about five or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges.

The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not have sight of any land, but in the evening we spied an entrance into the land, by a river among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from us. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would have notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good havens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southwest untill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like dove houses, and therefore wee named them The dove houses. And from the Bay of S. Julian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and above round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, above which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some rivers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible may be: for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke above an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royal, and The Cape of milke.

THe next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against us, that we were constrained to go backe toward Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discover betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that above the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut up. The foresaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselves more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude * . That night we found no harborough, and therefore we lanched out into the Sea, leaving the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. John.

FRom the said day untill the 24 of the moneth being S. Johns day we had both stormie weather and winde against us, with such darkenesse and mistes, that untill S. Johns day, we could have no sight of any land, and then had we sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Johns day, we named it Cape S. John.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beasts and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin.

[III. 205.]

THe next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west, and in the evening wee put our selves athwart untill the second quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest & by West about seven leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. John, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore wee went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and upright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were severed in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to those of that Iland that we above have mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed above a thousand of those Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might have filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About five leagues from the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is environed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands have the best soile that ever we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to have bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, strawberies, damaske roses, parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the said Iland are very great beastes as great as oxen, which

Three Ilands.

The Islands of Margaulx.

Morses or Sea oxen.

have two great teeth in their mouths like unto Elephants teeth, & live also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares & wolves: we named it Brions Iland. About it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great shortning, aswel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-Southwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of June we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against us. That day we went 15 leagues.

Brions Iland.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

THe next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole unto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, over which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape, very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About five leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because upon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the River of Boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

FRom Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of sand, and having sounded toward Southwest even to the shoare about five leagues, wee found twentie and five fadome water, and within one league twelve fadome, and very neere the shoare sixe fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anckorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth save one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward untill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without [III. 206.] any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the evening toward Sunne set, that wee discovered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond us West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceived that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. *An exceeding goodly land.* Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelves and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly river, but very shallow, which we named The river of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the river. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat us against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selves with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of July, we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had sight of Cape Orleance, and of another about seven leagues from us, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the North-side of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelfe, and banke of stones. Whilest wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes unto us that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing us come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle staffe, and then came to our ships againe. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I have said already, it is a very low land, and environed round about with great shelves. Neverthelesse we went that day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, ashes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to us unknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, even like unto Rie, which seemed to have bene sowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoves, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

Varietie of goodly trees.

[Of the

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

THe next day being the second of July we discovered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward us, that did joyne unto the land abovesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middest whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, & as farre off as we could ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelves about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a crosse the said Capes, discovered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile until the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to have a sight of the land that we had left on the Northeast side, above the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceived hope that wee should finde a passage, like unto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest. The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that ever wee have seene, as

The passage de Chasteaux.

plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

Trees able to mast ships of 300. tunnes.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselves, but being terrified with our Culverins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

[III. 207.]

THe Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of July we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to finde some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of July until the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Service being done, wee with one of our boates went to discover a Cape and point of land that on the Westerne side was about seven or eight leagues from us, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the said point, and a great number of the men went on shore making a great noise, beckening unto us that wee should come on land, shewing us certaine skinnes upon pieces of wood, but because we

Fortie or 50 boates of Salvages.

had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the Sea: they seeing us flee, prepared two of their boats to follow us, with which came also five more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere unto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of joy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we understood not. But because (as we have said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes unto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward us: and suddenly with their boates compassed us about: and because they would not away from us by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselves to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and having staid a while, they began anew, even as at the first to come to us againe, and being come neere our boat wee strucke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour unto them, that with great hast they beganne to flee, and would no more follow us.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the said wilde men with great joy began to trafique with our men.

THe next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being advertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw us, they began to flee, making signes that they came to trafique with us, shewing us, such skinnes as they cloth themselves withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes unto them, that we wished them no evill: and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and cary them knives with other Iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinnes, and so began to deale with us, seeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, stil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gave us whatsoever they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to goe backe againe naked, and made us signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we having sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth foorth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

UPon thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discover the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed until noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that over the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: & sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood upon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came unto us, and brought up pieces of Seales ready sodden, [III. 208.] putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves, they would make signes unto us, that they did give them us. Wee sent two men unto them with hatchets, knives, beads, & other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to have of our wares. They were more then 300. men, women and children: some of the women which came not over, wee might see stand up to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the river where we were, came very friendly to us, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them up toward heaven, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gave us all whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They live onely with fishing. They have an ordinarie time to fish for their provision. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and level. There is no place be it never so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like unto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowen and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Three hundred gentle Savages.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, living and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke upon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and dis-

A.D. 1534.

cover further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, betweene the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast ancker for that night. The next morning we hoised saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against us, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoised up saile, and came to the middest of a river five or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being overthwart the said River, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained upon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the river, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an ancker, and we were constrained to goe up higher into the river seven or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the evill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the said harborough till the five and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships. We gave them knives, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands up to heaven dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth five souce. They goe altogether naked saving their privities, which are covered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast upon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shaven, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow upon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, & then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot upon their heads. They have no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne upside downe, and under them they lay themselves all along upon the bare ground. They eate their flesh almost raw, save onely that they heate it a little upon imbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Upon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the river, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signes, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the yong women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that [III. 209.] stayed with them, to ech of which we gave a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw us give something unto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end they should have as much as the others: These women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell upon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their maner of cherishing and making much of one, who gave to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of Mackrels, that they had taken upon the shore, with certaine nets that they make to fish, of a kind of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they never come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I understand, there groweth likewise a

Hempe.

kinde of Millet as big as Peason, like unto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They have also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They have also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they have not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they have it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they have, they would with signes shew us how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeves, for they will filch and steale whatsoever they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

Maiz.

Damsins, figs, nuts, apples.

¶ How our men set up a great Crosse upon the point of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

UPon the 24 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the sayd haven, in the middest whereof we hanged up a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Vive le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it upon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it up. So soone as it was up, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heaven, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes unto them, shewing them the Heavens, and that all our salvation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then upon

This haven seemeth to be Gaspay.

the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boates, but they came not so neere us as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration unto us, shewing us the crosse we had set up, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew us all the Countrey about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set up any crosse without his leave. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, wherat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should have no harme, nor any injurie offred them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set up to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, & afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about every ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gave to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes unto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with five or sixe men in every one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand,

Two savages taken.

making signes that they would not remove the crosse we had set up.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discover the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

THe next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the river, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said river, the land is [III. 210.] environed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the river about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape S. Alvise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went over it.

ON munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we have said, lying Southeast & Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we have seene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Alvise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude*. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Alvise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and rivers: wee went about the sayd lands, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending Northwest, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, untill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go five miles farther, the winds were so great, and the tide against us. And at five miles end, we might plainely see and perceive land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about five leagues from us, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, & craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S Johns Cape: and then was the tide with us, which caried us against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went over, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

Fifty degrees of latitude.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

AFter we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against us, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for us with 13 oares to row or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leave our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which having seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready under saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to have their advice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that every one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare sway, and blow, & that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreover, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take us, it were not possible for us to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selves homeward. Nowe because upon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty five leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made upon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe us toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came

The Streit of S. Peter.

[III. 211.]

with two boates and twelve men unto us, and as freely came unto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gave us to understand, that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was upon that Cape, making signes unto us, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, environed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether environed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelves more then foure or five leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that upon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and upon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

FRom the sayd Wednesday untill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused us to run Eastnortheast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great stormie winds comming from the East with great rage: wherfore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we have sayd) all environed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought us within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the White Sands. And this is so much as we have discovered. After that, upon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard service, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred: then had we faire weather, and upon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discovered, called New France.

God	——	Gold	henyosco
the Sunne	Isnez	the privie members	assegnega
the Heaven	camet		
the Day	——	an Arrow	cacta
the Night	aiagla	a greene Tree	haveda
Water	ame		
Sand	estogaz	an earthen dish	undaco
a Sayle	aganie		
the Head	agonaze	a Bow	——
the Throate	conguedo	Brasse	aignetaze
the Nose	hehonguesto	the Brow	ansce
the Teeth	hesangue	a Feather	yco
the Nayles	agetascu	the Moone	casmogan
the Feete	ochedasco	the Earth	conda
the Legs	anoudasco	the Wind	canut
a dead man	amocdaza	the Raine	onnoscon
a Skinne	aionasca	Bread	cacacomy
that Man	yca	the Sea	amet
a Hatchet	asogne	a Ship	casaomy
a Cod fish	gadagoursere	a Man	undo
		the Haires	hoc hosco
good to be eaten	guesande	the Eyes	ygata
		the Mouth	heche
Flesh	——	the Eares	hontasco
Almonds	anougaza	the Armes	agescu
Figs	asconda	a Woman	enrasesco

[III. 212.]

a sicke Man	alovedeche	red cloth	cahoneta
Shooes	atta	a Knife	agoheda
a skinne to cover a mans privy members	ouscozon vondico	a Mackrell	agedoneta
		Nuttes	caheya
		Apples	honesta
		Beanes	sahe
		a Sword	achesco

A shorte and briefe narration of the Navigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and divers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, upon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine James Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we devoutly each one confessed our selves, and received the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selves before the Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed us all, being in his Bishops roabes. The Wednesday following, being the 19 of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twenty tunne, wherin the foresaid Captaine James Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montcevell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, John Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines under the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. James Maingare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, untill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that ever went on seas: so that the 25 of June, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfound land where we had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary windes tost to and fro on the sea, untill the seventh of July, upon which day we arrived in Newe found land, and came to the Island called The Island of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily have bene fraighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selves filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole elevated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Upon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, & with a prosperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete & stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a readines, taking in both water, wood, & other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, & sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which

The Isle of birds in 49 *degrees* 40 *minutes.*

The Bay des Chasteaux or The Grand Bay.

doe stretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East & West, Northeast & Southwest, having betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of July, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are five rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seven leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East & on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre untill midnight we sailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues [III. 213.] from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand, upon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and went no further that night: The next day being the last of July, we went all along the coast that runneth East and West, and somewhat Southeasterly which is all environed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northwest about seven leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in

Cape Thiennot.

our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against us, wherefore we went to seeke a haven wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seven leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S. Nicholas Haven, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Upon the neerest wee for a token set up a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, & then bending toward it, leave it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the haven foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelves that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good havens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelves and sands. We staied and rested our selves in the sayd haven, untill the seventh of August being Sonday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd haven about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no haven there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abovesayd haven about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soever you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discovered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about five and twenty leagues. And of the two

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabast.

The gulfe of S. Laurence.

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde us, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, & that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes journey from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is above a hundreth fadome water. Moreover I beleeve that there were never so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, having passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about five and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceived to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day untill Tewesday noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arrived there, we found the sayd landes, as it were joyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are upon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told us that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirtie leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreover certifie unto us, that there was the way and beginning of the great river of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which river the further it

A mighty skull of Whales.

The Isle of Assumption.

The mouth of the river of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

went the narrower it came, even into Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other lands, & coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discovered.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North. [III. 214.]

Chap. 2.

UPon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like unto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seven very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Overthwart these lands there are divers sandy shelves more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the sayd river, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water.

The seven Isles.

A swift river.

Sea-horses.

There are in this river many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told us, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discover, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, & that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds & foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a haven on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This haven is over against three flat Islands that lie amidst the river, because on the midway betweene those Islands, & the sayd haven toward the North, there is a very great river that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelves, & there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere unto the said shelves, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest & by South. The said haven wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluce of the waters that rise by the flood, & but of smal accompt: we named them S. Johns Islets, because we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said haven, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage saving only for smal boats. The haven of S. Johns Islets dryeth up all the waters that rise

The Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec.

A haven on the Southerne coast.

A great river.

S. Johns Islets.

by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is over against the said haven, whereby the bancke or shore of the Island riseth. Upon the first of September we departed out of the said haven, purposing to go toward Canada; & about 15 leagues from it toward the West, & West-southwest, amidst the river, there are three Islands, over against the which there is a river which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told us. This river passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hils of bare stone, where very little earth is, & notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, even as upon good & fertile ground, in such sort that we have seene some so great as wel would suffise to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd river we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceive, very fearfully came toward us, so that some of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere us as easily they might heare & understand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, upon whose word they came to us. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd river to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very unconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: & coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

This is the river of Tadascu or of Saguenay.

[III. 215.]

The river of Saguenay.

About five leagues beyond the river of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to have cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish never before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a Porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as snow without any spot, within which river there is great quantitie of them: they doe live altogither betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde us that they be very savory and good to be eaten. Moreover they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that river. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more upward into the river, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little haven or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeaux in France at every tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts. Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in savour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The seventh of the moneth being our Ladies even, after service we went from that Iland to goe up higher into the river, and came to 14 Ilands seven or eight leagues

Innumerable Tortoises.

The Ile of Coudres or Filberds.

from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and five in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely live by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the river affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anker betwene the said great Iland, & the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with us, meeting with many of those countrey people, who would not at all approch unto us, but rather fled from us, untill our two men began to speake unto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to rejoyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countreymen and weomen, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously received and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to have them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gave them many small gifts, but of small value: neverthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelve boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched unto us with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna over against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, mooving all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them & they with him, where they began

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maiz.

to tell and shew unto him what they had seene in France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they use to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gave them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leave of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe up higher into the river, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed up the river against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place seemed to us very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, *Santa Croix.* we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came [III. 216.] thither. Neere unto it, there is a village, whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called *Stadacona.* Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees even as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, under which groweth as faire tall *Goodly hemp.* hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Having considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the river we met comming against us one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the fashion of their countrey, in signe of mirth and joy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing up to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward us, caused the boat wherein they were, to come unto him, and gave them certaine trifles, as knives, and beades of glasse, whereat they were marvellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceived of our comming, we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the river of The holy Crosse.

Chap. 3.

After we were come with our boats unto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of us seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelve leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, unlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we have said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete us, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and divers gestures of gladnesse

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

and mirth, except those two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who seemed to have altered and changed their mind and purpose, for by no meanes they would come unto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driven into the water, and set up, that the better and safelier we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete us there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the rest of their company, who kept themselves aside under a point or nooke of land that is upon the shore of a certaine river, and no one of them came unto us as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine understanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and divers other: and after salutations given on ech side, Taignoagny setled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieve and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeve them, yet would not he leave them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceive, that whatsoever Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a marvellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one having taken leave of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the river and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then five hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelve of the chiefest of the countrey came aboord of our ships, who were all courteously received, [III. 217.] and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of us all: and divers gifts of small value were given them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the river was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leave off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should have such a gift given him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned even as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said river, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle upon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelve yeeres old, which he presented unto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of joy and league of friendship: presently upon that he did present unto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giving of which even as before they gave out shreekes and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine gave the saide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter unto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only given him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were onely given him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leave his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had given him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, upon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceived that Taignoagny was but a craftie knave, and that he intended but mischiefe and treason, as well by this deede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought unto him, and them he gave to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thankes unto our Captaine for them, and presently upon that he commaunded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things, and also, because they had never heard nor seene

A.D. 1535.

any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelve cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themselves to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell us, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselves all to flight, as though they should all have bene slaine: which afterward we found untrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, devised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Divels, fayning themselves to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

Chap. 4.

THe next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endevoured themselves to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and devised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Divels, being wrapped in dogges skinnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, [III. 218.] looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Divels were, might approch and come neere us, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood comming to us, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would have the boate to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come unto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Divels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking toward us, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Divels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate even as if they had beene dead: then were they taken up and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then every one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with us, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted above halfe an houre, & being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards us, holding their hands upward joyned together, carying their hats under their upper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking up to heaven, cryed three times Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Jesus Maria, James Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ayled, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe unto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoever went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said: then bade we them shew his messengers from us, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeve in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Jesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he tolde them they should have faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes unto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great joy, so soone as they were before our ships, they altogither gave out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga, unlesse he would leave him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leave off his journey thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way upon the said river.

Chap. 5.

THe next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe up the river with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the river, which rather seemed to have bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the river many houses

Vines laden with grapes.

inhabited of Fishers, which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse unto us, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought us great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting up their hands toward heaven, gave many signes of joy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about five and twentie leagues from Canada, where the river waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came unto us, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere us, did by evident signes and gestures shew us, that the higher the river went, the more dangerous it was, and bade us take heede of our selves. The said Lord presented and gave unto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being [III. 219.] a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gave him againe, because it was too young, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receive the said Lord and his company, giving them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came unto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing unto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth untill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed up along the saide river, never losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possible can be wished for, full (as we have said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partriges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales,

Hochelay.

Sparrowes of diverse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, even as in France, and great plentie and store. Upon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the river five or sixe leagues broad, and twelve long, all that day we went against the tide, having but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to have bene closed and shut up round about, and there was but a fadome and a halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or five branches, which out of the river come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or five fadome, and as farre as we could perceive by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or five branches do compasse about five or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Ilands, and met with five men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had ever bene brought up togither. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of five yeeres old: so strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that live in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gave unto our Captaine, who for a recompence gave them knives and

The lake of Angolesme.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainement we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

They leave their Pinnesse behind.

THe next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, John Gouion, John Powlet, with twentie & eight Mariners: and Mace Jallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge under the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe up as farre as they could into that river: we sayled with good and prosperous weather untill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse five and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought us fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly rejoycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gave them knives, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete us above a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receive us as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on

Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angolesme 45. leagues.

another: after that they brought us great store of fish, & of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our [III. 220.] boates so thicke, that you would have thought it to fall from heaven. Which when our Captaine saw, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as ever we were aland they came clustring about us, making very much of us, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to have our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their loving kindnesse and entertainement of us, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gave them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gave knives: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tongue signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with five Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

Chap. 7.

The third of October.

OUr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also five Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leaving the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of

Hochelaga sixe miles from the river side.

the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe us beckned and made signes upon us, that we must rest us in that place where they had made a great fire and so we did. After that we had rested our selves there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, even as we have saide above, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a joyfull countenance, and good will, who gave him two hatchets, a paire of knives and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gave our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is even as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger then small peason, wherewith they live even as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were joyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse above. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly joyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelve, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly joyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of every one there is a great

This Millet is Maiz.

The description of Hochelaga.

Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common togither: then doe the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They have certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beate our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then cover it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ovens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they have great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They have also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserve and keepe their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and live therewith in winter, whereof they make great provision, as we by experience have seene. All their viands and meates are without any tast or savour of salt at all. They sleepe upon barkes of trees laide all along upon the ground being over-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and cover themselves. The thing most precious that they have in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said river of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserved death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine knives they give great slashes and strokes upon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the river, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leave it ten or 12 houres, then they take it up againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their

Maiz, pease, beanes, musk-millions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fish and the preserving thereof.

[III. 221.]

Esurgni good to stanch blood.

necks, even as we doe chaines of gold and silver, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They have this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we have prooved it. These people are given to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they have no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they have no knowledge of it, and that is, because they never travell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst that river be subjects unto them.

How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gave them, with divers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before us after their fashion, making very much of us: we were by our guides brought into the middest of the towne. They have in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselves together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soever they could touch, weeping for very joy that they saw us, shewing us the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring us with their signes, that it would please us to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves backe, then they every one sate downe on the ground round about us, as if they would have shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe, every one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused us to sit upon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought upon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting upon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe upon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, every one beckning unto us that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gave it unto our Captaine: that done they brought before him divers diseased men, some blinde, some criple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and covered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come downe from heaven to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and devotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint John, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Service-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, & were marvellously attentive, looking up to heaven, and imitating us in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, & likewise the children on an other, & to the chiefest of them he gave hatchets, to the other knives, & to the women beads & such other small trifles. Then where ye children were, he cast rings, counters, & brooches made of Tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other musicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leave and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselves before to stay us, and brought us out of their meates that they had made readie for us, as fish, pottage, beanes, and such other things, thinking to make us eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no savour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gave them to understand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diverse of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roial, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and plainely see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being levell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled: and in the middest of those fieldes we saw the river further up a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide and large as our sight might discerne, going Southwest along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we judged about fifteene leagues from us. Those which brought us thither tolde and shewed us, that in the sayd river there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we

[III. 222.]

Mount Roial.

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.

The 3 saults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

had left our boates: but because we could not understand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreover they shewed us with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three moneths more alongst that River, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great river, which (even as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the river that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooved or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed us that such stuffe came from the said River, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as evill people, who goe all armed even to their fingers ends. Also they shewed us the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gave us also to understande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not understand them well, we could not perceive how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed us that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them up on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieved and displeased them very much, for they followed us along the river as farre as they could: we went so fast that on munday being the fourth of October

The river of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and silver.

Red copper in Saguenay.

wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seventh day we came against a river that commeth from the North, and entred into that river, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that river The river of Fovetz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the river, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set up, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe up the saide river, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went up as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled downe the river.

How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Chap. 9.

UPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogither closed with great peeces of timber set upright [III. 223.] and very well fastened togither: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie things to shield and defend themselves from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite us, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserved it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete us, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, & the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and received one another, our Captaine gave them knives and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giving ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gave him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed us the skins of five mens heads spread upon boords as we doe use parchment: Donnacona told us that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreover they told us, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea even into the said river, in an Iland that lyeth over against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would have come out of it to save themselves, they were all slaine, only five excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing

Stadacona.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

with signes, that one day they would be revenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

The manner how the people of that Countrey live: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

THis people beleeve no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreover they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeve that when they die they go into the stars, & thence by litle & little descend downe into the Horizon, even as the stars doe, & that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, floures, & fruits. After that they had given us these things to understand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceive them, for he is but a Divell & an evill spirit: affirming unto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heaven, and who giveth us all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeve in him: moreover, that it is necessarie for us to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeve, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came unto us, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excused our selves, desiring Taignoagny, & Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, & bring Priests & chrisome with us, for

They desire to be baptized.

without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeve, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They live in common togither: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselves with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and observe the rites of matrimonie, saving that every one weddeth 2 or 3 wives, which (their husbands being dead) do never marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole-dust & grease mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widdowes. They have a filthy [III. 224.] and detestable use in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for every man that will have to doe with them, untill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I have seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, even as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreover, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally togither, shewing whatsoever God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it *Their Maiz.* is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill. They have also great store of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peason and Beanes of every colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great provision for all the yeere, *Tobacco described.*

making great account of it, and onely men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they never goe without some of it about them. We our selves have tryed the same smoke, and having put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto they are greatly given) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to resist cold then savage beastes, for wee with our owne eyes have seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going upon snow & yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that have not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares & Foxes, with divers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, having first dried it in ye sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceive and understand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie & civility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set therunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said river, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we have seene, with the situation of the place.

Chap. 11.

THe said river beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, over against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seven Ilands. The distance over from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middest it is above 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle upon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seven leagues distance, where are also two great rivers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make divers very dangerous shelves in the sea. At the entrance of those two rivers we saw many & great store of Whales and Sea horses. Overthwart the said Ilands there is another little river that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherin there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that river to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the river that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high & steepe hils: it entreth into that river before it commeth to the Province of Canada on the North side. That river is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe upon it. After that river followeth the Province of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said river, many other Ilands, some great & some small, among which there is one that containeth above ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that river Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, convenient and fit for to

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

harborough ships. Hard by there is in that river one place very narrow, deepe, & swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, over against the which there is a goodly high peece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, [III. 225.] that is to say, Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth upon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, under which towne toward the North the river and port of the holy crosse is, where we staied from the 15 of September, untill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we have said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing upon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the sayd countrey on both sides of the river as farre as Hochelay & beyond, is as faire and plaine as ever was seene. There are certaine mountaines farre distant from the said river, which are to be seene above the foresaid townes, from which mountaines divers rivers descend, which fall into the said great river. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, unlesse it be about the places that are inhabited, where they have pulled up the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such like sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great, and divers other sortes of wilde beastes. They cloth themselves with the skinnes of those beasts, because they have nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wilde Geese white and gray, Duckes, Thrushes, Blackbirdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Redbreasts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes,

Rivers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birdes.

even as in France. Also, as we have said before, the said river is the plentifullest of fish that ever hath of any man bene seene or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porposes, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had never seene nor heard of before. They are as great as Porposes, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwene the fresh & salt water, which beginneth betweene the river of Saguenay and Canada.

Fishes.

Of certaine advertisements and notes given unto us by those countreymen, after our returne from Hochelaga.

Chap. 12.

AFter our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and love were conversant with those that dwelt neerest unto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee understood of Donnacona and of others, that the said river is called the river of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorthwest, and that 8 or 9 dayes journey beyond, it wil beare but small boats. But the right and readie way to Saguenay is up that river to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid river, & that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreover, they told us and gave us to understand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they have great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first river to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland environed round about with that and other rivers, and that beyond Saguenay the said river entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of golde & red copper.

Two or three great lakes.

Mare dulcium aquarum.

The river of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angolesme.

a Sea of fresh water found, and as they have heard say of those of Saguenay, there was never man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told us, they themselves were never there. Moreover they told us, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a river that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one against another, where is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes even as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceive and understand by their signes and tokens.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

IN the moneth of December, wee understood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead above 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or us. And albeit we had driven them from us, the said unknowen sicknes began to spread itselfe [III. 226.] amongst us after the strangest sort that ever was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend up to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this sicknesse spread it selfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not helpe the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of us. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recovery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, & that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained and commanded, that every one should devoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set upon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giving all men to understand, that on the Sunday following, service should be said there, and that whosoever could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seven Psalmes of David, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us. Service being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to give him leave to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sickenesse was to us unknowen, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to save and preserve the rest of the company: he was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liver was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither shrunke about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as if it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreover, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and encrease, that there were not above three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe under hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead under the snow, because we were not able to digge any graves for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceive our weakenesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, and some in another, and that he would not have them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole & sound to make a great noyse with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were so oppressed and grieved with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope ever to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked upon us, and revealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases unto us, the best that ever was found upon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

Chap. 14.

FRom the midst of November untill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce above two fadomes thicke, and snow above foure foote high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was above a hand-breadth thicke, as well above hatches as beneath, and so much of the river as was fresh, even to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which space there died five and twentie of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should never recover againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitifull eye upon us, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recoverie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recovered our health: and the maner how to use it. [III. 227.]

Chap. 15.

OUr Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst us) one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking upon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelve dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a child of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat marvellous glad, hoping to understand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the juice and sappe of the leaves of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it was a singular remedy against that disease. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a servant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with Donnacona, was striken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelve branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to use it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaves of the sayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the sayd decoction every other day, and to put the dregs of it upon his legs that is sicke: moreover, they told us, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captain presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast & prove it: the other seeing that did the like, and presently recovered their health, and were delivered of that sickenes, & what other disease soever, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or five yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proved to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Lovaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexan-

A perfect remedy against the French Pocks.

dria, they would not have done so much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

How the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and divers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

Chap. 16.

WHile that disease lasted in our ships, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Ajounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the river that they could sayle: it was told us of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, & we beleeved it, but they stayed above two moneths, which made us mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against us, and do us some displeasure, we seeing our selves so weake & faint. Albeit we had used such diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could have done nothing but looke upon us: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought us fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with divers other things, but held them at such an excessive price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them. *A long winter.*

[How Donnacona

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not come to visit our Captaine, fained himself to be sore sicke, which he did only to have the Captaine come see him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with divers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to [III. 228.] see, and tolde us that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see us, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the proverb sayth) he that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about us, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leave one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it us, and durst not passe the river that was betwixt Stadacona and us, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this, sent one of his servants to them, accompanied with John Poulet being best beloved of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet & the other fained themselves onely to be come to visit Donnacona, & bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoever they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were never wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much favour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had received some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for ever be bound unto him, and would doe for him whatsoever hee would command him, and bade the servant come againe the next day, and bring an answere. Our Captain being advertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew unto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and marvels of the world, for that Donnacona had told us, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselves with woollen cloth even as we doe in France. Moreover he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and even from his childehood had never left off nor ceased from travailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and rivers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet, and the other having tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his servant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to

Rubies, Gold, and woolen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians.

our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from us, as if we would have slaine them, so that then wee plainely perceived their knavery.

The towne of Sidatin.

But because they understood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leave, to have the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the river to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come over: Taignoagny, and Domagaia stood talking together above an houre before they would come over, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leave him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should never returne into France againe, and therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

[III. 229.]

How that upon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set up in our Forte: and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

THe third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set up, under the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and over them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And upon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women, and children, who told us that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, & entred into our ships: but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, & that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiving that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, & two more of the chiefest whom he pointed unto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call unto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, even as sheepe before the woolfe, some crossing over the river, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne advantage. That

Donnacona, Taignoagny, & Domagaia taken.

done, we retired our selves, and laid up the prisoners under good guard and safety.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolves: of the talke and conclusion they agreed upon the next day: and of the gifts which they gave our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

THe night following they came before our ships, (the river being betwixt us) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolves, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes unto us, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as ever we saw, who went to hide themselves in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake unto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought up on high to speake unto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed unto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelve moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would give him great rewards, whereat Donnacona was very glad, and speaking to the others, told it them, who in token of joy, gave out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the river, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, & that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giving great praise to our captaine, and gave him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest

Foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny

A.D. 1536.

and preciousest riches they have in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or silver. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to avoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serve him by the way. Our Captaine gave Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Knives, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wives and children. Likewise, he [III. 230.] gave to them that came to speake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the sayd people came againe to speake unto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

UPon the fifth of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake unto their Lord, and sent a Boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they live withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell those women that hee should come againe after ten or twelve moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd onely to appease them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giving our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would give him many things: in signe whereof, each one gave our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the river againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leave of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelve leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and upon Sonday we came to the Island of Filberds, where wee stayed untill the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the river, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Donnaconas subjects came from the river of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia advertised, that their Lord was taken to bee caryed into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leave to come to our ships, to speake to Donnacona, who told them that after twelve moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well used by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gave their Lord three bundles of Beavers, and sea Woolves skinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gave also to our Captaine a chayne of Esurgny, for which our Captaine gave them ten or twelve Hatchets, and they gave him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about five leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and avoide the dangers of the river of Saguenay, which are great. That evening we went aland and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to

The Isle of Orleans.

Isle de Coudres.

A knife of red copper brought from Saguenay.

The Isle of Hares.

returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage untill that time had not bene discovered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was good and convenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The sayd Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Upon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted over to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, above which are large Champaines, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceive any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where wee stayed till the beginning of June, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming unto us as an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth devide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seven degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a river, but there is no haven of any worth.

The Isle of Brion.

[III. 231.]

Above these lands we saw another cape toward the South, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of June, and Whitsonday, wee had notice of the coaste lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against us, wee went to a Haven, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast untill wee came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelves, which lye all in the way Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleventh of the moneth, until the sixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Rase, and entred into a Port called Rognoso, where wee tooke in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then upon Monday, being the nineteenth of June, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that upon the sixt of July 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Navigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant us his grace and favour, and in the end bring us to the place of everlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of us called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	Indahir	6
Tigneni	2	Aiaga	7
Hasche	3	Addigue	8
Hannaion	4	Madellon	9
Oviscon	5	Assem	10

Here follow the names of the chiefest partes of man, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	aggonzi
the Browe	hegueniascon
the Eyes	higata
the Eares	abontascon
the Mouth	esahe
the Teeth	esgongay
the Tongue	osnache
the Throat	agonhon
the Beard	hebelim
the Face	hegouascon
the Haires	aganiscon
the Armes	ajayascon
the Flanckes	aissonne
the Stomacke	aggruascon
the Bellie	eschehenda
the Thighes	hetnegradascon
the Knees	agochinegodascon
the Legges	agougueneHonde
the Feete	onchidascon
the Hands	aignoascon
the Fingers	agenoga
the Nailes	agedascon
a Mans member	ainoascon
a Womans member	castaigne
an Eele	esgueny
a Snaile	undeguezi
a Tortois	heuleuxima
Woods	conda
leaves of Trees	hoga

God	cudragny
give me somedrink	quazahoaquea
give me to breakfast	quaso hoa quascaboa
give me my supper	quaza hoa quatfriam
let us goe to bed	casigno agnydahoa
a Man	aguehum
a woman	agruaste
a Boy	addegesta
a Wench	agniaquesta
a Child	exiasta
a Gowne	cabata
a Dublet	caioza
Hosen	hemondoha
Shooes	atha
a Shirt	amgoua
a Cappe	castrua
Corne	osizi
Bread	carraconny
Water	ame
Flesh	quahouascon
Reisins	queion
Damsons	honnesta
Figges	absconda
Grapes	ozoba
Nuttes	quahoya
a Hen	sahomgahoa
a Lamprey	zisto
a Salmon	ondacon
a Whale	ainne honne
a Goose	sadeguenda
a Streete	adde

[III. 232.]

Cucumber seede	casconda
to Morrowe	achide
the Heaven	quenhia
the Earth	damga
the Sunne	ysmay
the Moone	assomaha
the Starres	stagnehoham
the Winde	cohoha
goodmorrow	aignag
let us go to play	casigno caudy
come & speak with me	assigniquaddadia
looke upon me	quagathoma
hold your peace	aista
let us go with ye boat	casigno casnovy
give me a knife	buazahca agoheda
a Hatchet	adogne
a Bow	ahenca

a Darte	quahetan
let us goe a hunting	Casigno donnascat
a Stagge	aionnesta
a Sheepe	asquenondo
a Hare	Sourhanda
a Dogge	agaya
a Towne	canada
the Sea	agogasy
the waves of the sea	coda
an Island	cohena
an Hill	agacha
the yce	honnesca
Snow	camsa
Colde	athau
Hotte	odazani
Fier	azista
Smoke	quea
a House	canoca
Beanes	sahe
Cinnamom	adhotathny
my Father	addathy
my Mother	adanahoe
my Brother	addagrim
my Sister	adhoasseve

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloves are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of James Cartiers discovery and Navigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of discovery made by Captaine Jaques Cartier, 1540. unto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

King Francis the first having heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westerne partes discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Majestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Governour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discover more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) unto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be delivered to furnish out the sayd voyage with five shippes: which thing was perfourmed by the sayd Monsieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd five ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two

Ten Savages brought into France.

John Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval.

Great riches & very good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond ye saults.

[III. 233.] former voyages had beene prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberval sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to bee built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberval came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberval the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had provided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the five shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly upon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gave unto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to governe all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd five ships full three moneths before wee could arrive at the Port and Haven

The kings letters to Cartier.

23. *of May,* 1540.

The great mischiefe of leesing the season.

of Canada, without ever having in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serve us to keepe our right course: so that our five shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all save two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre, untill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Haven of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great need of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) untill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of joy for our arrivall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and

Carpont Haven.

Transporting of divers sorts of cattell for breed.

The 23. of August.

The new king of Canada.

the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was upon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them upon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and shewing unto him great signes of joy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe upon his head, and gave him and his wives certaine smal presents, signifying unto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates up the river, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Haven and a small river, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd river, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following, and the rest remayned in the roade in the middest of the river (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August untill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Jolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steven Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to advertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France.

Great dissimulation of a Savage.

A good roade 4. leagues above Saincte Croix.

[III. 234.]

The description of the aforesaid River and Haven.

THe sayd River is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said River there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and divers sorts, which are above tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover there are great store of Okes the most excellent that ever I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard unto this wood on the South side the ground is all covered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreover there are many white Thornes, which beare leaves as bigge as oken leaves, and fruit like unto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naveaus, Lettises and others, which grew and sprong up out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the river is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like unto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in maner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe aswell by the great as by this small river. Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straite and handsome and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as

Trees above 3. fathoms about.

Hanneda the most excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here wee set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naveaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And upon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adjoyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great River is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth even hard unto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaves of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said River there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as ever I sawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the sayd Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and silver: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we have found stones like Diamants, the most faire, pollished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sun shineth upon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

Diamants of Canada.

An yron Mine.

Leaves of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile found in Canada.

Excellent and strong hempe.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe up the great River to discover the passage of the three Saults or falles of the River.

THE sayd Captaine having dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preservation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seventh day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and governement of all things in the Fort. And as they went up the river, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had given unto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would have wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding unto him, hee gave unto him two yong boyes,

[III. 235.]

The Vicount of Beaupre and the rest of their councell.

The rich countrey of Saguenay situated beyond the Saults which are in 44. deg. They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed upon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gave him two Basins of Laton, and certaine hachets and knives: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to rejoyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arrived the eleventh day of the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arrived there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre up as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe up against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine resolved to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made us great cheere, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he had signified unto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with us to shewe us the way, and they brought us so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second Sault, which came and brought us of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered us of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed us and gave us to understand, that wee were at the

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September.

The Towne of Tutonaguy.

Bad ground and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell over against the second Sault.

second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the River was not navigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had travailed, shewing us the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd upon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

They were at the second Sault.

The river not navigable to passe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three Saults.

AFter that we had bene advertised by the sayde people, of the things abovementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne unto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400. persons or thereabout, which seemed to give us very good entertainment and to rejoyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gave eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and unto the chiefe men every one his litle hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of joy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of joy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came up the river, thinking to have found him: But hee coulde find no body save one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told us, saying, that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they should doe against us. And when we were arrived at our Fort, wee understoode by our people, that

400 persons about their boates.

Like those of new Albion.

The Savages are great dissemblers.

[III. 236.]

Maisouna.

The Savages conspire together against the French.

the Savages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of us. Wherefore our Captaine, having bene advertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c.

A very great number of Savages assembled together.

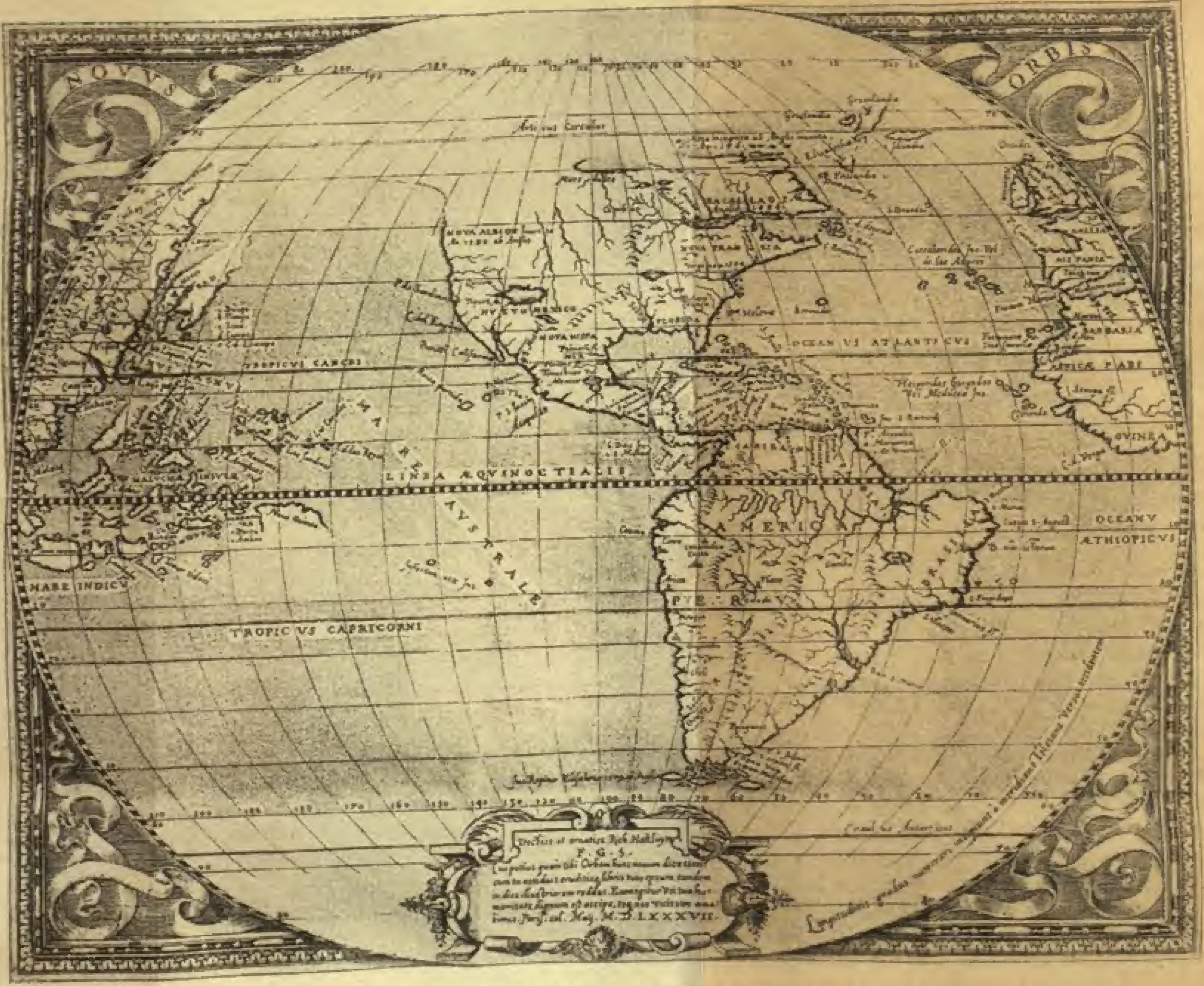
The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. John Growte student in Paris, by Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Jaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discovery.

MAster Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the River of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Jaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is above the Saults, according as the Savages have advertised us, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the River stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the River there is bad ground. It were best to build boates above the Saults: and it is easie to march or travell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not above five leagues journey. I have bene upon the toppe

The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe.

But 5. leagues journey to passe the 3 Saults.


NOVVS
ORBIS
MARE INDICVM
TROPICVS CANCRI
MARE AVSTRALE
LINEA ÆQVINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
NOVA ALBION
NOVA FRANCIA
FLORIDA
NOVA HISPANIA
OCEANVS ATLANTICVS
AFRICÆ PARS
BARBARIA
GVINEA
AMERICA
PERV
BRASILIA
OCEANVS ÆTHIOPICVS
M.D.LXXXVII.

MAP OF THE NEW WORLD, A.D. 1587

DEDICATED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT

of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I have seene the sayd River beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed unto us to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey advertised us, that there are ten dayes journey from the Saults unto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes journey. At this present I cannot write unto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your hearts desire. For S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June. 1587.

Ten dayes journey from the Saults to this great Lake.

Your loving Friend,

Jaques Noel.

COsin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discovery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Underneath the aforesaid unperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. John Growte student in Paris from Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Jaques Cartier.

I Can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captaine Jaques Cartier my uncle disceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: saving of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the River of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I my self have knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I have bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the River is divided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said river somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Jaques Cartier.

The Saults are in the latitude of 44. deg.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

[III. 237.] And about an hundred leagues under the same I found written these two lines following in the said Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloves, which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake unto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I have delivered to my two sonnes Michael and John, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to advertise you thereof.

Your loving Friend, Jaques Noel.

Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the River of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, observed by John Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval, 1542.

BElles Isles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northside therof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, over against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou commest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leave this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou commest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lieth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leave two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the haven of Butes, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger: Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere unto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, & the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land untill it come over against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And

Belle Isle.

Carpont in 52. degrees.

The Grand Bay in 52. and an halfe.

A flatte rocke.

Butes.

The Isle of Blanc Sablon or white sand.

The severall breadths of the Grand Bay.

Blanc Sablon. in 51. deg. 2. third parts.

The Isles de la Damoiselle in 50. deg. 3. fourth parts.

Many Isles & good harbors.

Cape Tienot in 50 deg. one fourth part.

against Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in $51\frac{2}{3}$ degrees. The Isles of Blanc Sablon & the Isles de la Damoiselle, are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the Westsouthwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Iles are in 50. deg. $\frac{3}{4}$. And there is a good haven: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast, and within the distance of a pike & an half, because of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord side, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water over against a litle nooke: and from the great headland unto the place where thou doest ancre there is not above the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starrebord, & give roome unto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larbord side, by reason of a suncken flatte which lieth on the starrebord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, untill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leave it on the larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle unto Newfoundland the sea is not in bredth above 36. leagues, because that Newfoundland even unto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheast & Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot are Northeast & Westsouthwest & take a little of the Northeast and southwest, & they are distant 18 leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and $\frac{1}{4}$. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth of the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in ye sea 5 or 6 leagues distant from it a sunken Iland dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, & they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. & ½. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle unto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not above seven leagues broad, but unto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues. The Isle of Ascension is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all upon white rocks and Alablaster, all covered with trees unto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks. And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northwest end of the Isle & the Cape des Monts nostre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molves or Gaspay is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest unto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate untill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al covered with trees. Ognedoc

The Isle Ascention, Assumption, or Natiscotec.

[III. 238.]

The commendation of the Isle of Ascention.

From Cape Briton to the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascention is but 50 leagues.

The Cape of Montz nostre Dame.

The Bay of Molves or Gaspay.

The Bay de Chaleur or of Heate.

The Bay of Ognedoc.

is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour : and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Haven are two rivers, one which goeth toward the Northwest, and the other to the Southwest.

Greater store and better fish then in Newfoundland.
Foules.
Trees.

And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of river foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, & are distant 35. leagues.

The mouth of the river of Canada twenty five leagues broad.
The 7 Isles in 50 degrees and a halfe.

The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut over from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and ½. The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the river, are North and South: and the cut over from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea.

The river is here but 10 leagues broad.

The point of Ongear in 49 degrees and a quarter.
The Isle of Raquelle in 48 degrees and two third parts.

The poynt of Ongear and the river of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein growe all sortes of trees that are in France and some fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and ¼. And the river of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. In this river of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere unto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Isle to the South shore above one league, and from the Isle unto the North shore about foure leagues. The Isle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islandes neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it sendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here the river from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the river. The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the East and the West, and they are distant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheast & Southsouthwest, and are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre Dame unto Canada and unto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all covered with trees unto the brink of the river. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And from the Isle of Hares unto the Isle of Orleans the

The river 8 leagues broad.

The entrance of Saguenay.

The sea of Cathay.

The river not past 4 leagues over.

The Isle of Hares in 48 and one sixteenth part.

[III. 239.]

Note.

river is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Isle of Hares and the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and an halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is above 100. fathoms deepe in the middest. To the East of the Isle of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Isle Des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks. And you must passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the river there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the chanel: and in the middest runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand.

The isle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3 quarters.

The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and $\frac{3}{4}$. The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the northside about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the river there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee over against a round Cape, thou must take over to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the South; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the river of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth.

The beginning of the fresh water.

And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the river beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the river, and thou shalt leave the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the river is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all covered with

The river but a quarter of a league broad.

trees, and they end over against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all covered with trees even unto the rivers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another River, which falleth into the mayne River at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the middest of the Isle unto Canada the River runneth West; and from the place of Canada unto France-Roy the river turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and unto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle, thou shalt see a great River which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

The Isle of Orleans in 47 degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the West of the Isle of Orleans.

The Fort of France-Roy stood in 47 degrees and one sixt part.

The extension of all these lands, upon just occasion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh River is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and above in breadth. And also because the land is not tylled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel. And here the North starre by the compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place unto the Ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not above 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance of Norumbega unto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and unto ye Isle of Rasus 30

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A second reason.

The variation of ye compasse.

leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entreth into the river of Canada, and unto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy untill a man come foorth of the Grande Bay is not above 230 leagues. And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not above 5 degrees and ⅓ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and silver will be found here, according as the people of the countrey say. These landes lye over against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to have a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discover the coast of New France on the backe side of Florida: for I have bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I have not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not whether it passe through. And in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there have bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there, and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Savages say there bee Unicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doves, ravens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are sowen there, are not past 2. or 3. dayes in comming up out of the ground. I have tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate untill March, and it will be ripe in the middest of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it

From the fort of France Roy unto ye mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leags.

Gold and silver like to be found in Canada.

A Bay in 42. degrees giving some hope of a passage.

[III. 240.]

Trees.

Redde plums.

Fowle.

Corne.

Wheate to be sowen in March.

snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is converted into snowes.

The cause of the often snowing in Canada.

All things above mentioned, are true.

John Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberval.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberval, given in Canada in the presence of the sayde John Alphonse.

The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberval, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

SIr John Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberval, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And having in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saineterre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire fontaine, Dieu lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and John Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seventeenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de-boys. The winde served us notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our journey for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harborough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaigne, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, untill the seventh of June. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint John, where wee founde seventeene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Jaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with five sayles the yeere before, arrived in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Diamonts. Golde found.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Savages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neverthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooved as it seemeth with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discoverie of those partes themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaves departed home for Bretaigne.

Jacques Cartier stole away.

[III. 241.]

Wee spent the greatest part of June in this Harbour of Saint John, partly in furnishing ourselves with fresh water, whereof wee stoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking up of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arrived foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a convenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a convenient place to fortifie ourselves in, fitte to command the mayne River, and of strong situation against all invasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of July, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to travaile in fortifying of our selves. *July.*

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.

HAving described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberval in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arrived in the sayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a Fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arrivall built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward above Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated upon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were divers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere unto it were an Oven and Milles, and a stoove to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated upon the great River of Canada, called France prime, by Monsieur Roberval. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept: and neere unto that Towre there is another small river. In these two places above and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged. *France prime.*

And in the Moneth of August, and in the beginning of September every man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two *August 1542.* *September 14.*

Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes unto the King, and to come backe againe unto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaves weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

The proportion of their victuals.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Savages brought us great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee deprived of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

The length of the winter.

Note that the yce began to breake up in April.

Monsieur Roberval used very good justice, and punished every man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they lived in quiet.

They had women with them.

The maners of the Savages.

[III. 242.]

TO declare unto you the state of the Savages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselves for feare of heat and sunne burning.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes upon them like mantles; and they have a small payre of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they have no shirts: neither cover they their heads, but their hayre is trussed up above the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all unsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They have no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

Their apparell. *So have they of Ceula, and Quivira, and Meta Incognita.* *Their victuals.* *They remove from place to place.* *Fish.* *Beastes.* *Fowle.*

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they live very well; for they take care for nothing else.

Their bread of great Myl or Maiz.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

Drinke of Seale oyle at their great feasts.

They have a King in every Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient unto him: and they doe him honour according unto their maner and fashion. And when they travayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

Their government.

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre.

[The voyage

The voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada unto Saguenay, the fifth of June, 1543.

The 5. of June.

Monsieur Roberval the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said province of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of June 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But upon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode over against the place before mentioned: but on the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, aswell great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The 6. of June.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there untill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the first of July, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

Monsieur de Royeze.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance untill the sayd first day of July, were received by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

The 14 of June.

On Thursday the 14. of June Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeval, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of June aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneufue, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet untill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of July. *The 19 of June.* *Maiz.* *The 22. of July 1543.*

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

The Voyages and Navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and the severall discoveries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the successe of the English colonies there planted: as likewise a description of the Countrey, with the Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are annexed the patents, letters, discourses, &c. to this part belonging. [III. 243.]

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Majestie to M. Walter Ralegh, now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and grant to our trusty and welbeloved servant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, holde, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, priviledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shal goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and every of them, shall have, holde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successors: reserving alwayes to us, our heires and successors, for all services, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countries, and territories shall for ever be holden of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said [III. 244.] Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every of them, that he, and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countryes, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countryes as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving, and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance to us, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd

Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to every of their heires, and they, and every or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, and Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may have all the priviledges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. *Note.* *Free Denization granted.*

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeyes or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civill quietnesse eche with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give & grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, aswell in causes capitall, or criminall, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shal from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people [III. 245.] as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, governement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of us, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soveraigne under God.

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for us, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the privie Counsaile of us, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and servants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and

Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of unjust or unlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Governours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successours, and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Governour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to us, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents, bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selves, at Westminster the five and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigne. *Anno* 1584.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Ralegh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.

[III. 246.]

THe 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements delivered by your selfe at our leaving the river of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember unto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I have presumed to present unto you this briefe discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servantes this our discoverie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by us hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way have bene expected, or hoped for.

A Southerly course not greatly needful for Virginia.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more South-easterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Havana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very unwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that having refreshed our selves with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arrivall there. These Islands, with the rest adjoyning, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A sweet smell from the land.

The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and " to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and

The first river.

" July 13 possession taken.

Abundance of grapes.

my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

The Isle of Wokokon.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adjoyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

Goodly Cedars, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras.

[III. 247.]

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes us having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and wee being then all within boord, he walked up and downe upon the point of the land next unto us: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, never making any

Conference with a Savage.

shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creeke adjoyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he devided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites received, departed out of our sight.

Abundance of fish.

The arrival of the kings brother.

The next day there came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Majestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matte upon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offred from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwardes on ours, to shewe wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all love, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech unto us, wee presented him with divers things, which hee received very joyfully, and thankefully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adjoyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swordes: but wee would not

Trafficke with the Savages.

Tinne much esteemed.

depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee delivered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, have five or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettal it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wives, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne, and chestnut coloured haire.

White corall Perles.

[III. 248.]

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, divers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the governours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Governours, then these doe. The

Kings brothers wife, when she came to us (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they have any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and ever where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long pooles, as the depth serveth.

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths: in May they sow, in July they reape, in June they sow, in August they reape: in July they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selves prooved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they have also Beanes very faire of divers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there are above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like: they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seven more went twentie mile into the River, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, wee came to an Island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo the kings brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe

Roanoak Island.

[III. 249.]

The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife.

our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate.

A solemn banket.

After we had thus dryed our selves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of divers kindes, and divers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting,

Their Idole.

whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening and would not tary all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remooving the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiving our jelousie, was much greived, and sent divers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, though there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall.

Skicoake great towne.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & sixe dayes journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee above one houres journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes journey is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserved.

A ship cast away.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island unhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes unto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and having taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found upon the coast, cast a land in another Island adjoyning: other then these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these [III. 250.] people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred marvelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvelous admiration, & all things els were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have besides a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol,

Their weapons.

of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civill dissentions which have happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Or Pananuaioc.

Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomovik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus: these kings have mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries & slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the devil) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they beare to us, we leave that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I have sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of five miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery, made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord us take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe given, we resolved to leave the countrey, and to apply our selves to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee have above certified you of the countrey taken in possession by us, to her Majesties use, and so to yours by her Majesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavill to the title of the countrey, in her Majesties behalfe may be prevented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may use and pretend, whose names are:

[III. 251.] Master Philip Amadas,
Master Arthur Barlow, } Captaines.

William Greenevile,
John Wood,
James Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Benjamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
John Hewes, } Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Savages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

THe 9. day of April, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adjoyned for speedy services, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. John, where we landed, and refreshed our selves all that day.

They land upon the Iland of S. John de Porto Rico.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Iland of S. John, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greenevil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the river ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were invironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three miles up in the land, and brought it to our Fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared unto us out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to have beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for joy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to have a parle with us: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arrivall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selves with water and victuales, and other necessaries, wherof we stood in neede, which we craved might be yeelded us with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to [III. 252.] relieve ourselves by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great favour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and lanched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched up into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for perjurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboord to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Johns, being many of us stung before upon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Johns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay upon the Southwest side of Saint Johns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe upon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboord and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Iland of Hispaniola.

June.

THe 1. day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of June, the Governour of Isabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many brave and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Governour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Governour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, every man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish governour received him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of us, and of so many of our boates, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Governour discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men provided two banquetting houses covered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the servaunts, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in served by us all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for every Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie used towards us by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst us, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might have looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master John Haukins received at Saint John de Ullua, or John Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and divers others of our Countrymen in other places. [III. 253.]

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee understood to have bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to have beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arrived and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, upon the advertisment and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

They land on the Iles of Caices.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed. *Guanima.*

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo. *Cyguateo.*

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would have yeelded us twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

They land in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the unskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

The 3. we sent word of our arriving at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak. *July.*

The 6. M. John Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master John Arundell, Master Stukeley, and divers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and John White in another ship-boate, passed over the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discovered the townes of Pomejok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a silver cup which one of the Savages had stollen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

August. The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. M. John Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300 tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as ever he and his men were out of it.

September. The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

October. The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the General came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, under the Governement of Master Ralph Lane. [III. 254.]

Master Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Master Hariot.
Master Acton.
Master Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Master Marvyn.
Master Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Master Kendall.
Master Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Rise Courtney.
Master Hugh Rogers.
Master Thomas Harvie.
Master Snelling.
Master Anthony Russe.
Master Allyne.
Richard Gilbert.
Steven Pomarie.
John Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
James Stevenson.
Charles Stevenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Jeremie Man.
James Mason.
David Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
James Skinner.
George Eseven.
John Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.

A.D.
1585.

Master Michael Polison.
John Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Gefferey Churchman.
William Farthow.
John Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
John Gostigo.
Erasmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
John Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
John Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Joseph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
John Fever.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
John Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
James Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
John Evans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
John Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
John Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
David Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Silvester Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest oyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. [III. 255.] For this already we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

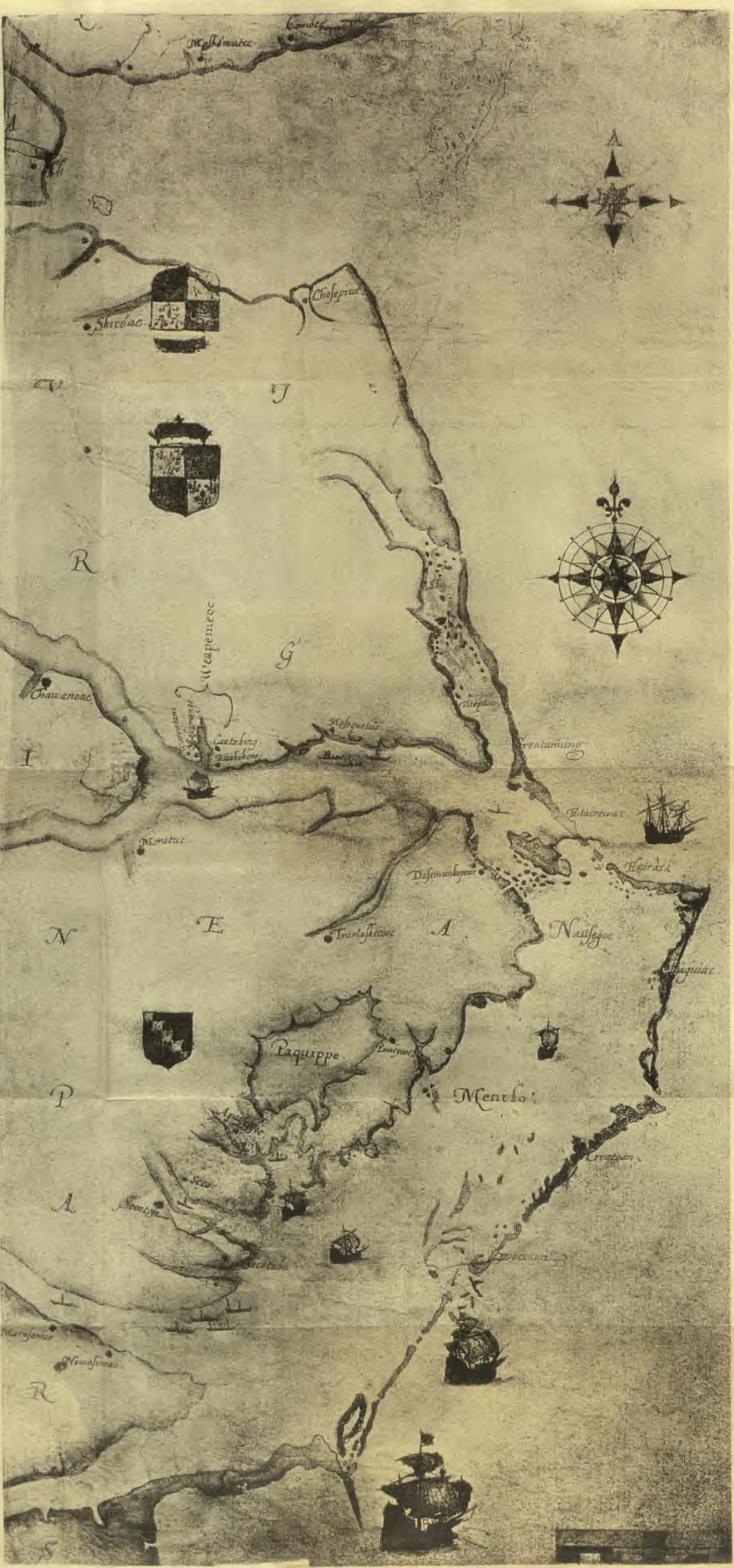
Your most assured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable us to enter into the discovery of.

2. parts of this discourse.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c.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Naissegoc
Paquippe
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CHART OF VIRGINIA BY JOHN WHITE

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

First therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall understand that our discoverie of the same hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most: and as for our pinnesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts untill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

The excellencie of the seate of Chesepiook.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adjoyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

[III. 256.] The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem: all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the River, and jurisdiction of Chawanook: There the River beginneth to straighten untill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betewene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it: it is subject to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province & Seigniorie lying upon that River, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province it selfe.

The King of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gave mee more understanding and light of the Countrey then I had received by all the searches and Savages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes journey in a Canoa, up his River of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes journey to passe over land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Province lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described unto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

An Iland in a Bay.

Out of this Bay hee signified unto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gave mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guids to go over land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us untill the new corne were come in, I would have sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to have found out the Bay he spake of, and to have sounded the barre if there were any, which should have ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have bene assured should have beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloved sonne prisoner with me) who also should have kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage over land.

An enterprise of speciall importance.

My meaning was further at the head of the River in the place of my descent where I would have left my boates, to have raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuall as every man could have caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes journey. In the ende of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconse according to the former, where I would have

[III. 257.]

left fifteene or twentie. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my saide sconse upon some Corne fielde, that my company might have lived upon it.

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remove.

And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two dayes march, untill I had bene arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there have raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) unto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times returne with my company back unto my boates riding under my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the River of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be navigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the River, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne upon that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that River with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could have victuall to cary us, until we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Savages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said River: but the hope of recovering more victuall from the Savages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before our returne, as ever men did, that missed the same.

Wingina changeth his name.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I having bene inforced to make him privie to the same, to bee served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did never rest to solicite continually my going upon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my comming thither, which being unlooked for did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacie against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan him-

Conspiracie of the Savages against the English.

selfe, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their *Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as having passed three dayes voyage up the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Savages in the discoverie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our [III. 258.] copper to have had corne of them: I at night upon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, advertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Savages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them upon vaine hope to be in the ende starved, seeing all the Countrey fled before us, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

* *Their women.*

Thus much I signified unto them, as the safest way: neverthelesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should adventure the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly River in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selves backe againe. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leave the search of that River, and that there were in the companie two Mastives, upon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the River, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieved by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and trafique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the Savages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

A marveilous Minerall in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every mettall whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a river that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receive into the same as much oare as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the Savages adjoyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said, it was twentie dayes journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said Mineral Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Upon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Savages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in every thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe over with me, even to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes journey from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seven dayes with the soonest:) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their [III. 259.] resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes travell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could never see man, onely fires we might perceive made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and up into the Countrey, untill the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with us: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Savages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and having faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a con-

A conflict begun by the Savages.

venient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Rivers mouth within foure or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged upon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meate was never used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truely. Upon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Savages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arrived at our home Roanoak.

The great current of the River of Morattico.

I have set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfited this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation.

And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to have spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would have done, if the barkes that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driven away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiencie. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes overland, to the River of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe overland through the province of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said River for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall [III. 260.] cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes travell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discovery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I have though simply, yet truely set downe unto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes delivered us from) could yeeld unto you, which might have bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had provided for us had at the first bene left with us, or that hee had not in his eternall providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange & unlooked for storme of all our provision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al having bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same having bene most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premisses, must ever make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet unknowen) to have bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Savage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not onely by the meere providence of God during his life, a meane to save us from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe us very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Neverthelesse untill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what province soever. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

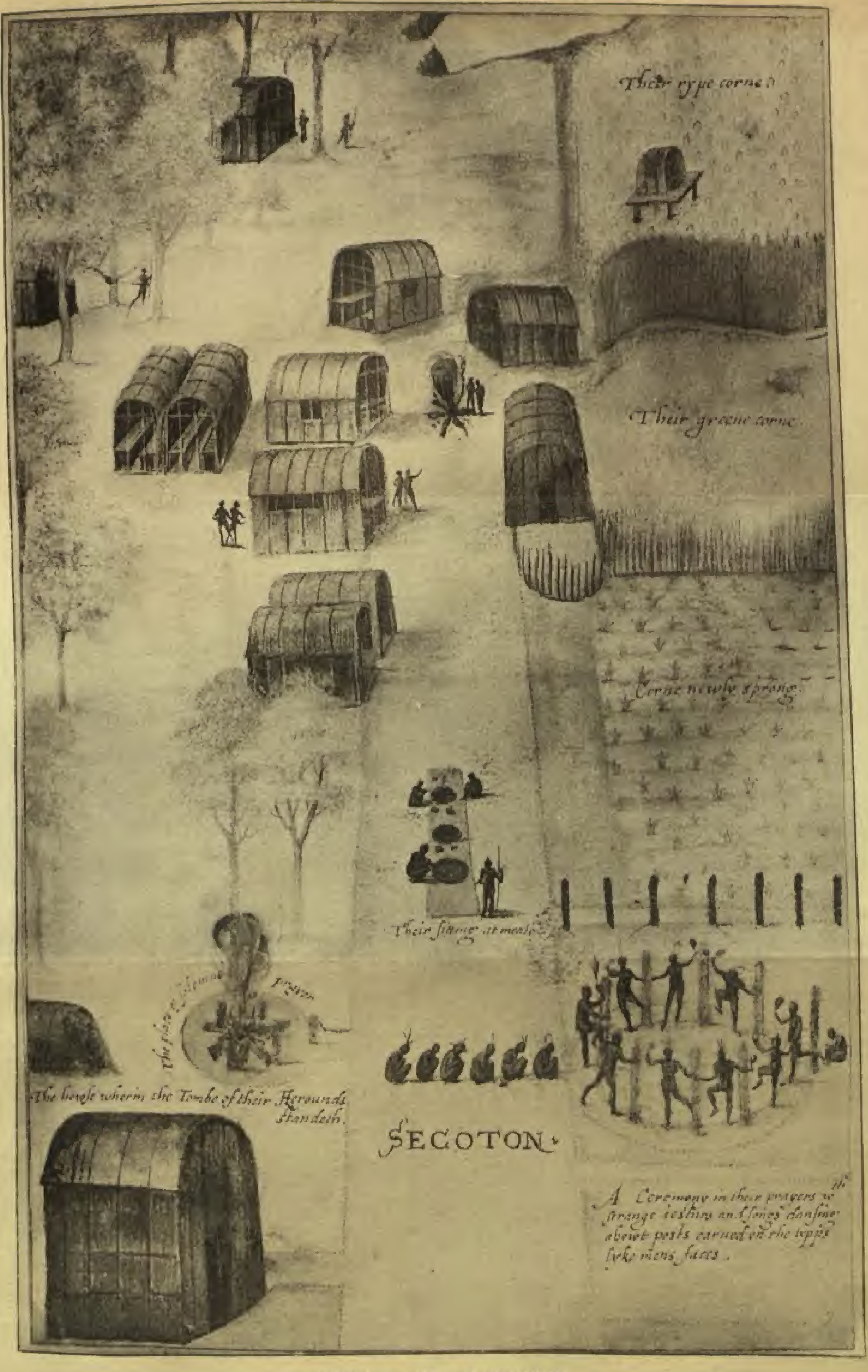
But even in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that hee had received: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Savages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loved to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee received againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subject to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe. [III. 261.]

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching us, when hee sawe the small troupe returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almightie for the saving of us, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie unto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe servant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement received from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko joyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Majestie their onely Soveraigne, and next unto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Savages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us: Insomuch as foorthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set up weares foorthwith for us: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to have fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gave us a certaine plot of ground for our selves to sowe. All which put us in marveilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill untill the beginning of July, (which was to have bene the beginning of their harvest,) that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne store would well ynough maintaine us: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Savages should not helpe us with Cassavi, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile us, (as often they did,) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the starving

The beginning of their harvest in July.


Their rype corne.
Their greene corne.
Corne newly ſprong.
Their ſitting at meate.
The place of ſolemne prayer.
The howſe wherin the Tombe of their Herounds ſtandeth.
SECOTON.
A Ceremony in their prayers wth ſtrange ieſtures and ſongs danſinge abowt poſts carued on the topps lyke mens faces.

THE VILLAGE OF SECOTON

horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the proverbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in ure against us, which were readily imbraced, and all their former devises against us, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of starving us, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues over against us. Neverthelesse there wanted no store of mischievous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooved, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe use to solemnise in their Savage maner for any great personage dead, and should have bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fiers, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should have come over into the Iland, where they ment to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

[III. 262.] Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was covered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my braines.

The forme of the treason.

The same order was given to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of us with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to have our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken never to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the Savages themselves doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among us, or weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serve two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warne us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal to live there, and also to wait

The sufficiencie of our men to deale against the Savages. 10. to an hundreth.

The Savages live by fishing, and hunting, till harvest.

for shipping: also I sent every weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine over against us, to live of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to give him the jumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to joyne in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeve such tales of us.

The third cause of this going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was devided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags received the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well used at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered al unto me, which also afterwards was reveiled unto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrivall of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes provision to serve for my voyage.

[III. 263.] He sent me word that he would himselfe come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his comming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to give them in the Island a canvisado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from advertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa going from the shore, and overthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Savages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; wherupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, privy to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espiall upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The slaughter and surprise of the Savages.

The allarme given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot: the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant major, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst seven or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an

Irish man serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, overtooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to have beene intercepted by the Savages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came unto me, having that night before, & that same day travelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that never spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any service committed unto him.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captaines for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and my selfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it woulde please him withall to leave some sufficient Masters not onely to cary us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe us to some small boats and oare-men. [III. 264.]

Also for a supply of calievers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usuall commendable maner of government (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, The Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by judgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, untill the terme which

I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks having accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the Generall very providently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The Barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto my selfe, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to doe for us: which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as my selfe to the Generals offer: their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenvill, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe delivered unto him, hee most readily assented unto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses unto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast overboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same yeere.

[The third

[III. 265.]

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore every man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might have sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne harvest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of June: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countreymen the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and having espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they lived all; but hitherto in some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of

England, they might then returne themselves. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels ech to other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey.

This ship arrived in Virginia.

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abovementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England.

Sir Richard Grinvils third voyage.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinvile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the aforesayd shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe travelling up into divers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, under the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leave some men behinde to reteine

Fifteene men more left in Virginia.

possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke divers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

[III. 266.]

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discovering a full twelvemoneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Majesties Esquiers, and Governour of the Colony in Virginia, above mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

Albeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection judged partiall, though without desert: neverthelesse, forsomuch as I have bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceive more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoever, that comes not with a prejudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much upon my credit I am to affirme, that things universally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth even amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SInce the first undertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discovering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages having beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there have bene divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinvile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had bene before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of events, to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the adventurers, favourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisit. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diversity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be setled in any certaintie.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have beene in the discoverie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed: and having therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how injuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the favour of her Majesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

[III. 267.] Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull unto you, as of others by reason of their diversitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your favourable constructions, and to be adjudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey have bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Governours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seeme, upon their credit and reputation, that having bene a twelvemoneth in the countrey, it would have bene a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more then ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some have not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other some make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold & silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious, and slanderous reports and devices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will inrich your selves the providers: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoovefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary uses: with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

SIlke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered [III. 268.] as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elsewhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our journeys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to have found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we have heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoever the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by judgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe should finde otherwise, we have that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily understand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the judgement of some that have made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and having bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and five or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of using, and the manifold vertues therof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make up fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three severall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall uses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the [III. 269.] countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoes, or undressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Civet-cats. In our travels there was found one to have bin killed by a Savage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood & deerenesse thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we understood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and rivers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Silver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrivall in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Silver grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a

Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from us: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after understood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by triall to holde Silver.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Savage people about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and uniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Five thousand pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of divers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discover them more particularly then we have done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of divers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and used in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for divers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be prooved. The inhabitants use them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not proove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt uses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and uses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also [III. 270.] be raised, which I leave to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be provided, and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might have sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, usually fed upon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by us, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

Pagatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being used according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of marvellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleven & twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seven foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: every head conteining five, sixe, or seven hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole untill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by us Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, saving that they are flatter, of more divers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by us Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole untill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is used in England, either by themselves, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and therof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their several formes, called by us Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of severall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it unto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or five foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many use sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selves used the leaves also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note unto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with mucke, dung, or [III. 271.] any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, doe onely breake the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt up into many small heaps, to save them labour for carying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they use the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & cover them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and using them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in every ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene every hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in divers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be used for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we have made proofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a twelvemoneth, if he have nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I have before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfesame ground two harvests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March untill the end of June: so that they also set when they have eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neverthelesse, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall have further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we have seene proofe of, not being purposely sowen, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we have ever seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Uppowoc: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countreys where it groweth and is used: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof *Tabacco.* being dried and brought into pouder, they use to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the use thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Uppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therin for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the [III. 272.]

water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selves, during the time we were there, used to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the use of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they use to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by us: the inhabitants notwithstanding used to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre unlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest unto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discovered since, and is in use as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by us nor by the inhabitants to serve for any use or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

The juice of Coscushaw is poison.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassavy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampt: loaves of the same to be layd nere or over the fire untill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants never.

Of Fruits.

CHestnuts there are in divers places great store: some they use to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they use of their beanes before mentioned.

[III. 273.] Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them have a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by us chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good untill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour aswell within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that have beene in the Indies, where they have seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like unto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaves of the plant: which leaves for such matter we have not so specially observed.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruith bringeth foorth the Cochinillo.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almost like unto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found Wilde peaze like unto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THere is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on severall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner. These kinde of acornes they use to drie upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be used, they first water them untill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to makes loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants used to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like unto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their servants, or sometime the chiefe themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere unto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further up into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Those that we have seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like unto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they usually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We never tooke any of them our selves but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

[III. 274.] Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we have taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do use to take & eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for, assoone as they have spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get up the next tree they can : from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calievers.

I have the names of eight and twenty severall sorts of beasts, which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine : of which there are only twelve kinds that we have yet discovered ; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him : and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolves or Woolvish dogs, which I have not set downe for good meat, least that some would understand my judgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

Turkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoves, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I have the names in the countrey language of fourescore and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, & have the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of severall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seventeene kinds more of land fowle, although we have seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured : and after we are better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwives, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we have taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we have the pictures of twelve sorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of California they use the like fishing.

The inhabitants use to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we have in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Crevises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, having a crusty taile many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke ; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts ; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

The third and last part of such other things as are behovefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

[III. 275.]

Of commodities for building and other necessary uses.

THose other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, & other mechanicall necessary uses, as divers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other uses else : Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might have bene doubted of, or by some that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have said before very many, some have bene seene excellent faire timber of foure and five fadome, and above fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere unto us doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we have knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they have caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not bene, have made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent uses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants use to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants use onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serve for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme.} {Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like unto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary uses, I have named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good use, I know no cause to doubt.

Now for stone, bricke, and lime, thus it is. Neere unto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as have bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we have seene divers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like unto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon inquirie wee heard that a little further up into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seeke any. For if every housholde have one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have ynough: neither use they any digging, but onely for graves about three foote deepe: and therefore no marveile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time until there be discovery of sufficient store in some place or other convenient, the want of you which are & shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in divers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they use in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides divers other particular places where [III. 276.] are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote under water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, having no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend us withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they have, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Jaques Cartier, voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelve houses; some 20. the greatest that we have seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed upright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes covered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we have seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile devises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene us and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee having advantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee have had in some places, the turning up of their heeles against us in running away was their best defence.

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we have), they seeme very ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good government be used, that they may in short time bee brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleeve that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all [III. 277.] eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought foorth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring unto them. In some Machicomuck we have seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeve also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and revived againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which having bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seene to move, was taken up againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saved him, and gave him leave to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to avoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from us, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken up againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soule was alive, & had travailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then ever hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most brave and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gave him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soever be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to their Governours, and also great care what they doe, to avoyd torment after death, and to enjoy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect utterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with us, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspective glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselves and many other things that wee had were so strange unto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from us whom God so specially loved, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. Whereupon greater credite was given unto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein [III. 278.] was conteined the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our Prayers, and many times call upon us both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing us. One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, wil I mention before I end, which moved the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtile devise practised against us, wee leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from every such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they used some practise against us, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey never happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially observed by us, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had observed such effects in foure or five Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journeys, hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing upon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate us that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with us might in like sort die,

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alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things have bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selves his true servants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his trueth, and serve him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his divine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neverthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in using such speeches unto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thankes in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marveilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie. [III. 279.]

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after us they imagined to be in the aire, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeve, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selves out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended us, as wee listed, howe farre distant from us soever it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selves have cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I have set downe the more at large, that it may appeare unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and government to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselves too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, upon causes that on our part might easily ynough have bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoever els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selves neede nothing at all to be feared.

The conclusion.

NOw I have (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I have mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travailes, for although al which I have before spoken of, have bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our travailing: yet sometimes as we made our journeys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as ever we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee have most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Iland of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leave to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and never so vehemently hot, as sometimes is under and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen unto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus [III. 280.] much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we lived onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have bene thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort, as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might have bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our travailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire upon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and upon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and

This want is hereafter to be supplied.

sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them, much marveled that they lived so long being in that case, or had adventured to travaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giving and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene five hundreth acres to a man onely for the adventure of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe use but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattel also hereafter, as some have bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some have bene already, and prove well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as have bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discoverers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinvil, and after his departure of our Governour there Master Ralph Lane, with divers other directed and imployed under their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Governour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I have ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought convenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and governour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leave of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom hee gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OUr Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portesmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

[III. 281.]

THe fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admiral, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

June.

THe 19 we fell with " Dominica, and the same evening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

" One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Savages.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Circumspection to be used in strange places.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke five great Torteses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so evill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Governour also, with sixe others, went up to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceive no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of savage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was judged, that this Island was inhabited with Savages, though Fernando had told us for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Governour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleven Savages, and divers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. John, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of June we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seven and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Johns in Musketos Bay, where we spent three dayes unprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came unto.

Julie.

THe first day we weyed anker at " Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glaven, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Johns till evening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused us before, to make and provide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Governour also, for that hee understood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiving them in a readines, sent to the Governour, using great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare up hard, beare up hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

" *Musketos Bay, is a harbour upon the south side of S. Johns Island, where we take in fresh water.*

[III. 282.]

The next day sayling along the West end of S. John, the Governour determined to go aland in S. Germans " Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Governour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Governour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both

" *A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Johns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plantans, & Pines.*

of cattel, and all such things as we would have taken in at S. John: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to us afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of July, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, untill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Governor, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of July we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring us if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, untill the next supply: but it prooved as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of

Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceived, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length upon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok.

The two and twentieth of July wee arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Governour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinvile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to have conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Savages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leave them in the Island, except the Governour, & two or three such as he approved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, saving onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Savages had slaine long before.

The three and twentieth of July the Governour with

[III. 283.] divers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living.

The same day order was given, that every man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatoraske, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelve Assistants was slaine by divers Savages, which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Savages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of July Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to understand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us: but perceiving us begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of us, and that our comming was onely to renew the old love, that was betweene us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends: which answere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walke up to their Towne, who there feasted us after their maner, and desired us earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt ever since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in stead of Winginos men, wherefore they held us excused.

August.

THe next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receive them againe, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seven dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Governours of those townes with them, to our Governour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also understood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinvile, were suddenly [III. 284.] set upon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly lived: and having perceived that of those fifteene they could see but eleven only, two of those Savages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speake with those two Savages, who seemed also to bee unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Savages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Savages shewed them selves: the other Englishman perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the Savages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the

Savages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne foorth among the Savages, with whom they skirmished above an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the Savages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Savages through their nimblenes, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they received into their boate, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Governour having long expected the comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleven Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed over the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with us to be our guide to the place where those Savages dwelt, where he behaved himselfe toward us as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conveyed our selves through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene us and the water: and having espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entred the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their evill doing towards us, but we were deceived, for those Savages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene devoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to have payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Savage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saved. Finding our selves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Savages with us over the water to Roanoak.

Although the mistaking of these Savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Governour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Savage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service. [III. 285.]

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to us againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controversies arose betweene the Governour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelve Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for every one of them refused, save onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Governour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of divers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leaving the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leave their native countrey, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee never meant to stay himselfe, and there to leave them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to provide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remove 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Governour againe, to take upon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond under all their handes and seales for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony under their hands and seales, they foorthwith made, and delivered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

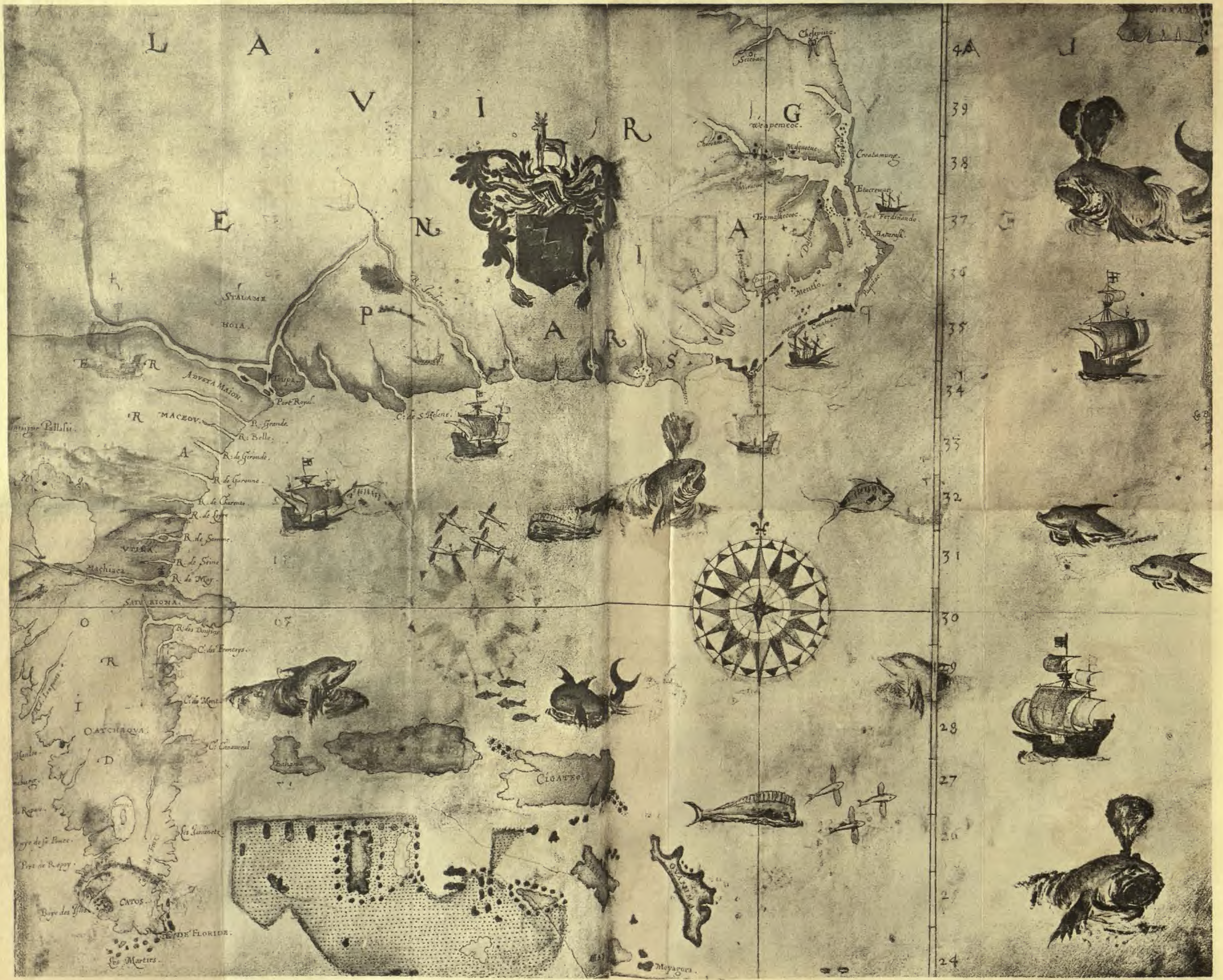
May it please you, her Majesties subjects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, have most earnestly intreated, and uncessantly requested John White, Governour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for us all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leave his governement, and all his goods among us, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Governour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, having then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seven and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelve of the men which [III. 286.]

were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre and brake, came so fast about upon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it: neverthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore having in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neverthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, untill the seventeenth of September, at which time wee fell with Corvo, and sawe Flores.

September.

THe eighteenth, perceiving of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but five, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, having had sometimes scarse and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at Northeast, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driven further in those sixe then we could recover in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.



L A V I R G I N E A P A R S
Chesepiuc.
Secotoac.
Weapemeoc.
Chawanook
Mascoutuc
Croatamung.
Etacrewac.
Port Ferdinando
Trazmaskecoc.
Dasamonquepeuc
Roanoac
Hatorask.
Secotan
Aquascogoc
Pomeioc
Menteso.
Paquiac.
Croatoan.
STALAME
HOIA.
ADVSTA MAIOR.
Touppa.
Port Royal.
R. Seradero
C. de S. Helene.
MACEOV.
R. Grande.
R. Belle.
R. de Gironde.
R. de Garonne.
R. de Charente.
R. de Loyre
R. de Somme.
R. de Seine
R. de May.
Montaigne Pallassi.
VTINA.
Machiaca
SATVRIONA.
F L O R I D A
R. des Dauphins
C. des Francoys.
C. de Mont.
OATCHAQVA.
C. Canaveral
Les Jardinets
Port de Repos.
Baye de Jo. Ponce.
Baye des Isles
CATOS.
C. DE FLORIDE.
Les Martirs.
CIGATEO.
Bahama
Moyaguna
Guanima
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CHART OF VIRGINIA AND FLORIDA BY JOHN WHITE

October.

THe 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, untill the pinnesse sent off their boate to us with 6 or 8 men, of whom we understood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also releeved us presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meate.

Smerwick in the West of Ireland.

The 18 the Governour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

November.

THe first the Governour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut up the Severne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Governour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all have perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

[III. 287.]

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

John White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Stevens.
John Sampson.
Dyonis Harvie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Johnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
John Jones.
William Willes.
John Brooke.
Cutbert White.
John Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
John Cotsmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
John Gibbes.
John Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
John Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
John Spendlove.
John Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
John Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Taverner.
John Earnest.
Henry Johnson.
John Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
John Wright.

William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
John Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Phevens.
John Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
John Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenson.
Martin Sutton.
John Farre.
John Bridger.
Griffen Jones.
Richard Shabedge.
James Lasie.
John Cheven.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Harvie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Joyce Archard.
Jane Jones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Jane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Joan Warren.
Jane Mannering.
Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

John Sampson.
Robert Ellis.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
John Prat.
William Wythers.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Harvie.

Savages.

Manteo.
Towaye.
} That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.

[To the

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England, I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what events
[III. 288.] happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainely perceive by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. John Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endevour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Majestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their release-

ment should take in, & transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neverthelesse that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would have bene departed before I could have made my returne. Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboord. Which evils & unfortunate events (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene observed, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceive the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse unfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as joyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & their good desire, I take my leave: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. John White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THe 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to Sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head us that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

[III. 289.]

Aprill.

ON the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shallops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gave chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

THe first of May in the morning many of the Salvages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with us; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Salvages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leaving the John our Vice-admirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leaving Guadalupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off us.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Johns Iland: and the same day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, & from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and having brought this Iland Southeast off us, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the East end of S. John: here the Pinnesse left us and sayled on the South side of S. John.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the North-side of S. John, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned us to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state, ranne from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & took from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and carried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards over all the Iland; but they hid them in caves, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Salvages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangelist our Pinnesse staying for us: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starved on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere [III. 290.] wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at Cape Tyburon. Here we understood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set upon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gave over the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

M. William Lane.

The 26 the John our Vizadmirall came to us to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Even at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from us, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starved for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of divers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

June.

ON the 14 of June we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst us so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape us. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

Spanish fugitives.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we understood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neverthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casavi.

July.

Edward Spicer.

THe second of July Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to us at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gave chase, but they upon the first sight of us fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to divide our selves and so made after them untill 12 of the clocke at night.

But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Mooneiight happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in sight of the Iland of Navaza.

The 3 of July we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sailed with us.

The 6 of July we saw Jamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

Upon the 8 of July we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh unto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gave chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Havana; from this 11 of July untill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards saving three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands therof called the Martires.

[III. 291.] The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Havana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of July plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Havana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. John de Ullua bound for Havana, which were exceeding richly loaden. These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly up unto us, and so continued untill they came within musket shot of us. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captain Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently upon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from us toward the shore, & kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expence of shot & pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might have taken them all three, for they would not have knowen us before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought us so far to leeward as Havana: wherfore not finding any of our consorts at ye Matanças, we put over again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of us.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from us without taking leave of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about us nigh unto our ships.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea untill Monday the 9 of August.

Sandie Ilands West of Wokokon.

On munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile over and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound over this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from us we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off

Great diversity of soundings.

from the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, wheras goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 15 of August towards Evening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in five fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

[III. 292.]

They land.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, & Captaine Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene every shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off unto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe untill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seven fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak untill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

Fresh water found in sandy hilles.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled us halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, saving onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was halfe passed over, but by the rash and undiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and overset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele upward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung untill they sunke, & were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captain Cookes meanes,

Captaine Spicer drowned.

who so soone as he saw their oversetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed unto them, & saved foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Bevis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland ye light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, untill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night, and as we entred up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse ✠ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in [III. 293.] sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heavie things, throwen here and there, almost overgrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceive no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting us, tolde us that they had found where divers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged up againe and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to overcast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Evening with much danger and labour, we got our selves aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde untill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with five lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, unpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooved very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leave that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland untill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could never have gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left us of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint John or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant John, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leaving the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

They leave the coast of Virginia.

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On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather every way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne upon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driven to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we judged our selves to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cuervo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seventeenth wee saw Cuervo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cuervo, we escryed a sayle ahead us, to whom we gave chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we understood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the John our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee unto Jamaica under the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee understood of them, that in their returne from Jamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Havana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by us under water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of silver which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte under water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw above water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Havana and Cartagena, comming from Havana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gave over their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us, and went for England.

13. Pipes of silver.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee understood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moonelight our consort, who upon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir John Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and divers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonaventure, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir John Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gave him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from us, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conveniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankred, othersome plyed up and downe betweene that and the Pico untill midnight, at which time the Antony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Evening wee tooke our [III. 295.] leave of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gave over our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

THe 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Ushant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

Certaine Voyages to Florida, and the later and more perfect Discoveries thereof, to wit, of all the Seacoasts, Rivers, Bayes, Havens, Isles, and Maine Landes farre up into the Countrey, and a Report of some Colonies and Fortes there planted and displanted, with a Description of the Government, Disposition and Qualitie of the Naturall Inhabitants, and a Declaration of the Temperature of the Climate, and of the manifolde good Commodities found in those Regions.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of John de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of his Majestie. Written in Diepe the eight of July, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Majesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the North partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Majestie sent forth to discover new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Majestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will give your Majestie to understand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such evill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Majestie shall understand by the profite that we received thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discoverie of new Countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount unto your Majestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The Isle of Madêra.

The 17. of January the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well provided & furnished for 8. moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were overtaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as ever any saylers suffered: whereof with the divine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made above 400. leagues more, where we discovered a new land, never before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the lande stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some convenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to have knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolved to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our selves troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor upon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the Sea side; and seeing us approch, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and looke backe, beholding us with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea

They discover land.

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side, seeming to rejoyce very much at the sight of us, and marveiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewed us by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering us also of their victuals to eate. Now I wil briefly declare to your Majestie their life and maners, as farre as we could have notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they cover their privie parts with certaine skins of beasts like unto Marterns, which they fasten unto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of divers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much unlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving that they have somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel favoured, having blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these wee found another people, whose living wee thinke to be like unto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare unto your Majestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shoare is all covered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15. foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Rivers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height above the sandie shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Majesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sortes of trees unknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweete savours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, convenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is dissolved and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not

34. *Degrees.*

boysterous, the waves gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4 or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such uniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can never perish there by breaking of her cables, which we have proved by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is usuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooved at all. We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East, & we saw every where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waves that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came unto the shoare, making divers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Majestie shal understand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare, who swimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiving, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they

The coast trendeth to the East in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

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caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiving they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to give him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marveiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would have rosted him at that fire, and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and having stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great love clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him unto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaving him alone, went unto a high ground and stood there, beholding him untill he was entred into the boate. This yong man observed, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we observed not.

They run 50 leagues farther.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might have some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2. leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres olde. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came unto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde unto the woods. Assoone as they saw us to quiet them and to winne their favour, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman received thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, & threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially having great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaves that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed up after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulse, whereof they have great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, & other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or stone, or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we never saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne & the forepart, untill it be fit to saile upon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods

Wilde Hempe.

They ran along the coast 200. leagues. They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

like the other, thinne and full of divers sorts of trees: but not so sweete, because the country is more Northerly and colde.

Vines like those of Lombardie.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing up, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for having oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dryed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre up in the land, and we judge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

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We doe beleeve also by many conjectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, have no other covert then the open sky. Further knowledge have we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, live all after one maner. Having made our aboade three dayes in this country, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the day-time, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle steepe hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streme of water, which w^t^in the mouth was very deepe, & from the sea to the mouth of the same with ye tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe up.

100 *Leagues sayling.*

A mighty river.

But because we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture our selves without knowledge of the place: and we passed up with our boat onely into the sayd River, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like unto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of divers colours: they came towards us very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing us where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entred up the said river into the land about halfe a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about 3. leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see us. And behold upon the sudden (as it is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leaving this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hils shewing minerall matters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discovered an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was full of hils covered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gave it the name of your Majesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

People clad with feathers of divers colours.

The pleasantness and riches of the land.

The coast trendeth to the East.

The description of Claudia Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne.

Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues distant from the Iland, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with divers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards us: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape & apparel: then they all made a loud showt together,

A passing good haven.

declaring that they rejoyced. When we had something animated them, using their gestures, they came so neere us, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a yong man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had upon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with divers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed up behind with divers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with divers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after ye same maner. This is the goodliest people, & of the fairest conditions that we have found in this our voyage. They exceed us in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke up: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Majestie of the other parts of their body, having al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well favoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked save their privy partes, which they cover with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men use: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with divers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes: others use other kinde of dressing themselves like unto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are maried, they weare divers toyes, according to the usage of the people of the East, aswell men as women.

Copper more esteemed then golde.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the basest: they make most account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gave them, were bels, christal of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things [III. 299.] made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gave them us againe. They are very liberall, for they give that which they have: wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Haven with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats unto the ship with their faces all bepainted with divers colours, shewing us that it was a signe of joy, bringing us of their victuals, they made signes unto us where we might safest ride in the Haven for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in providing our selves many necessary things, whither every day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wives with them, whereof they were very jelous: and they themselves entring abord the ship & staying there a good space, caused their wives to stay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we could make, offring to give them divers things, we could never obtaine that they would suffer them to come abord our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see us, they all stayed on the shore 200 paces from us, sending a small boat to give us intelligence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assoone as they had answere from us, they came immediatly, and having staied a while to behold it, they wondred at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship uttering divers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of every thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, & so courteously taking his leave departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for divers necessaries (as it is the use of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, & asked of us oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring us of their provision: then the king drawing his bow and running up and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfulnesse, that any seed being sowen therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it never so great might have hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes unknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

many other sorts of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they use are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with jasper stone & hard marble & other sharp stones which they use in stead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10. or 12. men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they use them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselves. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber, separate one from another without any order of building, covered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which save them from the wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we have, there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great & stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, & alablaster, and therefore it is full of good havens and harboroughs for ships. They moove the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place & season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking off the mattes, they have other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They observe in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and divers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreover they live by

The fashion of their houses.

The coast full of good havens.

hunting and fishing. They live long, & are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselves with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their adversitie: and in their miserie, the kinred reckon up all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they use mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is asmuch as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2 terces: but somewhat more colde by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I will declare unto your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I say that the mouth of the Haven lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelve leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are five small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Navie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Haven on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many rivers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

Their curing with Tobacco and perfumes.

[III. 300.]

41. degrees & 2. tierces.

The description of a notable haven in 41. deg. and 2. tierces.

In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the haven. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather served our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast

150 leagues.

A shew of minerall.

The coast running Eastward 50. *leagues.*

Here the people begin to be more savage.

ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselves with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting & fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They have no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the sea shore upon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent. We were in despight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of us: And when we went on shore they shot at us with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, saving very great woods and certaine hilles, they may have some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them have beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We

Beades of copper.

departed from thence keeping our course Northeast along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discovered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and having many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Having now spent all our provision and victuals, and having discovered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

32 pleasant Islands.

They ran almost to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee have found, for want of their language wee could not understand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moover, neither that they worship the heaven or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they used any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages have they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see us Christians doe in our divine service, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw us to doe it.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter: [III. 301.]

Translated out of French into English by M. Richard Hakluyt.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of her Majesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicite.

SIr, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your Name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, understanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no marvaile though it were very welcome unto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and understand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceived that you approoved mine endevour, not for any private ease or commoditie that thereby might redound unto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours unto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of every thing that might turne to the advancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to recken up againe. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtraitures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have sayd before, they were dedicated

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things worthie observation in Florida are drawen in colours by James Morgues painter sometime living in the Black fryers in London.

unto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you have attempted the like upon the selfe same coast neere adjoyning: thirdly in that you have persed as farre up into the maine and discovered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting lastly considering you are now also ready (upon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last Colony in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more throughly then ever. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proove farre more beneficiall in divers respects unto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel knowen unto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a twelvemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purse to have it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discovered by your servants, & partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to have bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries & conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

[III. 302.]

Meanes to raise benefit in newdiscoveries used by the Spaniards & Portugals.

Kine, suger-canes and ginger transported into Hispaniola and Madera, &c.

finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine & buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being favourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they used in the Isles of the Açores by sowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas under the Equinoctial, and in Brasil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreover there is none other likelihood but that her Majesty, which hath Christned, and given the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne, was neverthelesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince Elizabeth of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forward-

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

The great zeale of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in advancing of new discoveries tending to Gods glory.

nesse and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that have had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start an Hare: So sundry men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Savages, Wee seeke not yours but you: I conceive great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weakenesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd unto Josue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that private men have happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which

The aptnesse of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Christianitie.

Seneca.

2.*Cor.*12.14.

Josue 1. 6.

[III. 303.] God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated unto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Strangbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great favour of his soveraigne, passed over into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his private friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension therof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. John Davis to the Northwest (toward which his discovery your selfe have thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culvacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts. Moreover it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare

The good successe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow.

The happy late discoverie to the Northwest of Captaine Davis.

10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppresse for certain causes) which have bene personally in the East Indies, & have assured me that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of every governement and office subject to the same, with the several pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle up and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Savages as shal refuse obedience to her Majestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shal understand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere upon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse wherof you have bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation unto you, and your selfe, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endevour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

The kings of Portugal had never above ten thousand of their naturall subjects in all their new conquered dominions.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. HAKLUYT.

[The Preface

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion have bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age have bene induced to travell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which wee have to search out the commodities to live happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their native soyles, have entred upon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further have pearced even unto the uttermost regions. After this sort the [III. 304.] North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and have bene oftentimes constrained to receive other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which never so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland, and France have done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine & Afrike, but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neverthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding unto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, & religion in those provinces which they had conquered by force of armes) have oftentimes by the decree of their soveraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) even to the unfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should have preserved the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then advanced them to the possession of the universal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange people did utterly ruin and overthrow their Empire. The brinks of the river of Rhene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receive, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endevour to unite them one with another as well by trafficke and civill conversations, as also by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Savages will not yeeld unto their endevours so much tending unto their profit.

Planting of Colonies.

When force of armes is to be used.

For this cause princes have sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good activity to plant themselves in strange Countreys, their to make their profite to bring the Countrey to civilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannicall and cruell governement: and so they have alwayes thrived in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they have conquered or wonne unto them by any meanes. Hereof wee may gather that sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send forth men to discover the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor deprived of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so just & sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which every foote endevour nothing else but to surprise the same upon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French have proved to my great griefe, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the favours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against us: which thing I purpose to discover in this present historie with so evident trueth, that the Kings Majesty my soveraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I have used in his service, and mine adversaries shall find themselves so discovered in their false reports, that they shall have no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we have sailed and where we have inhabited from the yeere 1561. unto sixty five, to the ende that those things may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

Two conditions required in conquests of Countreys newly discovered. Nota.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

America unknowen to all antiquity.

THat part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was unknowen unto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westerne Islands and fortunate Isles were not discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit there have bin some which have said that they were discoverd in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his Æneidos, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of heaven sustaineth the pole upon [III. 305.] his shoulders: neverthelesse it is easie to judge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to have written before his time, neither yet above a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light upon this land in the yeere 1592. And five yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gave unto it his own name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Navigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discovered in his time many lands unknowen unto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by some, the land of Bresill, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according unto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, saving at the streight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will divide it for the better understanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. John Verrazzano a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother unto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth unto the fiftieth degree, and father unto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France: so that the Spaniardes themselves which were there afterwarde, have named this Countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth itselfe in Latitude from the 25. degree unto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. unto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama,

Christopher Colon or Columbe.

Americus Vespucius of whom America tooke the name.

The first generall part of America.

Cabota in the yeere 1597 had discovered all this tract for the crowne of England.

which separateth it from the Isle of Canada, whither Jaques Carthier sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowen Countreys, as the Regions of Quivira, Civola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether unknowen.

The second generall part of America.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, unto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adjoyned unto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, have not in Longitude past seventie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, unto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree unto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I have sayde before, unto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen upon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right under the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

The third generall part of America.

Villegaignon.

Florida with an ample description thereof.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen have made divers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that nowe it is the best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right over against it five and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella, toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which have no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wilde then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe up along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among us Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The Beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, divers sortes of Wolves, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoves, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in swimming men are assayled by them; of Serpents there are many sorts.

The trees of Florida.

These are perhaps those which the Savages call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

[III. 306.]

The foule of Florida.

Crocodiles.

Gold and silver.
The mountaines of Appalatcy.
Store of dyes and colours.
The disposition and maners of the Floridians.
The wearing of their haire.
Their exercise and pastime.
Running for games.
Shooting.
Playing at the Ball.

There is found among the Savages good quantitie of Gold and Silver, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost upon the coast, as I have understood by the Savages themselves. They use traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeve it, is, that on the coast towarde the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is more store of Silver then toward the North. Neverthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to use the same. The men are of an Olive colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They cover their privities with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them have their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire devises: the painting whereof can never bee taken away, becase the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth even downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it up after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons & fight very well. They have none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they worke very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselves, which he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise themselves much in shooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they set up a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoever hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to have their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They save the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subjects, and for joy three days and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing unto him the honour of the victory. They have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, saving of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They have their Priests to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers upon divels. These Priests serve them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they love women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to have two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of

Hunting. Fishing. Their forme of warre.

Their triumphes after the victorie.

They worship the Sunne and Moone.

Their Priests are both Magicians and Physitions.

Their marriages.

The painefulnesse of the women.

Many Hermaphrodites which have the nature of both sexes.

feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. *Their foode and provision for warre.* The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. *Their dressing their flesh and fish over the smoke.* They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, even to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. *Their order in marching to the warre.* When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiver full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which have likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. *Their consultations.* [III. 307.] They take no enterprise in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good advisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together every morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe upon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: *Their saluting of their kings.* and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting up both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they have done their salutation, every man sitteth him downe upon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Jawas, that is to say, their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their advise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaves of a certaine tree: *The drinking of Cassine before they goe to battell.* They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be given thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. *The honor exhibited unto men of valure above other.* They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, unlesse hee hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. *The excellencie of Cassine.* Moreover this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they have drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and upon his grave they set the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the sayde grave they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceassing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the love which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Evening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is ever more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in June, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed untill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They have also faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They never dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe up the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we have spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

Their cutting of more then halfe their haire.

The buriall of their Priests.

Sowing twise in 6 moneths.

Faire pumpions.

Goodly beanes.

Instruments wherewith they till their ground.

The bringing of all the crop into a common house.

Their provision of corne for 6 moneths onely.

Their maner of living in the Winter.

The dressing of their meate in the smoake.

Their maner of curing diseases.

according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serve their turnes for sixe moneths, & that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselves for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and live there of Maste, of Fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beasts which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it savoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes have eaten thereof. They have a custome among them, that when they finde themselves sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause ourselves to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them untill they make the blood follow.

Their womens dispositions and maners.

Oile in Florida.

Women great swimmers.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Olive colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they use among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote upon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme over the great Rivers bearing their children upon one of their armes. They climbe up also very nimbly upon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to understand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

[III. 308.]

MY Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his private benefite, understanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discover new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee levied meete for such an enterprise: Among whom hee chose Captaine John Ribault, a man in trueth expert in sea causes: which having received his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I my selfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieve some notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Having therefore sayled two moneths, never holding the usuall course of the Spaniards, hee arrived in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arrivall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discovered a very faire and great River, which gave him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinville and divers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arrived on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceived many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receive the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde River, and not farre from the mouth of the same upon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the

The first voyage of John Ribault to Florida 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary.

Cape Françoys in 30. degrees.

A pillar set up.

Armes of France were carved and engraved. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discover the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed over to the other side of the river, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to give thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation unto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentive to hearken unto them, thinking in my judgement, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted up toward heaven, rose all up and came to salute the Captaine John Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not up as they did, but remained still sitting upon greene leaves of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not understand his language, and much lesse his meaning. The King gave our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palmeboughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of divers wilde beasts so lively drawen and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not unthankfull, gave him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine knives: whereupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Having spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarked himselfe to passe over to the north side of the River, whereat the king seemed to bee very sorie. Neverthelesse being not able to stay us, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for us: which they did

Prayer and thankes to God.

Presents given to Ribault.

with all speede. For being entred into their Weares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labirynth or Mase, they loaded us with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaise, Turbuts, and marveilous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours.

Their fish-weares like those of Virginia.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought us many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered themselves to beare us on shoare, where being landed we perceived their King sitting upon a place dressed with boughes, and under a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in marveilous good order. His two sonnes received our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of gravitie, did nothing but shake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other moving of himselfe he reteined so constant a kind of gravitie, that hee made it seeme unto us that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to judge of this mans behaviour, though he was jelous because wee went first unto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to [III. 309.] thinke, our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him understand the amitie which he was desirous to have with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets covered as it were with silver and guilt, which hee presented him withall, and gave his sonnes certaine

They passe over the river.

Goodly mulberries white and red.

other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very lovingly to intreate both our Captaine and us. And after these gentle intertainments, wee went our selves into the woods, hoping there to discover some singularities: where were great store of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewormes. Following our way wee discovered a faire and great medowe, divided notwithstanding with divers Marishes, which constrained us by reason of the water, which environed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Rivers side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our Boates and sayled towarde our shippes: where after we arrived, we called this River The River of May, because we discovered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Great store of silkewormes.

The river of May.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discover the coast farther forward, along the which wee discovered another faire River, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and having searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like unto the River of Seine in France. From this River wee retired toward our shippes, where being arrived, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discovered another very faire River, which caused us to cast anker over against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this River Somme. From thence wee sayled about sixe leagues, after wee discovered another River, which after wee had viewed was named by us by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discovered five others: whereof the first was named Cherente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discovered with such

The river of Seine.

The River of Somme.

The River of Loyre.

The Rivers of Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande.

things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of threescore leagues wee had found out many singularities along nine Rivers. Neverthelesse not fully satisfied wee sayled yet further towarde the North, following the course that might bring us to the River of Jordan one of the fairest Rivers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came upon us, which constrained us to leave the coast to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cause that we lost the sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night untill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee discovered a River which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had sayled three or foure leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnesses which came straight toward us, and at their arrivall they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themselves in a mightie River which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding joyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Haven to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selves for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arrived athwart the sayde River, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Having cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on shoare, and hee himselfe went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was possible, for it was all covered over with mightie high Oakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse.

The river Belle a veoir.

The River of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

Turkeycocks. Partridges gray and red.

Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lusernes, of Leopards, & divers other sortes of Beastes unknowen unto us. Being delighted with this place, we set our selves to fishing with nets, & we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Sallicoques, which were no lesse then Crevises, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The River at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3. French leagues broad; it is divided into two great armes, whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleeve in my judgement that the arme which stretcheth towarde the North runneth up into the Countrey as farre as the River Jordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and understoode by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middest of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great River, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On every side there is nothing to be seene but Palmetrees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the evening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne unto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer us to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners advertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further up within the River, to avoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy us, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the River: and for this cause the Captaine sent for us. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues further up within the River, and there we cast anker. A little while

Fish in abundance.

The River 3. leagues at the mouth.

A passage by a river into the Sea.

[III. 310]

Store of rare simples.

after, John Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarked himselfe, desirous to sayle further up into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sayled twelve leagues at the least, we perceived a troope of Indians, which assoone as ever they espied the Pinnesses, were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leaving behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning upon a spit: for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding foorth on our way, we found another arme of the River, which ranne toward the East, up which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leave the great current. A little while after they began to espie divers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused store of marchandise to bee shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them: and then they made a signe that we should come on lande, which wee would not refuse. At our comming on shoare divers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gave him skins of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaves, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend us in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gave presents to each of them: wherewith hee pleased them so well before hee went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would have wished him to have stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to give him occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to advertise a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Silver also, all which

Ribault saileth 12. leagues up the River.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamois.

Pearles.

Store of pearles and silver.

things should bee given unto him at the Kings arrivall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesse a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a columne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were graven, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked our selves, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where we discovered a little river, up which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland separated from the firme land, where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar upon a hillock open round about to the view, and invironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Iland wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily have killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden us, mooved with the singular fairenesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little river which environed this Ile, The River of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our selves to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were seene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnesse to go towards our shippes.

A Pillar of free stone wherein the Armes of France were graven, set up in an Iland in the river of Port Royal.

The river of Liborne.

The Ile of Cedars.

A few dayes afterward John Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the River which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good store of souldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre foorth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more favoured then the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with us. But these two Indians seeing we made no shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force have lept into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediatly they would have gotten into the forrestes. Neverthelesse being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appease them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gave backe againe whatsoever was given them, thinking that such giftes should have altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored unto their libertie. In fine, perceiving that all that they did avayled them nothing, they prayed us to give them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against us, but we hoysed sayle the next day very earely in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, every one sought to gratifie these 2 Indians, & to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceive the good desire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they

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Two Indians taken away.

The dolefull songs of the Indians.

refused it, and made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay untill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neverthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange unto them at the first. They became therfore more jocunde, every houre made us a 1000 discourses, being merveilous sory that we could not understand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather have perished with hunger & thirst, then have taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, & began to aske them questions, shewing them the thing wherof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them every thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak unto me of the desire that they had to use me wel, if we returned unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures that they could devise, aswell in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they observe as straightly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said unto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can judge, this place whereof they spake unto me, was a very faire citie. For they said unto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

Laudonniers putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indians spéech.

The feast of Toya.

This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

unto themselves, which made none account of gold, of silver, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew them al the parts of heaven, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me y^t they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the river of Jordan. And now I remember, that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaves to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this river, to the number of 40, thinking to cary them into their new Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died al for hunger, saving one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gave him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subject hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage have certified me, that the Indians shewed them by evident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staied a while in our ships, they began to be sory, and stil demanded of me when they should returne. I made them understand that the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was delivered unto them. But seeing he would not give them licence to depart, they resolved with themselves to [III. 312.] steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to save themselves. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leaving behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well

The 2 Indians escape away.

hereby that they were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene used otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairenes of this river, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings service, and the reliefe of the Common wealth of France. Therfore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to set things in order to returne unto the opening of the river, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discovering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up upon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say unto them. They all came up, and immediatly the Captaine began to speake unto them in this maner.

The benefite of planting.

The Oration of John Ribault to his companie.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and also how acceptable it is unto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to advertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discoverie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that ever could happen unto them, to arise unto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose unto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserve, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey have had the courage to enterprize a thing of such importance, which even kings themselves understanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of magnanimitie and increase of their majesties, doe not disdaine so wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for ever. Howbeit, I would not have you perswade your selves, as many doe, that you shall never have such good fortune, as not being knowen neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, having ever made profession of armes, have bene knowen unto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my selfe have applyed all my industry to follow them, and have hazarded my life in so many dangers for the service of my prince, yet could I never attaine therunto (not that I did not deserve this title and degree of government) as I have seene it happen to many others, onely because they descende of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their virtue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deserve the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answere to such propositions and such things as you may object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we have of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed over the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, have obtained the honour to tryumph? If we have recourse unto their ancesters, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they lived very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neverthelesse, being moved with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire unto high things, he began with a brave stomacke to learne feates of armes, and

Ælius Pertinax descending from base parentage became Emperour of Rome.

Agathocles a potters sonne became king of Sicilie.

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Rusten Bassha of an heard-mans sonne through his valure became the great Turkes sonne in law.

profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise, & in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be covered with a fine wrought marble, to serve for an example to men descended of base & poore linages, to give them occasion to aspire unto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancesters. I wil not passe over in silence the excellencie & prowesse of the valiant and renowned Agathocles the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the favour of armes he came to be king of Sicilie: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be served at the Table in vessels of gold and silver and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not unto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely Rusten Bassha, which may be a sufficient example to al men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought up in the service of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to move you to plant here? Considering also that hereby you shalbe registred for ever as the first that inhabited this strange countrey. I pray you therfore all to advise your selves thereof, and to declare your mindes freely unto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your renowme shall hereafter shine unquenchable through our Realme of France. He had scarcely ended his Oration, but the greatest part of our souldiers replyed: that a greater pleasure could never betide them, perceiving well the acceptable service which by this meanes they shoulde doe unto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therfore they besought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leave them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Whereupon John Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himselfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Having sayled up the great river on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed a while, he discovered a small river, which entred into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, & finding the same deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, joyning upon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent unto the shippes for men, and to bring shovels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification.

The souldiers answere to Ribaults Oration.

The length and bredth of the Fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

A Fort built in Port Roial by Ribault. We travailed so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defenciable. In which meane time John Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leave of them. But before his departure he used this speech unto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

Ribaults speech to Captaine Albert. Captaine Albert, I have to request you in the presence of al these men, that you would quit your selfe so wisely in your charge, and governe so modestly your small companie which I leave you, which with so good cheere remaineth under your obedience, that I never have occasion but to commend you, and to recount unto the king (as I am desirous) the faithfull service which before us all you undertake to doe him in his new France: *His speech to the souldiers.* And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beseech you also to esteeme of Captaine Albert as if hee were my selfe that stayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true souldier oweth unto his Generall and Captaine, living as brethren one with another, without all dissention: and in so doing God wil assist you and blesse your enterprises. Having ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaves of each of them, and sayled toward our shippes, *The aforesaide Fort was called Charles-fort.* calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the River by the name Chenonceau. The next day wee determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our busines, with good hope, if occasion would permitte, to discover perfectly the river of Jordan. For this cause we hoysed our sayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to shoote off our Ordinance to give a farewel unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee sailed toward the North: and then we named this river *Port Royall.* Porte Royal, because of the largenes and excellent fäirenes of the same. After that we had sailed about 15 leagues from thence, we espied a river, whereupon wee sent our pinnesse thither to discover it. At their return they brought us word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth therof. Which when we understood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow river. As we stil went on sounding we found not past five or sixe fathome water, although we were sixe good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gave us occasion greatly to muse. And without making any farther way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, & partly because the night approched: during which time Captaine John Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which every houre we saw before our eyes: or whither he should content himselfe with that which he had certainely discovered, & also left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolve with himselfe, he referred it until the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good advisement every man might deliver his opinion. Some made answere, that according to their judgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in sixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great service, if he did bring him newes in so short a time of his happy discoverie. Other shewed unto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconvenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our

The river Base, 15 leagues Northwarde of Port Royall.

Shallow water.

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France, where we happily arrived the twentieth day of July, the yere 1562. *Their arrivall in France 1562. the 20 of July.*

The state and condition of those which were left behind in Charles-fort.

OUr men after our departure never rested, but night and day did fortifie themselves, being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discover farther up within the river. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groves, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere upon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw neere unto him and to use him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where every man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very joyfull of his comming, which after he had given him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther up within the river, and that he was vassal of king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. *King Audusta.* After much other talke the Indian desired leave to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, *Note.* where being arrived, by reason of the honest entertaynment which he had given to the Indian, he was so courteously received, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giving him besides to understand that he being his friend and allie, he should have the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppo, and the fourth Stalame. *Mayon. Hoya. Touppa. Stalame.* He told him moreover, that they would be very glad, when they should understand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented unto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and first arrived at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses, except the house of king Stalame. He received of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselves to be as affectioned friends unto him as was possible, and offered unto him a thousand small presents. After that he had remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings, he determined to take his leave: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed up the river they entred into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could devise. He presented immediatly unto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamoys skinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leave of king Stalame to return to Charles-fort, where hee arrived the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadours to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They imbarked themselves therefore and sailed towards

The countrey of king Stalame 15 leagues Northward of Charles-fort.

Chamoys skinnes.

The feast of Toya largely described.

[III. 315.]

the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome & bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colours, put themselves on the way to go from the kings house toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they set themselves in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middest of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like unbridled horses, through the middest of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad & woful as was possible: & in such rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began

The Indians trimming of themselves with rich feathers.

the feast are named Jawas: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they give credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be over their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recovered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reverenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere up their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedinesse, that they seemed rather to devoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him understand by signes, that the Jawas had made invocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand divers strange things of him, which for feare of the Jawas he durst not utter. They have also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

Jawas are their Priestes.

Magicians.

Physitions.

Invocations of the Jawas or Priests unto Toya.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned unto Charles-fort: where having remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gave them

Their victuals fayle them.

part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more unto themselves then would serve to sow their fieldes. They tolde them farther that for this cause it was needeful for them to retire themselves into the woods, to live of Mast and rootes untill the time of harvest, being as sory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gave them also counsell to goe toward the countreys of King Covexis a man of might and renowme in this province, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to live a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre unto a king called Ovade the brother of Covexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very joyfull if he might but once see them. Our men perceiving the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolved to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therfore they made request unto king Maccou, that it would please him to give them one of his subjects to guide them the [III. 316.] right way thither: wherupon he condescended very willingly, knowing that without his favour they should have much ado to bring their interprize to passe. Wherefore after they had given order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselves to Sea, and sayled so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ovade, which they found to be in the river Belle. Being there arrived they perceived a company of Indians, which assoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Assoone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ovade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and used very friendly

The Indians maner of living in the Winter time of Mast and rootes.

King Covexis mightie and renowmed.

King Ovade.

King Maccou.

Ovades countrey in the river Belle.

entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of divers colours the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the king tooke his rest was covered with white Coverlettes embroydered with devises of very wittie and fine workemanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They advertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (having heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian assoone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subjects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Tapistry made like litle coverlets, & gave them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceived the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these giftes our men gave him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leave of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might assure themselves of him, that they should never want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themselves, and sayled towards Charlesfort, which from this place might be some five and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men

Tapistrie of feathers.

White coverlets edged with red fringe.

The liberalitie of king Ovade.

Ovades countrey twenty-five leagues Southward from Charles fort.

thought themselves at their ease, & free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, even as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to save any thing, saving a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselves in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which never forsaketh those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune, were very sory for it. And then they uttered unto their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, shewing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, & that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received: protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Savages feare above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endevour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they received of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ovade and Covexis his brother. Wherefore they resolved to send thither some of their company the

The fort set on fire by casualtie.

The fort reedified by the Savages in the space of 12 houres.

next day following: which with an Indian Canoa sayled up into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great river of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein a great number of Crocodils, which in greatnes passe those of the river Nilus: moreover, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a smal while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselves in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ovade: of whom they were most courteously received. They advertised him of the occasion wherefore they came againe to visite him, and told him of the mischance, which happened unto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their houshold stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had given them so bountifully: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe unto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

Crocodiles.

Cypresses.

Their second journey to the countrey of Ovade.

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After that the king had understood their case, he sent messengers unto his brother Covexis, to request him upon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would have taken their leave of him, finding themselves more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could devise. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide unto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gave them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two stones of fine Christal, and certaine silver oare. Our men forgot not to give him certaine trifles in recom-

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Christall, silver ore.

pence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the silver oare and the Christall came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes journey from his habitation up within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being joyfull to understand so good newes, and to have come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leave of the king, and returned by the same saw, by which they came.

The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes journey from the river Belle. Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaved themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the just judgement of God would have it, that those which could not bee overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their owne selves. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to overthrow themselves, then not to attempt some new thing dayly. We have infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, unto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from their countrey and absent from their countreymen, have also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissentions, which began about a souldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also using to threathen the rest of his souldiers which staied behind under his obedience, and peradventure (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should have bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: wherupon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that moved them thereunto was, because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his

Mutiny against the captaine, and the causes thereof.

promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreover, that he would chastise others also, & used so evil sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat them. The souldiers seeing his madnes to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kil him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seeke the souldier that was banished, which was in a small Island distant from Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselves together to choose one to be governour over them whose name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they lived peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a smal Pinnesse, with hope to return into France, if no succours came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistresse of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else saving how to furnish it with all things necessarie to undertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull, as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise coulde not come to effect. Having no meanes to recover these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which never forsaketh the afflicted, did succour them in their necessitie.

Captaine Albert slaine by his owne souldiers.

Nicolas Barre, chosen captain.

A new Brigandine built in Florida.

As they were in these perplexities king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the king in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne

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within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes & promises, bestowed upon them certaine cutting hookes and shirtes. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recover rosen in the woodes, wherin they cut the Pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to bray the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serve to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small Pinnesse. Our men as glad as might be, used great liberalitie towards them, and at their leaving of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leaving them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the Brigandine, & used so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the winde came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to invite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too excessive joy, which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather deprived of all foresight & consideration, without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their interprise became unluckly and unfortunate.

Rosen to bray ships.

Mosse to calke ships.

Cordage for tackle.

They put to the sea without sufficient victuals.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprized with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not above five and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that every man was constrained to eate not past twelve graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peason. Yea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather jerkins which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drink their owne urine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppresse them, they fell every minute of an houre out of all hope ever to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on al sides entred into their Barke. And every day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten up their shooes and their leather jerkins, there arose so boystrous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waves filled their vessel halfe full of water and brused it upon the one side. Being now more out of hope then ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolved to die, every one fell downe backewarde, and gave themselves over altogether unto the will of the waves. When as one of them a little having taken heart unto him declared unto them how litle way they had to sayle, assuring them, that if the winde held, they should see land within three dayes. This man did so encourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinnesse they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, seeing they could not discry any land. Wherefore in this extreme despaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should

Their victuals utterly consumed.

They drinke their urine for want of fresh water.

Extreme famine.

perish: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flesh was devided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

The French succoured by an English Barke.

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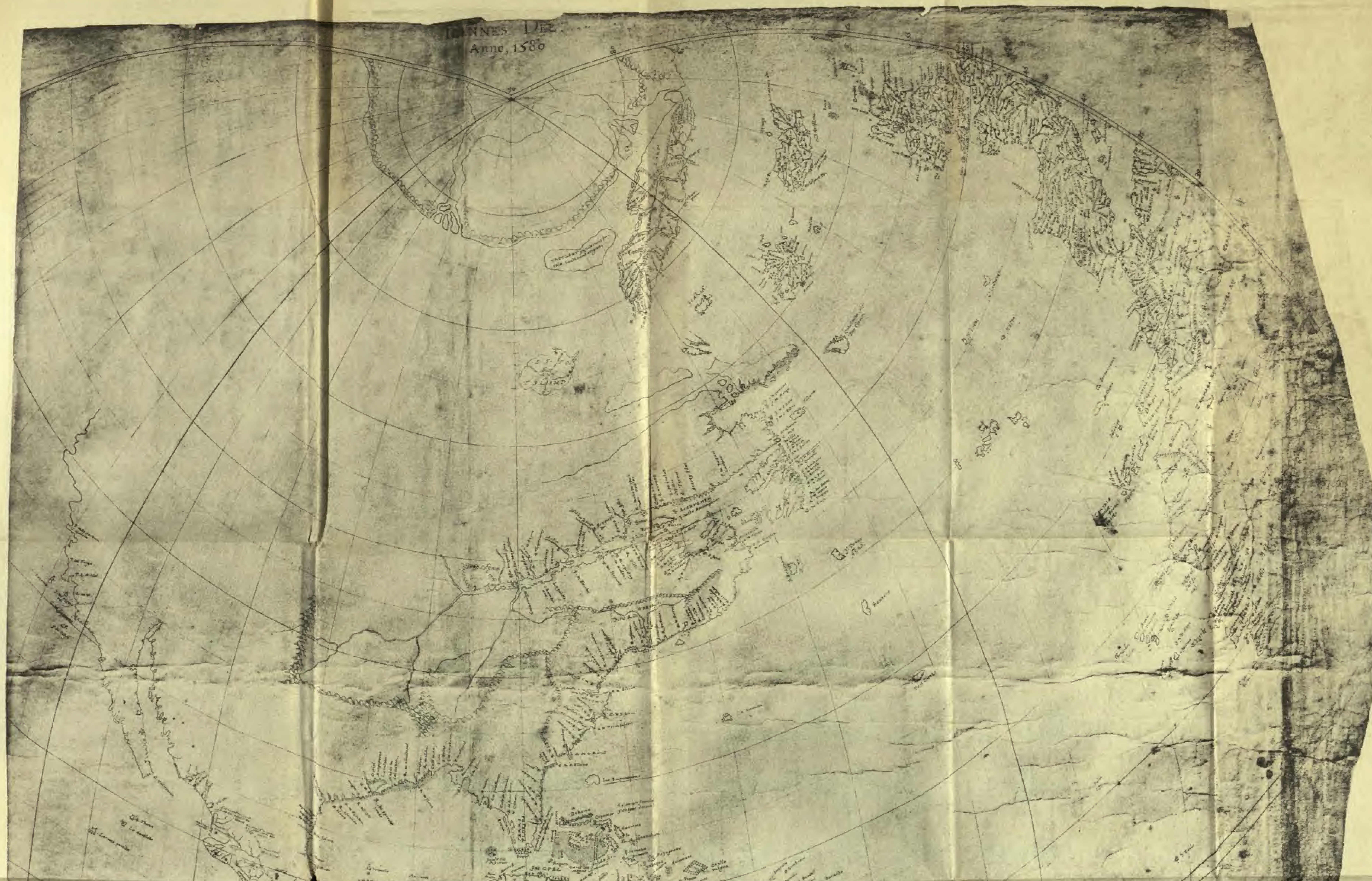
It seemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

After so long time and tedious travels, God of his goodnesse using his accustomed favour, changed their sorow into joy, and shewed unto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the Pinnesse flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake unto them, and afterward gave them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recovered their naturall courages, and declared unto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to cary the rest unto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine John Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.


IOANNES DEE.
Anno, 1580

MAP OF AMERICA BY DR. JOHN DEE, A.D. 1580

OF THE D.ECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
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The second voyage unto Florida, made and written by Captaine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

AFter our arrivall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of July 1562) we found the civil warres begun, which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine John Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we have sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be understood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral De Chastillon shewed unto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine John Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect, the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of sixe score tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

The civill warres the cause why the Frenchmen were not supplied, which were left behinde in their first voyage.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull service which I had done, aswell unto his Majestie as to his predecessors kings of France, advertised the king how able I was to doe him service in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine over these 3 shippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gainesay, but rather thinking my selfe happy to have bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my judgement were very well able to have quitted themselves in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Haven the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere unto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Salvage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middest thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth up like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go up but from the middest of May untill the middest of August, by reason of the over great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all covered over with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselves into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselves to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkases there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to live in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their livelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which

Laudonniers second voyage to Florida, with three ships the 22 of Aprill 1564.

The Isle of Teneriffa, or the Pike.

sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes favoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arrived safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinino, one of the first of them, the next day we arrived at Dominica, twelve leagues distant from the former.

The Isle of Martinino. Dominica an Island.

Dominica is one of the fayrest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selves with fresh water, I made the Mariners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sayled toward us in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approched unto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of us, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speede as he could possibly. Which our men perceived and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him unto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding us, that he knew not which way to behave himselfe, because that (as afterward I understood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed us, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of us, and discoursed unto us of many things, wherof we received very small pleasure, because we understood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to give him leave to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would have patience untill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart after I had given him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherewith he departed very well contented from us.

Ananas a fruite of great excellencie.

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The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle river of sweet and excellent good water: by which river we stayed certaine dayes to discover the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which above all things besought us that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should give them great cause of jelousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered us very liberally, receiving in recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle rivers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side overthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonied at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more undiscreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any discretion: and not therewithall contented they went toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without regarding any thing they rushed upon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaveau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to save themselves without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieuetenant being advertised, sent unto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee should go directly to their dwellings to know the trueth. I sent unto him after good deliberation hereupon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for divers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embarke himself with al diligence, & consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sayled towards our ships he perceived along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surprise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and came unto our ship. Where staying untill the next day morning we set sayle following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discovered diverse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed between Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arrived 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurseday the 22 of June about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle river which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 lagues above Cape François drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues above the River of May. After wee had strooken sayle and cast anker athwart the River, I determined to goe on shore to discover the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Ottigni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the evening. And being arrived at the mouth of the river, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonable deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other

His arrival in Florida the 22 of June 1564.

Cape Francois being between the river of Dolphins and the river of May, maketh the distance 30 leagues about, which is but 10 leagues over land.

The great love and courtesie of the Floridians.

toward the North. Having thus searched the River, I went on land to speake with the Indians which waited for us upon the shore, which at our comming on land, came before us, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonassou, which is as much to say, as brother, friend, or some such like [III. 321.] thing. After they had made very much of us, they shewed us their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Governour, to whom I presented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayse God continually, for the great love which I have found in these Savages, which were sory for nothing, but that the night approched, and made us retire unto our ships.

The river of Dolphins, called Seloy by the Savages.

Their arrivall at the river of May.

For though they endevoured by al meanes to make us tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present us with some rare things, yet neverthelesse for many just and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night: but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this River, the river of Dolphines, because that at mine arrivall, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gave commandement to weigh anker, & to hoise our sailes to saile toward the river of May, where we arrived two dayes after, & cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularities of this place, we espyed the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards us (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine John Ribault) which having espied us, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so joyful that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet us, accompanied then with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to use this speech unto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which stil made very much of us, and by evident signes made us understand how glad they were of our arrivall. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of John Ribault (as we have declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

The piller set up before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with small paniers full of corne, worshipped by the Savages.

Having yeelded unto him and being come to the place where it was set up, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kissed the same with great reverence and besought us to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with us. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me understand some great secret, & by signes shewed me very well up within the river the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children have the selfe same title of Paracoussy: The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisedome, and honest sobrietie, shewing by his modest gravitie that he deserveth the name which he beareth, besids that he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present unto me a wedge of silver, which hee did & that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gave him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leave of them, because the night approched, & then

Paracoussy Satourioua.

A wedge of silver.

returned to lodge in our shippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the river of May, which of purpose waited for us in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinne dressed like Chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colours, but of so lively a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so justly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided that without any ayd and favour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea even of those which by their industry are able to aspire unto things most absolute.

Then I advertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discover farther up into the river, but that this should be with such diligence that I would come againe unto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinne, which I refused then, and promised to receive it of him at my returne. For my part I gave him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendship.

[III. 322.] Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues up the river, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the river, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say friende, friende: but I discovered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually devoure

Grosses.

and spoyle the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceived of their harvest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone awhile, they came unto a Marish of Reeds, where finding their way to be stopped, they rested under the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselves a little and to resolve which way to take. Then they discovered, as it were on the suddaine, five Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, untill they said unto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that understanding their speech they might come unto us more boldely, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare up the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went formost was apparrelled our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracoussy, Paracoussy, wherfore, some of our company went towards him, and using him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Savages might thinke the Frenchmen had compained with such as they at other times.

Monsieur de Ottigni.

The Indian Paracoussy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gave unto my Lieuetenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

The curtesie of the Floridians to the French.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Marishes, over which the Paracoussy, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne upon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth untill they came unto the Paracoussyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receive our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessell of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessell of wood, and presented thereof to every one to drinke, observing in doing the same, a certaine order and reverence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gave drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing sufficiently refreshed, the Paracoussy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that lived upon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, using this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende, whereat the olde sier shewed himselfe very glad.

Men of exceeding olde age.

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answere, shewing that he was the first living originall, from whence five generations were descended, as he shewed unto them by another olde man that sate directly over against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a living body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerely thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discerne them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni having seene so strange a thing, turned to the yoonger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twise upon his thigh, and laying his hand upon two of them, he shewed him by signes, that these two were his sonnes: againe smiting upon their thighes, he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same maner untill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father alive more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible, yet it was tolde them, [III. 323.] that they might yet live thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesse then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be given to our men, which he had bred up for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also little Paniers made of Palme leaves full of Gourds red and blew to bee delivered unto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toyes.

Savages in Florida of 250. yeres olde.

Egles in Florida.

These two olde men caused our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which hath brought them thither. And having taken leave of the Paracoussy, they came and sought me out in the place where I stayed, and rehearsed unto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankely and heartily had received them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so sovereigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were environed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in

Cedars, Palmes, Bayes exceeding sweete.

Abundance of grapes.

Esquine a drugge excellent against the pockes.

great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may bee seene plaine and open from it, and more then sixe great leagues off, neere the River Belle, a man may beholde the medowes divided asunder into Iles and Islets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to sayle towards the mouth of the River, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited for us. Wherefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reverence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gave me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of silver came which he had given me before: whereunto he made me a very sudden answere, which notwithstanding I understood not, which he well perceived. And then he shewed me by evident signes that all of it came from a place more within the River by certaine dayes journeyes from this place, and declared unto us that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection hee spake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I understoode what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his favour, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from thenceforth hee promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselves with such store of arrowes, that nothing should bee wanting to give battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of

Silver certain dayes journey up within the river of May.

Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

my promise, and in so doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Silver in such good quantitie, that mine affaires shoulde take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

The river of Seine.

The river of Somme.

The courtesie of the Paracoussy of the river of Somme.

The matter thus fully resolved upon, I tooke my leave of him to returne unto my shippes, where after wee had rested our selves all the night following, wee hoysed sayles the next day very earely in the morning, and sayled towarde the River of Seine, distant from the River of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, wee arrived at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the River of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discover that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were gratiously and courteously received of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde. His wife sate by him, which besides her Indian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endewed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest gravitie, that there was not one amongst us but did greatly commend her; shee had in her traine five of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought up, that I easily perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserve their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had received us as I have sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of bullets of silver, [III. 324.] for his owne part hee presented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done unto Captaine John Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with such a kinde of present. In our discoursing with one another, wee entred into speach as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proofe pleased him very little; for assoone as he knew that our Harguebuzes did easily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be sorie, musing with himselfe how this thing might bee done. Neverthelesse going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed us very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come unto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

Laudonnieres consultation with his company where it might be best for them to plant.

Neverthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leave of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to bee assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choise to plant our habitation. First I let them understand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore unprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to us, if peradventure we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor convenient: at the least if wee should give credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for us to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Havens, faire, deepe and pleasaunt to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good unto them, to seate our selves about the River of May: seeing also that in our first voyage wee found the same onely among all the rest to abounde in Maiz and corne, besides the Golde and Silver that was found there: a thing that

Gold and silver found at the river of May.

put me in hope of some happie discoverie in time to come.

After I had proposed these things, every one gave his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolved, namely those which had beene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselves rather on the River of May then on any other, untill they might heare newes out of France. This poynt being thus agreed upon, wee sayled toward the River, and used such diligence, that with the favour of the windes wee arrived there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of June. Having cast anker, I embarked all my stuffe and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the River: wherein we entred a good way up, and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which invited us to refresh our selves a little, while wee reposed our selves there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceived from the Creeke.

June the 29.

But because wee found it not very commodious for us to inhabite there: wee determined to returne unto the place which wee had discovered before, when wee had sayled up the River. This place is joyning to a mountaine, and it seemed unto us more fit and commodious to build a fortresse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forrests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde us before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine covered with high Pinetrees distant a little from the other: under which wee perceived an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discovered a little hill adjoyning unto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest medowes of the world, and grasse to feede cattel. Moreover it is invironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, & high woods, which make the vale

The Vale of Laudonniere.

An Hermaphrodite.

more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon having gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessell full of cleere fountaine water, wherwith she greatly refreshed us. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested us as we passed through those high woods. And I beleeve that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had to [III. 325.] make us resolute of our selves, we had taken up our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the rivers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaves, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our travell.

They began their planting with prayer to God.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might give God thankes for our favourable and happie arrivall. There wee sang a Psalme of thankesgiving unto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward us his poore servaunts, and ayde us in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the advancement of our King. The prayer ended, every man began to take courage.

Afterward having measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indevoured our selves of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shovell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten w^t such cheerfulnesse, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, & on whose ground wee built our Fort, came usually accompanyed with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe us all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed divers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subjects to make us a covering of Palme leaves, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might unfraight my shippes, and put under coverture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to dresse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaves, that the Grange was covered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians never ceassed from working, some in fetching Palme leaves, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

In Florida they cover their houses with Palme leaves.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turves made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the River, was inclosed with a Pallisado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, saving about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the middest I caused a great

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

The West side.

The South side.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Nota.

Caroline.

Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middest whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to bee raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by reason of the windes whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached unto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towardes the River was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all covered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middest of the great place, and the other was towarde the River. A good distance from the Fort I built an Oven to avoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaves, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall have leasure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the description of our Fourtresse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

[III. 326.]

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search up within the River, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to us so often at our comming on shoare. For execution hereof the Paracoussy gave him two Indians for his guides, which taking upon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe unto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

The first voyage twentie leagues.

Being imbarked they hoised sayle, and having sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to espie some of their enemies, discovered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would have leapt into the water to have fought with them alone. Neverthelesse Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gave the others respite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Againe, the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre upon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to live in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discover dayly some new thing, & especially the certaine course of the River. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Rivers side. Being come unto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to understand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of us, they called to our men to come neere unto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely unto them, with divers ceremonies over long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Silver among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might have some. Ottigni seeing them so willing, delivered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to undertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them untill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Ottigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues

Ten leagues further.

further up the River: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre up that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which reported unto him, that the Indians would have carried him three great dayes journey further, & told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Silver, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leave, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to enforme himselfe more and more of such things as he might discover more at leasure.

Mayrra a king rich in golde and silver.

The second voyage.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Rivers side, which were expresly sent unto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did usually.

When they perceived Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere unto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall unto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Utina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherwith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: whereat they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arrivall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a

King Molloua. Olata Ouae Utina a great king.

league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with five or sixe pounds weight of silver which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

Five or sixe pound weight of silver.

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of divers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning up to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Aequara, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured us to bee the vassals of the most renowmed Olata Ouae Utina.

Fortie kings vassals to Utina.

[III. 327.]

This done, hee went about likewise to discover the enemies of Ouae Utina, in which number hee placed as the first the Paracoussy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the river of May, which hath under his obeysance thirtie other Paracoussies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes journey from his lord Olata Ouae Utina, and ordinarily made warre upon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like unto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere unto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, & infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleave their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) mooved Potanou to wage warre against Olata Ouae Utina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard

King Potanou.

An exceeding rich place.

stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

Large plates of gold and silver.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the vassals of the great Olata, armed their brests, armes, thighes, legs & foreheads with large plates of gold and silver: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged upon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onetheaqua and Houstaqua were like unto us. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, saving that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the rest as Molloua, painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Sergeant promised him, that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that joyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speach, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named, should present unto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and silver, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and some with red.

The good cheere being done, and the discourses ended, my men imbarked themselves againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes unto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the River, and were come within three leagues of us, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselves because of the night, unto the dwelling of a certaine Paracoussy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arrivall: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to invade them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiving, dissembled so wel, that he made him beleeve that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sworde without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being advertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saved themselves by flight: that neverthelesse they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof unto their fellowes.

The Paracoussy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so favoured them, that they had not beene discovered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie most glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracoussy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not devise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably: and having made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then underneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselves as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracoussy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the cup aside, and [III. 328.] drew out a little dagger stucke up in the roofe of the house, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and smote an Indian which sate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian stirring not at all for the blowe, which he seemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the same in his former place, and began againe to give us drinke as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had scarce given three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned unto him which hee had strocken before, to whom he gave a very sore blow on the side, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and set himselfe downe among the rest. A little while after he that had bene stricken fell downe backwards, stretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld up the latter gaspe. And then the younger sonne of the Paracoussy apparelled in a long white skinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her sonnes were, at the first shee used infinite numbers of outcries, then one while lifting up her eyes to heaven, another while falling downe unto the ground, shee cryed so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would have moved the most hard and stony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrles, which did never leave weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the saddest gestures they could devise, carried him away into another house a little way off from the great hall of the Paracoussy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the space of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceassed not to drinke Cassine, but with such silence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vasseur being grieved that he understood not these ceremonies, demanded of the Paracoussy what these things meant: which answered him slowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without saying any more. Being more displeased then he was before with so sleight an answere, he turned unto another Indian the Paracoussyes brother, who was a Paracoussy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like answere as hee did at the first, praying him to aske no more of these matters, and to have patience for that time. The subtill old Paracoussy prayed him within a while after, to shew him his sword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would have beheld the fashion of his weapons: but he soone perceived that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on every place, to see if he could finde any blood upon it, which might shew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies have beene defeated, with some blood upon them, for a token of their victories. But seeing no signe thereof upon it, he was upon the point to say unto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vasseur preventing that which hee might object, declared and shewed unto him by signes, the maner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slaine, his sword was so bloudy, that hee was inforced to wash and make it cleane a long while in the River: which the olde man beleeved to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

King Malica.

Vasseur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracoussy sitting upon tapistries made of small reedes, which was at meate after the Indian fashion, and the Indian that was smitten hard by him, lying upon the selfe same tapistry, about whom stoode the wife of the Paracoussy, with all the young damsels which before bewailed him in

Tapistry made of small reeds.

They lappe mosse about their woundes and use it in stead of napkins.

A ceremonie to call to mind the death of their ancesters slaine by their enemies.

The returne of their ships toward France the 28. of July.

the hall; which did nothing else but warme a great deal of mosse instead of napkins to rub the Indians side. Hereupon our men asked the Paracoussy againe for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: hee answered, that this was nothing else but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and persecutions of the Paracoussies their ancestours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreover, that as often as he himselfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, hee used for a perpetuall memorie of all his predecessors, to beate the best beloved of all his children with the selfe same weapons wherewith they had bene killed in times past: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death should be lamented afresh. Now when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the Paracoussy for their good intertainement which they had received, & so setting saile came to me unto the fort: [III. 329.] where they declared all unto me as I have recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of July our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arrivall in Florida, the Paracoussy Satourioua sent certaine Indians unto mee to knowe whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arrivall in that Countrey, which was that I would shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enemie unto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient, and should finde a fit occasion to goe to warre. Now seeing he rested upon this promise, he prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answere, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would, yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoved mee at that present to make provision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time: Moreover, that the Paracoussy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within two moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

The ceremonie which they use before they goe to warre.

The Indians caried this answere to their Paracoussy, which was litle pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracoussies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremonie which this Savage used before hee embarked his armie deserveth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Rivers side, being compassed about with ten other Paracoussies, hee commaunded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking up into heaven, he fell to discourse of divers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked upon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, hee sprinkled with his hand a little of the water which hee helde in a vessell upon the heads of the Paracoussies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done, hee cried out thrise, He Thimogoa, and was followed with five hundreth Indians at the least, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt unto him so happy a victory, that hee might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure.

Satourioua followed with five hundreth Indians.

Moreover, that the Paracoussies which were sprinckled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The Paracoussy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and used such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arrived on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that five of the Paracoussies should saile up the River with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day should approche unto the dwelling of their enemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his journey through the woods and forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

Consultation before they assault their enemies.

These things which were thus agreed upon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their skulles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselves immediatly unto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to singe praises unto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heads on the end of their javelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracoussy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they devided their prisoners equally to each of the Paracoussies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subject, to carry newes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their

How they use their enemies which they take in warre.

King Omoloa.

houses, which immediatly beganne to weepe. But assoone as night was come, they never left dancing and playing a thousand gambols in honour of the feast.

The next day the Paracoussy Satourioua came home, who before hee entred into his lodging caused all the [III. 330.] hairie skuls of his enemies to bee set up before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which assoone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances.

Their maner of triumph.

After that I was advertised of these things, I sent a Souldier unto Satourioua, praying him to sende mee two of his prisoners: which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding unto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had sworne unto him at my arrivall. Which when I understoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with speede, I devised howe I might be revenged of this Savage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde bravado of his should cost him: therefore I commanded my Sergeant to provide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any maner of salutation, I went and sate mee downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woorde unto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deepely in his dumpes: besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had given expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe foorth: having stoode still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought unto me.

Whereunto the Paracoussy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stoode a long while without making any answere, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being afraide to see us comming thither in such warrelike maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I seemed to make as though I understood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Athore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

Athore.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracoussy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting up their hands before me, they would have fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me unto my owne Fort. The Paracoussy being wonderfully offended with this bravado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be revenged of us. But to give us no suspition thereof, and the better to cover his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes unto us bringing alwayes with them some kinde of presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which brought us two baskets full of great Pumpions, much more excellent then those which we have in France, and promised me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should never want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified unto them the great desire which I had, aswell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subjects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the Kings of those parts, hee had an open passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwise he could not set upon. Moreover that Olata Ouae Utina was so mightie a Paracoussy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily overthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Rivers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to have patience untill the morowe,

Excellent Pumpions.

at what time they would come againe unto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, advertising me that Paracoussy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to observe and performe whatsoever I should agree upon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed unto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolved within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouae Utina, whose subjects they were: but before I embarked them, I gave them certaine small trifles, which were little knives or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very lively, for which they gave me very great thankes, as also for the honest entertainment which was given them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselves, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Utina, hoping that the favour of this great Paracoussy would serve my turne greatly to make my discoveries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and sixe gallant Souldiers.

[III. 331.]

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of August.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracoussy Satourioua against mee did still continue, until that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heaven fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeve to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the strange signes which have bene seene in times past, and whereof the histories have never written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe covered over with water, neverthelesse the lightning in one instant consumed above five hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their pastime in the medowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused us not a little to muse, not being

King Serranay.

King Allimacany.

The Savages thinke the lightning to be discharging of the Christians Ordinance.

able to judge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of us: another while wee thought that they had discovered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neverthelesse being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serrany to knowe the trueth thereof. But even as I was upon the point to sende one by boate to discover the matter, sixe Indians came unto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made unto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the loving amitie which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my service. Therefore considering the serviceable affection that hee bare unto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt up an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed even downe unto the bottome of the water, and came so neere unto his mansion, that hee thought hee sawe the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from us.

Having understood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but bee very profitable for us, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made unto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaved himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Ouae

Utina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause wherefore I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach unto his house (as I might have done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter: and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

Laudonniere used the present occasion to his profite.

The Indians contented with mine answere returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withdrewe himselfe from his dwelling twentie or five and twentie leagues off and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessive heate in the aire, that the River neere unto which we planted our habitation, became so hoat, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many divers sorts, that in the mouth of the River onely there were founde dead ynough to have loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst us, insomuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased our mercifull God so to provide by his providence, that all our men recovered their health without the losse of any one of them.

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the River with this heat.

Monsieur de Arlac, Captaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the prisoners unto Utina, sailed so farre up the River, that they discovered a place called Mayarqua distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gave them good entertainement, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwel-

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarqua a place 80. leagues up the River of May.

ling of Paracoussy Utina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaile against one of his enemies called Potanou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might have occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Captaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely five Souldiers with him.

King Patanou.

Now because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprise, Utina resolved to take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to bring this to passe, hee made his men to travaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well advised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they saide) that the noyse of their pieces might astonish their enemies: notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Utina about five and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endevour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselves charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they never had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the hande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Utina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracoussy Utina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Utina was very much grieved. Eight or tenne dayes after, I sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Utina, as

The Indians maner of war.
[III. 332.]

Two hundreth Indians.

A village inclosed with trees.

Utina getteth the victory of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

some silver, a small quantitie of golde, painted skinnes, and other things, with a thousand thankes, which the Paracoussy gave me, which promised that if in any enterprise of importance I should have neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundreth and above.

Silver, and gold, and painted skinnes.

While I thus travailed to purchase friends, & to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned under hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magicke he had discovered a Mine of golde and silver farre up within the River, whereby (upon the losse of his life,) every Souldier should receive in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and above fifteene hundred thousand which should be reserved for the Kings Majestie: wherefore they allied themselves with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be revenged, because I would not give him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would deprive them of this great gaine, in that I did set them dayly on worke, not sending them on every side to discover the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee understand so much, to seeke meanes to dispatch mee out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not give them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse unto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was: I made him answere that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that

La Roquettes conspiracie.

Monsieur de Genre.

Genres message to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.

His answere.

those which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprise them. Furthermore, that their maner of proceeding seemed strange unto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Majestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arrivall, in as much as they shewed themselves much more given unto covetousnesse, then unto the service of their Prince: But seeing mine answere tended unto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to travaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare upon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselves to worke the better. But as I perceived afterwards, and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to have killed mee, and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had given them any hard speeches.

A dangerous practice against the Captaine and his Lieutenant.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my usuall maner, I marched first to give encouragement unto my Soldiers) I chafed my selfe in such sort, that I fell into a sore and grievous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should have died: During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often unto mee, as one that I trusted above all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake unto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his mischievous intention, hee gate him unto mine Apothecarie praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receive one or two dayes after, some drugge

Laudonniers sicknesse.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

[III. 333.]

that should make mee pitch over the pearch, or at the least that hee would give him a little Arsenike or quicke Silver, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like maner Master S. which was Master of the fire-workes. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolved to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder underneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

The Master of the fireworks.

Upon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to returne into France, being about to take his leave of me, advertised me, that Genre had given him a booke full of all kinde of lewde invectives and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: upon which occasion I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arrived in the roade, and were come into our River. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the untruths that were written against mee. Genre, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he lived for a while after with the Savages by my permission,) writ unto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed unto mee, that hee had deserved death, condemning himselfe so farrefoorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

Captaine Bourdet arrived in Florida the 4. of September.

The seventh or eighth day of November, after I had caused sufficient provision of such victuals as were needefull to bee made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and an other towarde King Utina, to discover every day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the space of five or sixe moneths, during which hee discovered many small villages, and among others one named Hostaqua, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent unto mee a quiver made of a Luserns skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or five skinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Silver weying about a pounde weight. In

The 4. voyage the 7. of November.

Hostaqua a village.

recompence of which presents I sent him two whole sutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

After these things therefore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leave mee and to returne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seven Souldiers, whom I coulde not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Genre, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the River. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France, suborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Isles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne to devise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe unto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and an halfe from our Fort, and situated upon an arme of the River, (whither according to my maner I sent them dayly to seeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houses) they would returne no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselves all in one vessell, and would goe their way: as indeede they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the shipboate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as unluckily for mee as was possible. For I was

One of his Barks stolne away by his Mariners.

The village of Sarauahi.

Another of his Barks stolne away by two Carpenters.

ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discover as farre up our River, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I understood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and silver, which they seazed upon. And having this bootie they lay a while at Sea, untill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came unto Havana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and suspecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to search those Rivers for some newes of these Mariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to provide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieves: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie five, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

One of these Mariners named Francis Jean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill necessary here.

[III. 334.]

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I set my workemen about, when ambition and avarice, the mother of all mischiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or five souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from hence forward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steven le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to moyle themselves thus with abject and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde offered them to make themselves all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and

The thirde sedition.

By Peru the French meane the coast of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

to furnish them with good men: and then to saile unto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where every Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselves into Italy, untill the heate were overpassed, and that in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented unto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine us, until the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adjoyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answere, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: seeing also that wee had ynough to serve us for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that under pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subjects, which in time to come might justly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expresly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subjects, nor any thing whereof he might conceive any jelousie.

The captaines charge at his setting forth.

They made as though they were content with this answere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working upon our Fort, and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee also, if I woulde not consent unto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof advertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some evill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harnesse, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shrewde tricke: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request unto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request unto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they should send some few unto me to signifie unto mee what they would have. Hereupon the five chiefe authours of the sedition armed with Corslets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber, saying unto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their adventure. Then I warned them to bee well advised what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replyed, that they were fully advised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answere and give mee an accompt of every thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of every chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliver them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might use them to their disadvantage (being so villanously abused by them:) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld unto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried mee very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at ancker in the middest of the River, wherein I was the space of fifteene dayes, attended upon with one man onely without permission for any of my servants to come to visite mee: from every one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passeport to signe, telling me plainely after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. Thus was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, asmuch as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliver them the flag of his ship. Then having determined to saile unto a place of the Antilles called Leauguave, belonging unto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmasse night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselves, when they came foorth of the mouth of the river, the two barks divided themselves; the one kept

Laudonniere kept 15. dayes prisoner by his owne souldiers.

[III. 335.]

Trenchant a skilfull pilot.

along the coast unto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right foorth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they mette not untill sixe weeks after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere unto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Cassavi, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neverthelesse is very white, and good to eat, and some little Wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made upon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steven Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicolas Master and Doublet: yet neverthelesse they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right unto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguave, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolved to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Jamaica: where at their arrivall they found a Caravel of fifty or threescore tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of five or sixe dayes, they embarked themselves in it, leaving their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the governour of Jamaica was taken, with great store of riches, aswell of golde and silver as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their caravell, and their governour of Jamaica also. After they were come to Jamaica, they missed of another caravel which did save

Cassavi, bread made of roots.

Baracou a village in the Isle of Jamaica.

The cape of Tiburon.

The governor of Jamaica taken.

it selfe in the haven. The governour being fine and subtile, seeing himselfe brought unto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to advertise her that she should make provision of victuals to send unto him. But in stead of writing unto his wife, he spake unto the boyes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the havens neere that place to succour and rescue him. Which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the havens mouth (which reacheth above two leagues up within the land) there came out of the haven a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose comming our mutinous fellowes were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, aswell because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the haven, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that five or six & twenty that were in the brigantine discovered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselves pressed for want of leasure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it advertised the rest: whereupon the Spanyards seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recovered their own ships: the brigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, & from thence passed within the sight of Havana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elswhere we have declared) desired nothing

Malgualire a kinde of vessell that will saile forward and backward.

The Cape of S. Antony in Cuba. Havana.

more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peradventure the wind served them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward the breake of the day about the five and twentieth of March they arrived upon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Judges: but they played not this pranke untill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Judge, another presented my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will never take him for an honest man: others thought that my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried upon our coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to advertise me that he had descried a shippe upon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the river of May, when at the first blush we thought they had beene shippes come from France; which gave us occasion of great joy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was advertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, that they should bring up their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not above two leagues distance from the mouth of the river where they cast anker unto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would never come

The chanell of Bahama.

[III. 336.]

King Patica.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres seditious souldiers.

againe within the fort, I was well pleased they should keepe their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the rivers mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore; whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my councell expresly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serve for an example to the rest. In the same place I made an Oration unto them in this maner.

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous souldiers.

MY friends, you know the cause why our king sent us unto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the commandement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor lives to do those things that concerne his service: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this general and naturall obligation, you have this also joyned thereunto, that in receiving of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established over you to be your governours, and to command you in his name, having for this purpose given him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes revoke for any faire apparance which you have to doe the contrary: for this is reason, that seeing you live upon his charges on this condition, (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull unto him. Notwithstanding you have had more regard unto your unbridled affections then unto vertue, which invited you to the observance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemners of all honesty, you have passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the justice of men, you could not avoid the judgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be avoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arrive in this place, to make you confesse how true his judgements are, and that he never suffereth so foule a fault to escape unpunished.

After that I had used unto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed upon in councell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Majesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to save themselves from this arrest, they tooke themselves unto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus unto them: What, brethren and companions, will you suffer us to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd unto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition and rebels unto the kings service. Heereupon the souldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged upon certaine gibbets along the havens mouth: which I caused presently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes lived peaceably, and enjoyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I have spoken of nothing but their accidentes and adventures which happened unto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First I began to consider to the end I might confirme and make my selfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition upon want of victuals: for from the time of our arrivall, every souldier dayly unto this day, and besides untill the eight and twentieth of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my selfe that all new conquests by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, aswell in respect of the distance of

The sentence of death.

Execution.

[III. 337.]

The continuation of the history.

New conquests subject to rebellions and mutinies.

place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers have to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened unto Christopher Columbus, after his first discovery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came unto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ottigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and caried me from thence in a barke assoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come unto the fort, I caused all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared unto them the faults which they that had forsaken us had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witnesse thereof when need should require. Foorthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to governe themselves from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoever I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings service; wherein assuredly they never after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as ever was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne unto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare unto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of us should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selves against the Indians: wherein having willingly agreed unto mee, they raised it all with turfes from the gate unto the river which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that

Laudonniere setteth things in order after his returne out of prison to the fort.

Reparation of the West side of the fort.

the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discover up the river. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Knives, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasses. Two Indians came unto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceived that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought unto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They which love rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we have spoken, were brought unto the fort unto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long unto their hammes as the Savages use to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey that at the first sight they found our maner of apparell strange. After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it up in a linnen cloth, saying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to

King Marracou.

King Onathaqua.

King Mathiaca.

Two Spanyards brought unto Laudonniere by the Savages.

Calos a place upon ye Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

The King of Calos.

Great quantitie of golde and silver.

[III. 338.]

Plates of gold as broad as a sawcer.

the value of five and twenty crownes, which he gave unto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they answered me that fifteene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place named Calos upon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recovered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, travelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saved, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women married, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrier, and having many subjects under his obedience. They tolde me moreover, that he had great store of golde and silver, so farre foorth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perswaded themselves that they could cause me to recover, if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also advertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number; that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reverence of his subjects; and that hee made them beleeve that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twise a yeere to a certaine house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee used certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediatly caused him to be put to death. Moreover, they tolde me, that every yeere in the time of harvest, this Savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expresly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempest were cast away upon that coast. One of these two declared unto me, that hee had served him a long time for a messenger; and that often times by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos foure or five dayes journey, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarrope, about five leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not so great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is unpossible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, having made alliance with Oathcaqua, was deprived of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promised to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, unto king Calos, to give her unto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle advertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaved themselves, that Oathcaqua

One of these Spanyards names was Martin Gomes.

King Oathcaqua or Houathca.

Sarrope an Island.

Abundance of Dates.

A root of great price to make bread of.

2' '03

This queenes name was Nia Cubacani.

The fift voyage up the river of May.

Mathiaqua.

The discovery of a mighty lake, on the one side whereof no land can be seene.

The Isle of Edelano.

An excellent worke of nature.

Eneguape.
Chilily.
Patica.
Coya.

certaine baskets full of the leaves of Cassine, wherwith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plentifull of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subjects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals untill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discover along the river, and up toward the head thereof, which went so far up that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discovered the entrance of a lake, upon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discerne any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelano situated in the midst of the river, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey, and marvellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go unto the rivers side a man must passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides wherof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & lastly they came unto Coya: where leaving their barks in a litle creeke of the river with men to guard them, they went to visit Utina, which received them very courteously: and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that sixe of my men remained with him; of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discover the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came unto me to the fort, and tolde me that he never saw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported unto me that he had seene a place named Hostaqua, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Savages to the field; with whom if I would joyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants unto our obedience: besides that this king knew the passages unto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men desired so greatly to atteine unto, and where the enemy of Hostaqua made his abode; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. This king sent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foote whereof there runneth a streame of golde or copper, as the Savages thinke, out of which they dig up the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed untill the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and silver among this sand: which giveth them to understand, that some rich mine must needs be in the mountaine. And because the mountaine was not past five or sixe dayes journey from our fort, lying toward the Northwest, I determined assoone as our supply should come out of France, to remoove our habitation unto some river more toward the North, that I might be nerer thereunto. One of my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where having gotten

The king of Hostaqua or Oustaca able to bring three or foure thousand Savages to the field.

The mountaine of Apalatci.

There is a mine of golde or rich coper in the mountaine of Apalatci.

[III. 340.]

Peter Gamby slaine.

The village of Edelano.

Gold & silver. together a certaine quantity of golde and silver, and purposing to returne unto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians use to fish withal, and to row upon the rivers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to seethe fish. *Utina sendeth to Laudonniere for his helpe.* The Paracoussy Utina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to invade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me unto the mountaines in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their advice, as I was *A good note.* woont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour unto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discover any further up into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwithstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last advertisement that the Spanyards had given me, I doubted lest the small number which Utina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefore I sent him thirty shot under the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which stayed not above two dayes with Utina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. *Three hundred Indians.* Utina setting forward with three hundred of his subjects, having ech of them their bowe and quiver full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, until that the night approching, and having not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselves: they separated themselves by sixe and sixe, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in whom he put most confidence. Assoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Utina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or five of his men to go and discover the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceived upon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they have alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof advertised by those of the company, durst not passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefore they returned towards Utina, which suddenly sent them backe with a greater company to surprise the fishers, before they might retire and advertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so politikely, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to save himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead unto the banks side, where our Indians flayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reserving his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Utina fearing least Potanou advertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Jawa, which is asmuch to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then his Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to

A lake three leagues distant from the village of Potanou.

Jawa signifieth their Priest or Magician.

beholde, and used certeine words; which being ended, he sayd unto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell: and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians.

This relation caused Utina to be unwilling to passe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as ever he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd unto him, that hee would never thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would give him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Utina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres: wherein without doubt Utina had beene defeated, unlesse our harquebusiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, upon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Utina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing more, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny refreshed himselfe for two dayes: and then taking his leave of the Paracoussi, and leaving him twelve of his men to see that Potanou, bethinking himselfe of his late losse,

The prediction of the Magician found true.

[III. 341.]

Utina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vassals.

should not come to burne the houses of Utina, he set forward on his way to come unto me unto our Fort, where he up and told me how every thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelve souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Utina, being advertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receive them into my favour, and to become enemie to Utina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for many reasons that mooved me.

A custome of the Indians to leave their houses for 3 or 4 moneths and to live in the woods.

The Indians are wont to leave their houses and to retire themselves into the woods the space of three moneths, to wit January, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good provision thereof, while my men had store, untill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the uttermost, we hoped to have had succour out of France) I should have beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well unto their victuals, although I devided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reserving unto my selfe any more then the least souldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Savages were returned by this time unto their villages, yet they succoured us with nothing but certaine fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides they had given us before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held us from the beginning

They looke for succour out of France by the end of April at the uttermost.

Extreme famine for sixe weekes space.

of May untill the middest of June. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after another in Centinel unto the clift of an hill, situate very neere unto the Fort, to see if they might discover any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, & came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selves, we were never like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made unto us, and that no succour was come from thence. Thereupon it was consulted and resolved by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed up, whereof Captaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receive us all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselves to passe therein into France. The rest being better advised said that it should be farre better to build a faire shippe upon the keele of the Galiote which I had caused to be made, promising to labour couragiously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie, they would make it readie by the 8. of August. Immediatly I disposed of the time to worke upon it, I gave charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or sixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather

Promise broken.

store of rosen to bray the vessels: wherein he used such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogsheads of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recover victuals to sustaine us while our worke endured: which I undertooke to doe with ye rest of my company & the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making up the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, having with us no provision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily be gathered how simply those of our Fort were provided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and having made some provision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fifteene and twentie sous unto their companions. During our voyage we lived of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the river sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselves and declared unto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the saving of their lives, to seaze upon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrie: assuring themselves that one being taken, the subjects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answere that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to have good regarde unto the consequence that might insue thereof. Hereupon they replyed unto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, & that we were resolved to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to constraine the Savages to furnish us with victuals: which for the present I would not grant unto them, but promised them assuredly that I would send to advertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which

Two hogsheads of rosen.

[III. 342.]

The vile nature of the Indians.

they brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous, & mischievous of nature, and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold us at so deere a price, that for lesse then nothing they had gotten from us al the rest of our marchandise which remained. And which was worse, fearing to be forced by us and seeing that they had gotten all from us, they came no neerer to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I have seene) to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed unto the Savages the excessive price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly & churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy marchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing and mocked us with open throat. Wherupon our souldiers utterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancie. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Savages, & it suffised me to delay the time. Wherefore I devised to send unto Utina to pray him to deale so farre foorth with his subjects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the river, and are as big as cheries: yea, & this was not but by giving of them in exchange twise as much marchandise and apparell as they were worth. For the subjectes of Utina perceived evidently the necessitie wherein we were, & began to use the like speech unto us, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certain breathing space presented it selfe for Utina gave me to understand that there was a king his

A cruell answere of the Savages.

Pinocke a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cheries.

subject whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that for this cause, if I would give him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recover mast and maiz. In the meane season he excused himselfe unto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store that he had left, was scarsely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being somewhat relieved, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he desired of me, which neverthelesse were very evill intreated: for he deceived them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprise with Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant was determined to be revenged of Utina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would have put their enterprise in execution. Therfore they would not passe any further without advertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe unto the Fort, angry & pricked deepely to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their complaints unto me, declaring unto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, & resolved, assembling themselves againe together, to let me understand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Savages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant unto them, to ye end to avoid a greater mischiefe, and the sedition which I foresaw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion have you to deny us, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account

Astina a king.

[III. 343.]

that they make of us. Shall it not be lawfull for us to punish them for the wrongs which they doe unto us, besides that we know apparantly how little they respect us? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie at all, since they thus delude us, and have broken promise with us? After I had therefore resolved with them to seaze on the person of Utina, which besides that he had given us occasion hereof, was also most able to help us to recover victuals, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arrived in the dominions of Utina, distant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 great leagues from the river, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, having first signified unto his Father in law and his chiefe subjects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieve my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire my selfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselves together, and that some mischiefe might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receive his answere: notwithstanding that my meaning was not to have any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same evening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came unto the Rivers brinke, and cryed unto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discovered the next day five or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere unto the river side, and came to me to signifie unto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemie Potanou, being thereof advertised,

Utina taken prisoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his soldiers.

Five or sixe hundred Indians.

was entred into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neverthelesse in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set upon me if I had come on land, which was easie for mee to discerne. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discovered, and sought by all meanes to remoove out of my minde that evill opinion which I had conceived of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Mast, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Utina and me.

The deepe dissembling of the Indians.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neverthelesse I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my will according to their custome, whereby they put to death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselves in the great house, and having called all the people together they proposed the election of a new King, at which time the Father in lawe of Utina set one of the kings young sonnes upon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that every man did him homage by the major part of the voyces. This election had like to have bene the cause of great troubles among them. For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adjoyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subjects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succeede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Utina with me, to whom I had given some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done unto his sonne. But his subjects which before had an opinion that I would have killed him,

The Indians kill all the men prisoners that they take in warre.

The election of a new king.

being advertised of the good entertainment which I used towards him, sent two men which walked along the river, and came to visite him, and brought us some victuals. These two men at their comming were received by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arrived from all quarters many Savages of the countries adjoyning, which came to see Utina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a King my neighbour whose name was Saturioua, a subtill and craftie man, and one that shewed by proofe that he was greatly practised in affaires. The King sent ordinarily messengers unto me, to pray me to deliver Utina unto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seven or eight baskets of Maiz or of Mast, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to composition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with ye same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the travaile upon the ships which we built to returne into [III. 344.] France, but that in the end we were constrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among us all the moneth of May: for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Mast was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrayned to eate rootes, which the most part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to us from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebusies to seeke to kill some foule. Yea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered up among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde,

The hatred among the Savage kings of Florida.

Note.

Note.

Rootes.

Esquine.

which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleave so neere unto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes peirced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise up against us, considering that it would have bene very hard for us to have defended our selves in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarsitie of all victuals, which fayled us all at once. For the very river had not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against us. Now as we were thus upon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of June, I was advertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey up above the river, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take upon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went up the river to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Utina in a village where she made us very good cheere and sent us fish. We found that which was tolde us to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shrewde turne happened unto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also beene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, saving little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the river. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate privily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into ye Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I have mentioned before: but being advertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke up the river, he feared that I went foorth

New corne by the end of May in Florida.

The village of Enecaque.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the rivers as big as cheries.

The Ile of Edelano.

with a purpose to be revenged of the evill turne which he played: so that when I came thither, I found the houses emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conveied to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the river where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that they could not stay untill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed assoone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had given to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huske. But seeing my selfe in this extreme neede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I travailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine themselves as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently advertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present from Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Upon receipt of this advertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpses, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, & that by

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz.

The village Athore.

Nia Cubacani a Queene.

this time we had almost driven out the moneth of May, two subjects of king Utina came unto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Utina signified unto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should have plentie of maiz & beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sowen for me, should be reserved to my use. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the advice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had meanes to succour us with food sufficient to serve our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherin I sailed to Patica, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselves, albeit Utina shewed himselfe unto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselves, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrie, to whom I delivered the young sonne of Utina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Utina, unto his father in law and his wife, to advertise them that if they would have their king againe, they should bring me victuals unto the side of the little river whither I was gone. At my mans comming every one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gave unto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discovered, and therefore stood diligently upon my gard. Wherefore perceiving they could not have their purpose, and that they were already

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Patica a village.

discovered, they sent to advertise me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Utina home, where I had much adoe to save him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiving the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to have murdered him. Moreover it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I devised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to divers places, and continued so doing 15 daies after, when as Utina besought me again to send him unto his village, assuring himselfe that his subjects would not sticke to give me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I undertooke this voyage the second time with the two barkes furnished as before. At my comming unto the little river, we found his subjects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to give my souldiers. Neverthelesse returning againe to their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king, if they might have gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would give them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them unto the village, and that the subjects seeing him, would be more willing to give us victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant unto them (mistrusting their subtilitie, which was not so covert, but that one might espie day at a little hole) untill they had first given me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gave mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end

Desire of revenge rooted in the savages.

whereof they declared unto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the uttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subject to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him above all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtill and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disadvantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small river whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approch as neere as we could unto the village of Utina, being sixe French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew streight towards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together, to set upon us in our retreit. They used therefore many meanes to holde us still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, untill such time as they had brought the victuals unto the boats; according to the agreement passed betwene us) they signified unto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all measure to see fire in their matches so neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leave their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their servants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Utina by no meanes was to be [III. 346.]

A necessarie admonition.

The Floridians subtilties.

seene, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselves agreeved with him for the long delayes of his subjects: whereunto he answered, that his subjects were so much incensed against us, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would have done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that even while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Country to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke up, at the endes whereof long haires were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subjects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a thwart the little river where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspition of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Utina, they heard the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would never render, untill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out a maine because two Indians would have carried him into the woods to have cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and delivered. These admonitions being well understoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolved to retire himselfe the seven and twentieth of July. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and delivered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to prevent the enterprise of the savages. There is at the

A certaine signe of warre.

comming foorth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is covered on both sides with great trees. My Lieutenant disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march: for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march somewhat before with 8 harquebusiers to discover whether there were any danger: besides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebusiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out: for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they sought to charge us. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gave them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained alive. This done my Lieutenant hasted to gaine ground in such sort as I have already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh with a newe troope of Savages which were in number about 300, which assayled him before, while the rest of the former set upon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustayned, that I may justly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie, as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them upon: for he had to deale with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behave themselves in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not prevented their practise, he had beene in danger to have bene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselves and gave place to the rest that were behind, and all

An alley of 3 or 4 hundred paces long.

A skirmish betwene the Savages and the French.

A second fresh charge of Savages.

The Floridiens maner of fight.

the while had their eye and foot so quicke and readie, that assoone as ever they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone up to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceived we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued and lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, untill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & so to deprive the Savages of the means to beginne againe, without all doubt he should have had very much to do: for by this meane they lacked arrowes, and so were constrained to retire themselves. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be revenged on the souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come unto his boates tooke a review of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called James Sale, and the others name was Mesureur. He found moreover 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought unto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he devided equally among them. For assoone as the conflict began, every man was constrained to leave his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and caused every man diligently to travell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring us victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer unto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed unto my poore souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought

The Floridians chiefe feare.

Two slaine.

Two & twenty wounded.

[III. 347.]

Prayer and thanks unto God for their deliverance.

upon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to drive out the time untill our embarking. I was advertised by certaine of our company, which usually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the river, and two leagues distant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine souldiours, which used such diligence, that wee had good store of mill. I sent also to the river which the Savages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the River of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arrived with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Athore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because that in this place are the fairest maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gave certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Whereupon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could devise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was unpossible to make better. Nowe finding our selves by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began each of us in his place, to travaile and use such diligence, as the desire to see our native countrey might moove us. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) John de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired unto me, and tolde me that by reason of want of men hee was not able to make me up the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused such a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them aswell as I

The village Sarauahi.

The village Emoloa.

The river of Iracana called by Ribault ye river of Somme.

Courtesie and liberalitie the best meanes to deale with the savages.

Most artificiall mattes.

could, and determined to worke no more from thencefoorth upon the shippe, but to content our selves to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the Fort, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the pallisade which was toward the waters side, neither was I ever able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should have enjoyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of us to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leave a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great travailes and necessities, to discover that which we must forsake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene succoured in time & place, & according to the promise that was made unto us, the warre which was between us and Utina, had not fallen out, neither should wee have had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaved myself, that although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoever they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might advance our enterprise, and principally while I discovered the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leave it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leave a place abounding in riches (as we were throughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing service unto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wives, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein

The beating downe of the houses without the fort, & the Palisade.

The cause why the French lost Florida.

Eight kings Laudonniers friends and allies.

The principall scope of planters in strange countreys.

Florida a rich countrey.

arrived, as in a plentifull treasure of all our hearts desire. As ech of us were much tormented in minde with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked upon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to advertise those of the Fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would have thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for joy. After these ships had cast anker, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which where gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their service, which on the behalfe of Master John Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying unto me that they had bene above fifteene dayes on the coast to get some. Hee brought unto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seven moneths space I never tasted a drop of wine: neverthelesse it was all divided among the greatest part of my souldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Englishmen unto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same unto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the river, and came to see me in a great shipboate, accompanied with gentle-

Aug. 1565.

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M. John Hawkins ye English Generall.

men honourably apparelled, yet unarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to every one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which untill this present I had carefully preserved hoping to store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened unto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together above an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was so, and signified unto them, that he was come to see me and ayde me with so great store of victuals, that from thence forward I should have no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was spread over all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadours came unto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and even they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and service unto me: Whereupon I received them and gratified them with certaine presents. The General immediately understood the desire & urgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt upon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherfore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before,

Sheepe and poultrie caried into Florida.

An advantage wisely taken.

The French mistrusted that the Englishmen would plant in Florida.

was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say unto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great jeopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leave me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer unto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselves with him and forsake mee, so that he would receive them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselves all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified unto me their intention, wherunto I promised to answere within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke evill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selves with such means as God had sent us. After sundry debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gave mine advise, that wee ought to deliver him the price of the ship which he was to leave us, and that for my part I was content to give him the best of my stuffe, and the silver which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the silver, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it was far better to carie it into France

Silver found in Florida.

Note.

The great importance of this enterprise.

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to give encouragement unto our Princes not to leave off an enterprise of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolved to depart, it was farre better to give him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leave behind us, or to hide it in the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolved on, I went my selfe unto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires and knowing sufficiently how to drive such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens judgement, who esteemed it to be worth seven hundreth crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I delivered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two mynions, one thousand of iron, & one thousand of powder. This bargaine thus made, he considered the necessity wherin we were, having for all our sustenance but mill and water: wherupon being moved with pitie, he offred to relieve me with 20 barels of meale, sixe pipes of beanes, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreover forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe barefoote, hee offred me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gave him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which untill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed upon my selfe a great jarre of oyle, a jarre of vineger, a barell of Olives, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biscuit. Besides he gave divers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we received as many courtesies of the Generall, as it was possible to receive of any man living. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne

The great humanity and bounty of Master John Hawkins to the French.

the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed asmuch of us all as if he had saved all our lives. Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to hasten my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we used, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, & all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboord: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to drive us into France: which had freed us from an infinite number of mischiefes which afterward wee suffred, if they had come as we desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readinesse to set sayle, we bethought our selves that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare unto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of living of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serve our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would have done. In the meane season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, after that they understood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified unto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Moneths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conquerours over all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leave them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodg-

The departure of the English Generall.

August 15.

The Floridians measure their moneths by the revolutions of the Moone.

ings, and that I would leave them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant unto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend until my last departure.

The third voyage of the Frenchmen made by Captaine John Ribault unto Florida.

The arrival of Captaine John Ribault at the Fort the 28 of August 1565.

AS I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide served well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Captaine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to descry certaine sayles at sea, whereof they advertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe to discrie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe up to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discover them. *Note.* They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could judge, seemed to chase my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the river: so that we could not possibly judge whether they were enemies which would have caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to judge the trueth thereof. [III. 350.] Upon this doubt I put my men in order and in such array as though they had beene enemies: and indeede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came unto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seven boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the river, having every man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answere, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made unto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to bestowe a shot at them without doing hurt neverthelesse to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boates. The report hereof being made unto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend our selves, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to have bene: likewise I caused the two small field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in such sort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to have discharged the same upon them. Afterward I understood that the cause why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made unto my Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other save my selfe should enter in thither to governe there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assayled by such, as having no meanes to win themselves credit by vertuous and laudable endevours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neverthelesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in government. For it is very hard, yea utterly unpossible, that in governing of a company of men gathered out of divers places and sundry Nations, and namely such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, unpossible, but there will be alwayes some of evill conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceive an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections endevoureth to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admiral of France.

The danger of backbiting.

for a small occasion grounded upon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great Lords that which mischievously they have contrived against those, whose execution of justice is odious unto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, such as lived in times passed, yet we may judge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters have beene unto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witnesse in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good services, and rather beleeving a false report, then having had regard unto so many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieved. But that I loose not my selfe in digressing so farre in this my justification, I will returne againe to my first course. Being therfore advertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any meanes, I caused him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and received honourably with joy, I brought him to my lodging, rejoycing not a little because that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English General. Howbeit I marveiled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to utter unto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we have found you alive, and chiefly because we know, that the reports which have bene made of you, are false. These speeches mooved me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some evill. Wherefore having accosted Captaine John

Alcibiades banished by backbiters.

Laudonnieres receiving of Captaine Ribault.

Ribault, & going both of us aside together out of the Fort, he signified unto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would do him all service: that for the present I could not nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before possessed, that I could have no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would never like of it, and that he would hardly give me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his advise therein. He made me answere, that he would not command me, that we should be companions, & that he would build another fortresse, & that he would leave mine owne unto me. This notwithstanding I fully advertised him that I could not receive a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France: and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needes be that one of us both was to [III. 351.] command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather have it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartily to deliver me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written unto me, which he performed.

The contents of those letters were these.

Letters of the Lord Admirall unto Laudonniere.

Captaine Laudonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolve to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leave it: and therfore I send Captaine John Ribault to bee governour there, to whom you shall deliver whatsoever you have in charge, and informe him of all things you have discovered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any evill opinion or mistrust that I have of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master.

CHASTILLON.

Accusations against him.

Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault,
Captaine la Grange accosted mee, and told me of an
infinite number of false reports which had bene made of
mee to my great hinderance: and among other things
1. he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very
2. evill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that
some bodie had tolde him that I went about to counter-
3. feit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too
4. cruell unto the men that went with mee: that I sought
to be advanced by other meanes then by my Lord
5. Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the
1. Court, which I ought not to have done. Whereunto

Laudonnieres answere thereunto.

I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd,
which I had taken up in an Inne, to oversee my hous-
hold businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of divers
beasts, as sheepe and poultrie which I caried over with
me to store the countrey withall: that it was not meete
to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, consider-
ing the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee
thought it should not offend any body to take a woman
with me, aswell to help my souldiers in their sickenesses,
as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how
necessary her service was for us, ech one at that time
might easily perceive: That all my men thought so well
of her, that at one instant there were sixe or seven
which did demand her of me in mariage; as in very
2. deede one of them had her after our returne. Touching
that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports
were made, because I would not beare with any thing
which was against the duety of my charge, and the

Kings service. Moreover, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Governour to make himselfe knowen and obeyed, for feare least every body would become a master, perceiving themselves far from greater forces. And that 3. if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subject to cruelty then they were to rebellion. For the two 4. last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the advice & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to send part of such things as I should find in the countrey unto the Lords of the Counsel : to the end that being mooved by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterprise: that having bene so small time in the countrey, continually hindred with building of fortresses, and unlading of my ships, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to send them, whereupon I thought it best to content them in the meane while with letters, untill such time as I might have longer space to search out the Countrey, and might recover something to sende them : the distribution of which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure : that if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the covering of the letters, and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And 5. that I never honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull service then to my Lord Admirall, nor ever sought advancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arrived in this countrey, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the river. Some of them knew him : for in trueth he was easie to be knowen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He received many presents of them which were of the villages neere adjoyning, [III. 352.] among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Casti came to visit him and welcome him with divers gifts according to their manner. I advertised them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be delivered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they had promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported unto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of these conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former travaile, and fallen into a melancholy upon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall fever, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred pases without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to avoide the danger of the fire, as I sayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even then when we thinke to be at rest! loe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought up three of his small ships into the river, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spanish ships arrived in the rode, where four

Five Indian kings.

The mountains of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold.

Sieroa Pira red mettall.

Perfect gold.

Good meanes to avoid the danger of fire.

September 4.

The Spaniards undermining and surprizing of the French.

of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaine of the enterprise did, & called them all by their names and surnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwise but these men before they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprise & of those that were to execute the same. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which trusted them never a deale, had hoysed their sailes by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiving that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleasure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and set saile. The Spaniards seeing themselves discovered, lent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leave the coast, turned backe and went on shore in the river Seloy, which we cal the river of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themselves better of saile then they, followed them to descry what they did, which after they had done, they returned unto the river of May, where captaine Ribault having descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the river he met with the boat of captaine Cousets ship, wherin there was a good number of men which made relation unto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ship named the Trinitie had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him moreover that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the river of Dolphins, & the other

The river Seloy or the river of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues over land from the fort: but it is thirty doubling the Cape by sea.

three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers, their victuals & munition on land. After he understood these newes hee returned to the fortresse, and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonville, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for the kings service, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in the rode to seeke the Spanish fleete, whereupon he asked our advise. I first replyed, and shewed unto him the consequence of such an enterprise, advertising him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it chanced that hee were driven from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recover it againe, that in the meane while they which should stay in the Forte should be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared unto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their best indevour to fortifie themselves: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterprise this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolved to undertake it, and that which more is, after he understoode by King Emola, one of our neighbours which arrived upon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of Seloy, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negros, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselves and had cast divers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themselves there to molest us, and in the ende to chase us out of the Countrey, he resolved and continued in his embarkment, caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were under his charge

Dangerous flawes of wind on the coast of Florida in September.

King Emola.

[III. 353.]

A village and river both of that name.

should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed unto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good advisement what hee did, for feare least some inconvenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterprise, and that in the letter which he had received from my Lord Admirall, there was a postscript, which hee shewed mee written in these wordes: Captaine John Ribault, as I was enclosing up this letter, I received a certaine advice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch upon you, no more then he would that you should encroch upon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I have, and I leave it unto your selfe to judge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine advertisement that we have, that they are already on lande, and will invade us. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterprise, and having regard rather unto his particular opinion then unto the advertisments which I had given him, and the inconveniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man

An advertisement of my Lord Admiral to Captaine Ribault.

Captaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.

of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arrivall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterprise, was unto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not have gone aborde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Captaine Ribault made unto him, which staid two dayes in the rode attending untill La Grange was come unto him: Who being come abord, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I never saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there rose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselves assured me that it was the worst weather that ever was seene on the coast: whereupon two or three dayes after, fearing least our ships might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Luys unto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare unto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selves: which was done accordingly: and then I gave them to understand the necessity and inconveniences whereinto we were like to fall, aswel by the absence of our ships, as by the neerenesse of the Spanyards, at whose hands we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclamed war, seeing they had taken land and fortified themselves so neere unto us. And if any misfortune were fallen unto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our selves that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus every one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that so continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arrivall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted unto mee as unto a common souldier, neither was I able to give so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserved it: for I was so farre from

The tenth of September.

A mighty tempest the tenth of Sept.

Laudonniere hardly used by Ribault.

having meanes to doe so, that the Captaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to bee made to returne into France: so that if I shoulde say that I received more favour at the handes of the Englishmen beeing Strangers unto mee, I shoulde say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selves and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused threescore foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Palissado with the plankes which I caused to bee taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neverthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and travaile, wee were never able fully to repaire it by reason of the stormes, which commonly did us so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiving my selfe in such extremitie I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not past two or three had ever drawen sword out of a scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which have bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I had meanes to defend my selfe, give eare a little now unto mee, and if they have eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which served Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Crosse-bow maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or five men that had their wives, a player on the Virginals, two servants of Monsieur du Luys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and five or sixe in all, counting aswel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselves, and so couragious as they have esteemed them to be: and for my part I leave it to

Laudonniere and his company begin to fortifie themselves.

[III. 354.]

A muster of the men left in the fort by Ribault.

Fourescore and five left in the fort with Laudonniere.

others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde have left them with me to have borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixeteene or seventeene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the reste were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Utina. This view being thus taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the souldiers might have one night free. Then wee bethought our selves of those which might bee most sufficient, among whome wee chose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we delivered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, because of the foule and foggie weather. I delivered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sicknesse which I had, to oversee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he used all endevour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the day was therefore come, and that hee saw that it rayned still worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes woulde not have come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth, hee went himselfe unto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went up unto the rampart perceived a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which assoone as ever I understoode, foorthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middest of the Court, where I beganne to crie upon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward sort went toward the breach, which was on the

The Spanyards discryed the 20 of September.

Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, & which shewed themselves, were likewise defeated. As I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which drave me backe unto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Jean, which was one of the Mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Assoone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my tarket. But perceiving that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had never a man about me, saving one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set up, I had bin taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saved my selfe by the breach which was on the West side neere unto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus unto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened unto us, we must needs take the paines to get over the marshes unto the ships which are at the mouth of the river. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the rest fol-

The Spaniards enter the fort.

Francis Jean a traitour to his nation.

Don Pedro Melendes captaine of the Spaniards.

Laudonniers escape.

lowed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, unto the ships, to advertise them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get [III. 355.] unto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water up to the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would never forsake me. The next day morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was John du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in truth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and so held me up, it had not bene possible to save me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my judgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were over against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had understanding of the taking of the fort by one called John de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled unto them in a shallop; they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might save any: wherin doubtlesse they did very well their endevour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. Assoone as they had received them in and understood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull case. Five or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go one foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would have caried me presently to their ships to give me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, untill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered up 18 or 20 of them. The last that I took

John du Chemin a faithfull servant.

The diligence of the Mariners to save them that escaped out of the fort.

Among these was Jaques Morgues painter sometime living in the Black-fryers in London.

in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Upon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine James Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Jean came unto his ship, where hee staied a long space, whereat they greatly marveiled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprise, how hee would let him escape. After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine James Ribault & captaine Valvot came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship unfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gave advice to choose out one of the most able men among al the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saved. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was my selfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters-mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed James Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name unto him, to serve me for a Pilot: he promised to give me them, which neverthelesse he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I used to him, in declaring that it was for the kings service. I was constrained to leave the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine James Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all dismounted, whereof I gave nine pieces to James Ribault to carrie into France, the other five I put into my ship. The 25 of September wee set sailes to returne into France, and Captaine James Ribault and I kept company all that

Francis Jean cause of this enterprise.

The bad dealing of James Ribault.

Our returne into France the 25. of September 1565.

day and the next untill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left us the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marveilous flawes of wind. And about the *October* 28. eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we discried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly upon our approching to the land we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the Northeast, which caused us to beare against it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode saving *November* 10. biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleventh of November, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all rejoyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediatly after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne *The chanel of Saint George.* too much toward the Northeast we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and whereas many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceived of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked upon the hatches, I discried land round about me, whereat wee were astonied. Immediatly I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not under us past [III. 356.] 8 fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch unto it. Being neere thereunto I made them cast anker, & sent the boat on shore to understand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a province of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a sickenesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should have dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me: and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Oxen, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I delivered into his hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe: for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leave of my Mariners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, understanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooved with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gave me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my journey first to Bristoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to sojourne there: incontinently, & with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my company. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Majesty to send his subjects thither to discover those parts. The indifferent and unpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be upright judges of the endevor which I there used. For mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth mee to have followed the trueth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnesse, which

Laudonnieres arrivall in Swansea Bay in Glamorganshire in South Wales.

The courtesie of one Master Morgan.

Bristoll.

London.

Monsieur de Foix Ambassadour for the French king in England.

The conclusion.

The causes why the French lost Florida.

were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine John Ribault used in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we susteined. For he discovered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had bene sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was upon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should have had more regard unto his charge, then to the devises of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his utter undoing: for hee was no sooner departed from us, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him upon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

The French Fleete cast away on the coast of Florida.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, under the conduct of Captaine Gourgues, in the yeere, 1567.

Captaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere unto Bourdeaux incited with a desire of revenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, having in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners under Captaine Cazenove his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master over the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And having endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arrived and went on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed unto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leave him being so neere the enemie, so well furnished, and in such a cause : which they all sware unto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full Moone to passe the chanell of Bahama, but speedily discovered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might surprise them at more advantage, yet sailing by them, & making as though he went to some other place until he had sailed out of sight of the place, so that about evening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the River Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiving the shore to bee covered with Savages with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before under Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refresh us, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they retired dansing in signe of joy, to advertise all the kings Satouriouaes kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the river to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Savages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Isles of Lucayos.

The Frenchmens landing at the River Tacatacouru.

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Eight savage kings.

presented themselves, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to intreate the French general to come on shore, which he caused his men to do with their swords and harquebusies, which he made them leave behind them, in token of mutuall assurance, leaving his men but their swords only, after that the Savages complaining thereof had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lentisque covered with mosse made of purpose like unto his owne. Then two of the eldest of the company pulled up the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua prevented him, declaring at large unto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Savages, their wives and children had received of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to revenge so shamefull a treason, aswell as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne unto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giving them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gave them certaine presents of daggers, knives, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles unto us, but precious unto these kings: which moreover, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weare onely on their festivall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had received, and Satourioua had given in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of silver graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere skinnes dressed after their manner, they retired

The kings seate.

Complaints of the Savages against the Spanyards.

Two chaines of silver given to Gourgues.

themselves dansing and very jocond, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring unto the sayd place good companies of their subjects all well armed to be avenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhaven, which being but a yong stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, & was afterward brought up with Satourioua, which at that time bestowed him on our generall, whose advise stoode him in great steade: Whereupon he sent to discover the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had given him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to discry the state of the enemies. Moreover he gave him a sonne of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loved best of all the rest, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, untill our men returned from discrying the state of the enemie, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rende-vous. Their marching being concluded, and the Savages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the river Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the juice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company. Afterward they lift up their handes and sware all that they would never forsake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the river of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needes passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of provision being not arrived,

Peter de Bré had lived above two yeeres with Satourioua.

Three pledges delivered to Gourgues by Satourioua.

The river of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.

The river of Sarauahi.

which was to come unto him from the ships, the oversight and charge whereof he had left unto Burdelois with the rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, devided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified upon the river of May, the great fort especially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: upon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towarde the Rivers mouth, they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the river passing betweene them, with sixe score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary unto these smal forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the river Catacouru with 10, shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were farther about. Insomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small river that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed untill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe over there, unto a place where he had seene a litle grove between the river & the fort (that he might not be seene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Morions, & to hold up their swords and kalivers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached up to their girdles, should not wet them: where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwitstanding assoone as

The estate of the Spanyards in Florida.

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The river of Saracary, or Sarauaki.

they were passed over, with a French courage they prepared themselves to the assault on the sunday eve next after Easter day, in Aprill 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gave twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenove, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being discried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being upon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twise upon them a colverine, whereon the Armes of France were graven, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moved with rage, lept on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues advanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenove cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, saving only fifteene reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meanewhile ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first Fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went abord the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere unto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spanyards would issue to save themselves thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from ye same. Afterward the Savages not staying for the returne of

The assault and taking of the first Fort.

The valure of Olotocara.

The assault and taking of the second fort.

The savages great swimmers.

The Spaniards of the second Fort all slaine.

Note.

A notable Spanish subtiltie.

[III. 359.]

the bark, lept al into the water holding up their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seing both ye shores covered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulsed by the Savages, toward whom they would have retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their lives. To conclude they al there ended their dayes saving 15 of those which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Wherupon Captaine Gourgues having caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not understand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furnished under a brave Governor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus having obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages unto it, and having prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spanyard, that he neither might have newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Governour sent a Spanyard disguised like a Savage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discovered by Olotocara, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which having escaped, and seeing none but savages on every side, he hoped more in ye Frenchmens then their mercy, unto whom he came to yeeld himself disguised like a savage, for feare lest if he should have bin knowen, he should have bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, & convicted to be one of the great fort, was reserved until an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threescore Spaniardes which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonied. Whereupon Gourgues being resolved to set upon them, while they were thus amazed, and leaving his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the River, he caused the Savages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the river, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him understand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Savage which never left the Captaine, said unto him, that he had served him faithfully, and done whatsoever hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neverthelesse he would not faile, though it were to save his life: but he prayed him to give that unto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that shee might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome unto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the love toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him alive then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discoverie of the Fort, the Spanyards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Colverines, which being mounted upon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the River, which made captaine Gourgues to get to the hill covered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forrest or wood continueth and stretcheth foorth beyond it: so that he had sufficient coverture to approch thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there untill the Morning, wherein hee was resolved to assault the Spaniards by scaling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from

The cause why the Floridians bury their goods with them.

Note.

whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselves to defend the rampart while the rest were comming up. But the Governour hastened his unhappy destinie, causing threescore shotte to sallie foorth, which passing through the Trenches, advanced forward to descrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie under the conduct of Cazenove, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were issued foorth, cut off their repassage, while Gourgues commanded the rest to charge them in the Front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swordes. So that turning their backs assoone as they were charged and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all slaine upon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonied, that they knew none other meane to save their lives, but by fleeing into the Wooddes adjoyning, where neverthelesse being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Savages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrayned to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselves, that none of them could finde any favour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, saving those which were reserved to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well provided of all necessaries: namely of five double Colverines, and foure Mynions, with divers other small pieces of all sorts, and eighteene grosse cakes of gunnepowder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, saving the powder and other moveables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a Savage, which in seething of his fish, set fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by

The slaughter of the Spaniards of the third Fort.

The taking of the third Fort.

the Spanyardes, to have feasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing up the store house, and the other houses buylt of Pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the Generall had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughes of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number five were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiving himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the just judgement which God had brought upon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged over them, importing these wordes in Spanish, I doe not this as unto French men, but as unto Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as unto Spaniardes, nor as unto Mariners, but as unto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not men inough to keepe his Forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adjoyning should renew his forces, or the Savages should prevaile against the French men, unlesse his Majestie would send thither, hee resolved to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled, and in the ende perswaded all the Savage kings so to doe, they caused their subjects to runne thither with such affection, that they overthrew all the three Forts flatte even with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the River of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenove and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore harquebusiers, armed with corslets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to have in so many Savages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes covered with Savages, which came to honour him with presents and prayses, as the deliverer of all the countries round about adjoyning.

The writings hanged over the French and Spaniards slaine in Florida.

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The three Forts razed.

Great honour done by the Savages to Gourgues.

An old woman among the rest sayd unto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arrived, and finding his ships set in order, and every thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure. Olocotara especially: for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelve Moones, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of knives for presents, and all other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leave of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his successe since his setting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-vous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seventeene dayes they ranne eleven hundred leagues: continuing which course they arrived at Rochel the sixt of June, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the River of May, having lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he received of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Burdeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things above mentioned, albeit hee was advertised of eighteene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of

Knives in great estimation.

The third of May.

The arrivall of Gourgues at Rochel, the sixt of June.

Che-de Bois.

money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreover king Charles to doe justice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendshippe. In so much as comming to Paris to present himselfe unto the King, to signifie unto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey unto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was constrayned to hide himselfe a long space in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570. And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remayned certaine dayes, and of the Receiver of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithfull friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieved not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, considering the services which hee had done aswell unto him as to his predecessours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and imployed for the service of the most Christian Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie five or thirtie yeeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere unto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and having all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular favour which the Spanyard is woont to shew us. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkes, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, it was shortly afterwarde recovered by Romeguas, commaunder over the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to rapayre the honour of France, he set upon Florida with such successe as you have heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skilfull Mariner, hee hath

The birth, life and death of captaine Gourgues.

made himselfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable unto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of such as knew him.

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The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those partes, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.

THree score leagues up to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.

Wateri a goodly river.

The river of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receive any Fleete of ships of great burden.

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two rivers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oristou,
Ahoia,
Ahoiaue,
Isamacon,
Icosa or Dicosa
} Kings and Rivers to the South of Saint Helena.

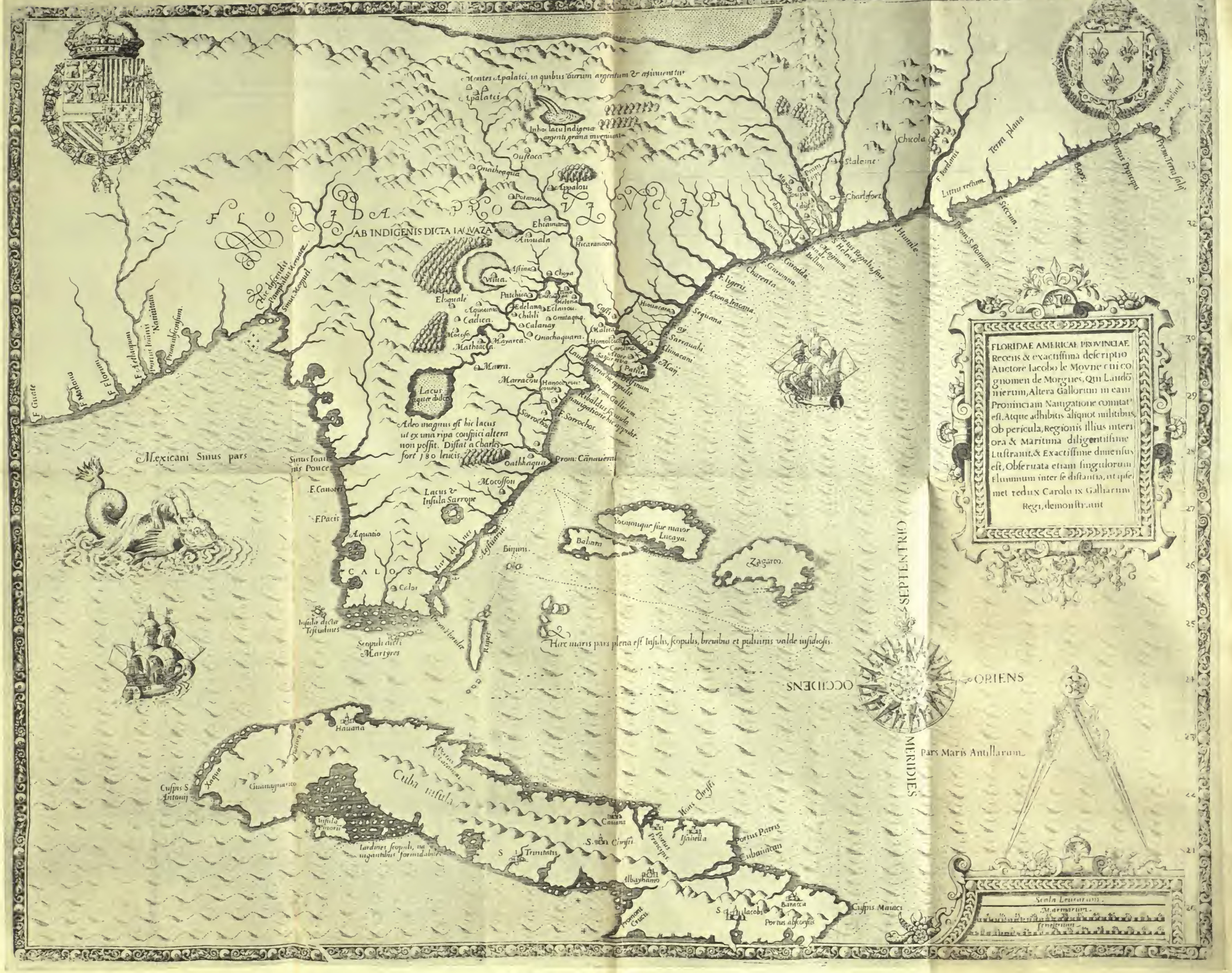
The Spaniards have killed three hundred of the subjects of Potanou.

The greatest number of Spaniards that have bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

La grand Copal a rich citie.

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes journey from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and have bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They have offered in generall to the King to take no


FLORIDAE AMERICAE PROVINCIAE Recens & exactiſſima deſcriptio Auctore Iacobo le Moyne cui cognomen de Morgues, Qui Laudōnierum, Altera Gallorum in eam Prouinciam Nauigatione comitat' eſt, Atque adhibitis aliquot militibus, Ob pericula, Regionis illius interiora & Maritima diligentiſſime Luſtrauit, & Exactiſſime dimenſus eſt, Obſeruata etiam ſingulorum Fluminum inter ſe diſtantia, ut ipſemet redux Carolo IX Gallarum Regi, demonſtrauit

FLORIDA PROVINCIA
AB INDIGENIS DICTA IAQUAZA
Montes Apalatci, in quibus aurum argentum & æs inueniuntur
Apalatci
In hoc lacu Indigenæ argenti grana inueniunt
Ouſtoca
Onatheaqua
Potanou
Apalou
Ehiamana
Anouala
Hicaranaou
Aſtina
Vitrea
Choya
Eloquale
Patchica
Edelano
Chilili
Eclanou
Calanay
Omittaqua
Aquouena
Cadica
Moloſo
Mathiaca
Mayarca
Onachaquara
Malica
Homoloa
Carolina
Patica
Mayra
Marracou
Hanocoroucouay
Sorrochos
F. Sorrochos
Lacus aquæ dulcis
Adeo magnus eſt hic lacus ut ex una ripa conſpici altera non poſſit. Diſtat a Charlesfort 180 leucis.
Oathkaqua
Prom: Cānaueral
Mocoſſou
Lacus & Inſula Sarrope
Aquatio
CALOS
Calos
Æſtuarium
Inſula dicta Teſtudines
Scopuli dicti Martyres
Prom: Floridæ
Hæc maris pars plena eſt inſulis, ſcopulis, breuibus et puluinis valde inſidioſis.
Bimini
Yucayonique ſiue maior Lucaya
Bahama
Zagarco
Mexicani Sinus pars
Sinus Ioannis Ponce
F. Canotes
F. Pacis
Hic deſcendit Pamphilus Naruaez
Sinus Aquoſus
F. Gratiæ
F. Miſtano
F. Florum
F. Aeſtuarium
Portus Fortunæ
Prom. abſconditum
Laudonnieri hic appulit
Prom Gallicum
Ribaldus ſecunda nauigatione hic appulit
F. Maij
Sarrauahi
Hiouacara
Sequana
Axona, Iracana
Ligeris
Charenta
Garumna
Gironda
Bellum
S. Helena
Portus Regalis
Charlesfort
Mayon
Stalame
Chicola
F. Iordanis
Terra plana
Littus rectum
Siccum
Prom. S. Romani
Prom. Terræ ſalſæ
Portus Principis
S. Michael
Cuba inſula
Hauana
Cuſpis S. Antonij
Xagua
Guanayguanico
Inſula Pinorum
Iardines ſcopuli, ita nigantibus formidabiles
Trinitatis
S. Chriſti
Cauana
Portus Principis
Iſabella
Mons Chriſti
Portus Patris
Cubaiacan
Albayhamo
Promont. Crucis
S. Iacobi
Baracoa
Portus abſconſus
Cuſpis Maiaci
Pars Maris Antillarum
SEPTENTRIO
MERIDIES
ORIENS
OCCIDENS
Scala Leucarum
Miliarium
Stadiorum
33
32
31
30
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28
27
26
25
24
23
22
21
20

MAP OF FLORIDA BY JAMES LE MOYNE. A.D. 1590

wages at all of him, if he will give them leave to discover this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes travel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that river which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye up in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Savages advertised Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had advertisement of.

The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing.

THis Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is Dicasca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moscita toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth five thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, & is now governer of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage unto these mountaines, it is needefull to have store of Hatchets to give unto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they travell unto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Savages.

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates: and that they have there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards have all demaunded leave at their owne costs, to discover these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once knowen.

[III. 362.] All the Spaniards would passe up by the river of Saint Helena unto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues up Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours. *Oxen.*

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a river fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take this river to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discover where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

The Spaniards of S. Augustine have slaine three hundred of the subjects of Potanou. One Potassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olata Outina.

Calauai is another casique which they knowe.

Sundry Voyages made from Nueva Galicia, and Nueva Viscaia in new Spaine, to the 15. Provinces of new Mexico, and to Quivira and Cibola, all situate on the backeside of Guastecan, Florida, and Virginia, as farre as 37. degrees of Northerly latitude: with a description of the rivers, lakes, cities, townes, nations, fertile soyle, and temperate ayre in those partes; and most certaine notice of many exceeding rich silver mines, and other principall commodities.

A discourse of the famous Cosmographer John Baptista Ramusius, concerning the three voyages of Frier Marco de Nica, Francis Vasquez de Coronado, and Ferdinando Alorchon next following: taken out of his third volume of Navigations and Voyages.

THe right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being sent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueva Espanna, and having understood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had sent many ships along the coast of Nueva Espanna to discover countries, and to find out the Isles of the Malucos, began himselfe to desire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueva Espanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez said that he was general and discoverer of the South sea, and that it belonged to him to set forth those voyages. On the other side, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that discovery, as being viceroy of Nueva Espanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine unto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane season having obteined knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Narvaez that escaped, as you may reade in the relation of Alvaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; sent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the said Dorantez to discover that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, & having informed his lordship of all his discovery, he sent captaine Francis Vasquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horsebacke and Indians on foot: likewise he sent a fleete by sea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be seene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine Francis Vasques de Coronado, written to a Secretary of the right noble Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of Nueva Espanna. Dated in Culiacan, the 8. of March 1539.

HE saith that Frier Marcus de Niça arrived in the Province of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled unto the mountaines for feare of the Christians, and that for his sake they came all downe to see him, with great joy & boldnesse. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour-provinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houses built of stone, and are very good, and in them they have great store of gold, which is as it were lost, because they know not what use to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious jewels upon their bodies: they are valiant, having very strong armour made of silver, fashioned after divers shapes

Store of golde, silver, and precious stones in Topira.

[III. 363.]

A.D. 1539.

of beasts. They worship for their gods such things as they have in their houses, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs unto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Christians, and the Emperors subjects, for they were without a governour; with condition that no man should hurt them: and that they would change their golde for such things as they wanted. Commandement was given, that they should bee received without doing them any displeasure. Neere unto this countrey there is another Province heretofore discovered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Christianitie, and they are valiant and stoute. Their houses are covered with straw: They seeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine seasons to their sacrifices into a valley situate in that Province, which is inhabited with people, esteemed by those of the countrey as saints and priests, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houses: and they eate such things as they of the countrey give them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the smoke, and tye their privie member with a string unto their knee, and the women likewise goe starke naked. They have certain temples covered with strawe, with small round windowes full of the skuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compassed with the figure of a serpent made of gold and silver, and with another mixture of unknowen metals: and this serpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time cast lots, whose lucke it shal be to be sacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great joy they crowne him with flowers upon a bed prepared in the sayd ditch all full of flowres and sweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great store of dry wood on both sides of him, and set it on fire on eyther part, and so he dyeth. Where he continueth so quietly without being bound, as though hee did something, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And they say that hee is a Saint, and doe worshippe him for that yeere, and sing prayses, and Hymnes unto him, and afterward set up his head with the rest in order within those windowes. Also they sacrifice their prisoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not with the foresayde ceremonies. The Spanyards which are in Xalisco write, that having good assistance, they hope that those people will become Christians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great store of good and wholesome waters.

A Letter of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Governour of Nueva Galicia, to the lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Viceroy of Nueva Espanna. Dated in Saint Michael of Culiacan the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard passage from Saint Michael of Culiacan to Topira. The description of that Province, and of another neere unto the same, very rich in gold and precious stones. The number of the people which Vazquez caried with him in his journey thither; and how greatly Frier Marcus of Niça is honoured by the Indians of Petatlan.

BY the helpe of God I meane to set forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of April: neither can I any sooner set forward, because the powder and match which your Lordship sendeth mee, cannot be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compostella. Besides this, I am to passe many leagues over mightie high mountaines, which reach up to the skyes, and over a River, which at this present is so bigge and swolne, that it can in no place be waded over.

And if I depart at the time aforesayde, they say wee may wade over it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not above 50. leagues ; and I have learned since that it is above foure score leagues. I doe not remember that I have written to your Lordshippe the information which I have of Topira : and though I had written thereof unto you, yet because that since that time I have learned something more, I thinke it meete to signifie the same unto your Lordship in these my letters. It may please your honour therefore to understand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Province, lying betweene two rivers, and that there are above 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the same there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great store of victuals of Maiz, French peason, Axi or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great store of Hennes of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious stones, and are served commonly in golde and silver, wherewith they cover their houses : and the chiefe men weare great chaines of golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and have store of wilde kine ; and they say they enter not into their countrey, because themselves have no great store of people : those Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I say, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere unto them. I meane to set forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horsemen, and twelve spare horses, and 200. footmen, crossebowmen, and gunners. I take also with mee live hogs, sheepe, and all such things as I can get for money : assure your Lordship that I meane not to returne to Mexico, until I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the state of that place is : and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will stay there, untill I have advertised your Lordship, that you may command what you will have done : and if it fall out so unluckily,

Topira.

Another greater province.

[III. 364.] *These may seeme to be the Pintados mentioned by Frier Marco de Niza in his 2. Chap.*

that there be nothing of importance, I will seeke to discover 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be something found in which your Lordship may imploy all these gentlemen, and those which shall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuse but stay there: and the waters, the seasons, and disposition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is best to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February last past: when I departed from them, I left them with above 100. Indians of Petatlan, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, shewing him all the courtesies they could possibly. I cannot send you, nor describe unto you his entrance among them better then I have done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compostella, and I signified unto you all things to the full from the citie of S. Michael: and though there be but the tenth part of those things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I have sent your Lordship a Letter, which I received from the said father: the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reverence him: and I beleeve he may travel many leagues farther in that sort. He saith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordship of my journey. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee shall discover some good thing.

A Letter written by the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy of Nueva Espanna, to the Emperors Majestie.

Of certaine Noblemen which sought to discover the end of the firme land of Nueva Espanna toward the North. The arrivall of Vazquez de Coronado with Frier Marco at S. Michael of Culiacan, with commission to the Governors of those partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them slaves any more.

IN the ships that went last from hence (wherof Michael de Usnago was Admiral) I wrote unto your Majestie, how I had sent two Franciscan Friers to discover the end of this firme land, which stretcheth to the North. And because their journey fell out to greater purpose then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may please your Majestie to call to mind how often I wrote unto your Highnesse, that I desired to know the ende of this Province of Nueva Espanna, because it is so great a countrey, and that we have yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this desire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400. horsemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in these Indias, being the best men, & the best furnished, which have bene seene in these parts: and he did so litle with them, that the most part of them were consumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor discover any more then already was discovered. After this the saide Nunno Guzman beeing Governour of Nueva Galicia, sent Captaines and Horsemen foorth divers times, which sped no better then he had done. Likewise the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez sent a captaine with 2. ships to discover the coast: which 2. ships and the captaine perished. After that he sent againe 2. other ships, one of the which

This was the Port of Santa Cruz, in the Isle of California.

[III. 365.]

was divided from her consort, and the Master and certaine mariners slue the captaine, & usurped over the ship. After this they came to an Island, where the Master with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country slew them, and tooke their boat: and the ship with those that were in it, returned to the coast of Nueva Galicia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ship, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had discovered: and then, either for the discontentment which hee had with the bishop of Saint Domingo, and with the Judges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather because of his so prosperous successe in all things here in Nueva Espanna, without seeking any farther intelligence of the state of that Island, he set forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and horsemen, not throughly furnished with things necessary; which fell out so contrary to his expectation, that the most part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ships, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee never finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it seemed, that God miraculously did hide it from him: and so he returned home without atchieving ought else of moment. After this, having heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of those who were in the voyage of Panphilo Narvaez, I often was in hand with him, supposing that he was able to doe your Majestie great service, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horses, to search out the secret of those parts: and having provided all things necessary for his journey, and spent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterprise was given over. Yet of the things which were provided for that purpose, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foresayde voyage of Narvaez, with Dorantez, and certaine slaves which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in those North partes, whome I sent with

A.D. 1539.

Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciscan Frier, because they had bene long travelled, and exercised in those partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leave of their superiours: and so they went with Francis Vazquez de Coronado, governour of Nueva Galicia unto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the last Province subdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues distant from this Citie of Mexico. Assoone as the governour, and the Friers were come unto that Citie, hee sent certaine of those Indians which I had given him, home into their Countrey, to signifie, and declare to the people of the same, That they were to understand, that your Majestie had commaunded they should not hereafter bee made slaves, and that they should not be afrayd any more, but might returne unto their houses, and live peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the evill dealings which were used toward them) and that your Majestie would cause them to be chastened, which were the causes of their vexation. With these Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400 men; which comming before the governour said unto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they desired to see and know those men which did them so great a pleasure as to suffer them to returne to their houses, and to sow Maiz for their sustenance: for by the space of many yeres they were driven to flee into the mountaines, hiding themselves like wild beasts, for feare lest they should be made slaves, and that they and all the rest of their people were ready to doe whatsoever should bee commaunded them. Whom the governour comforted with good wordes, and gave them victuals, and stayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the signe of the Crosse, and to learne the name of our Lorde Jesus Christ, and they with great diligence sought to learne the same. After these dayes hee sent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giving them apparel, beades, knives, and other such like things, which I had given him for such purposes. The sayde Indians departed very well pleased, and said, that whensoever hee would send for them, they and many others would come to doe whatsoever he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other slaves, and Indians which I had given him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And because I had likewise advertisement of a certaine Province called Topira situate in the mountaines, and had appoynted the governour Vazquez de Coronado, that he should use meanes to learne the state thereof; he supposing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himselfe to goe and search it, having agreed with the sayd Frier, that he should returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, beeing 120. leagues distant from Culiacan. The governour travelling into this province (as I have written in my former letters) found great scarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines so craggy, that he could finde no way to passe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: so that aswell in chusing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it seemeth unto all men, that God would shut up the gate to all those, which by strength of humane force have gone about to attempt this enterprise, and hath reveiled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And so the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who because he found his entrance so well prepared, was very well received; and because he wrote the whole successe of his voyage, according to the instruction which I had given him to undertake the same, I wil not write any more at large, but send your Majestie this copy of all such things as he observed in the same.

Valle de los Corazones mentioned by Vazquez de Coronado cap. 1.

A relation of the reverend father Frier Marco de Niça, touching his discovery of the kingdome of Cevola or Cibola, situate about 30. degrees of latitude, to the North of Nueva Espanna.

[III. 366.]

Chap. 1.

Frier Marco de Niça departeth from Saint Michael in the Province of Culiacan, standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of Petatlan, receiveth many courtesies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Islands, and of a great countrey inhabited with civil people; he commeth to Vacupa: where during his aboad, he heard newes of Cevola, and of the state of the 7. Cities, and of other provinces, & of the rich Islands of perles, which extent northward upon the coast.

I Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the instruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy and captaine Generall for the Emperors Majestie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the province of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. having for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of those Indians which the sayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpose: whom Francis Vazquez de Coronado governour of Nueva Galicia delivered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is some 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, shewing themselves to bee exceeding glad, because they were certified by the

Indians which had bin set free, whom the said governour had sent before to advertise them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth should be made slaves, and that no man should invade them, nor use them badly; signifying unto them, that the Emperors Majesty had willed and commanded that it should be so. With the foresaid company I went on my voyage untill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and provision of victuals, with roses, flowres, and other such things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houses. In this towne of Petatlan I rested 3. dayes, because my companion Honoratus fell so sicke, that I was constrained to leave him there behinde.

Petatlan a towne.

Then, according to my said instruction, I followed my journey as the holy Ghost did leade me, without any merit of mine, having in my company the said Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin set at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gave me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giving me such victuals as they had, although they were but small: because (as they said) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and because the Indians of this countrey sought meanes rather to hide themselves, then to sowe corne, for feare of the Christians of the Towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roades even to that place, and to warre upon them, and to cary them away captives. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagues from that part of Petatlan, I saw nothing worthy the noting, save that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an island, & not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to ye firme land upon certaine rafts of wood: and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, litle more or lesse. Likewise cer-

The island of Saint Iago.

taine Indians of another island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other smal islands, which were inhabited, but had smal store of victuals, saving 2. which have Maiz or corne of the countrey. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle. I shewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great: howbeit I saw none of them. I followed my voyage through a desert of 4. dayes journey, having in my company both the Indians of the islands, & those of the mountaines which I had passed, and at the end of this desert I found other Indians which marvelled to see me, because they had no knowledge of any Christians, having no traffike nor conversation with those Indians which I had passed, in regard of the great desert which was between them. These Indians interteined me exceeding courteously, & gave me great store of victuals, & sought to touch my garments, and called me Hayota, which in their language signifieth A man come from heaven. These Indians I advertised by my interpreter, according to my instructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heaven, & of the Emperor. In these countries & in all places els by all wayes and meanes possible, I sought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of civilitie and understanding, then those which I had found: and I could heare no newes of any such: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or five dayes journey within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I shewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were vesselles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene stones hanging at their nostrilles, and at their eares,

A great island, and 30. small islands, which seeme to be the new islands of California rich in pearles.

A desert foure daies journey.

[III. 367.]

This was the valley of Coracones.

and that they have certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walles of their Temples are covered therewith, and that they use it in all their houshold vessels. And because this Valley is distant from the Sea-coast, and my instruction was not to leave the Coast, I determined to leave the discovery thereof untill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiously.

Vacupa a towne 40. leagues from the Bay of California.

Thus I travelled three dayes journey through Townes inhabited by the sayde people, of whome I was received as I was of those which I had passed, and came unto a Towne of reasonable bignesse, called Vacupa, where they shewed mee great courtesies, and gave mee great store of good victuals, because the soyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues distant from the Sea. And because I was so farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there untill Easter, to informe my selfe of the Islandes, whereof I sayde before that I had information. And so I sent certaine Indians to the Sea by three severall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee some Indians of the Sea-coast and of some of those Islandes, that I might receive information of them: and I sent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discover, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed upon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should sende mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueva Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the sayde Stephan departed from mee on Passion-sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned unto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I should foorthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gave him information of a very mighty Province, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the sayd Province, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes journey from the Towne where Stephan was, unto the first Citie of the sayde Province, which is called Cevola. Hee affirmed also that there are seven great Cities in this Province, all under one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the least of them with one lofte above head, and some of two and of three loftes, and the house of the Lorde of the Province of foure, and that all of them joyne one unto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turques-stones cunningly wrought, whereof hee sayth they have there great plentie: also that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Provinces, all which (hee sayth) are much greater then these seven cities. I gave credite to his speach, because I found him to bee a man of good understanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both because I thought hee would stay for mee, and also to attend the returne of my messengers which I had sent unto the Sea, who returned unto me upon Easter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Islands. Of whom I understoode, that the Islandes above mentioned were scarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare shelles of Pearles upon their foreheads, and they say that they have great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Islandes, lying one neere unto another: they say that the people on the Sea-coast

From Vacupa to Cevola are 32. dayes journey.

Great pearles and much gold in the Isles of California, which are 34. in number.

have small store of victuals, as also those of the Islandes, and that they traffique one with the other upon raftes. This coast stretcheth Northward as is to bee seene. These Indians of the Coast brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dressed, which were so large, that they covered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the same to looke out before: they are so strong, that a Crossebow (as I suppose) will not pierce them.

[III. 368.]

Chap. 2.

He hath new information of the seven Cities by certaine Indians called Pintados, and of three other kingdomes called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, being Countreys very rich in Turqueses and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through those countries, he taketh possession thereof for the Emperors Majestie, and of the Indians is much honoured and served with victuals.

THE same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and armes painted. These dwel farther up into the countrey towards the East, and some of them border upon the seven cities, which sayd they came to see mee, because they had heard of me: and among other things, they gave me information of the seven cities, and of the other Provinces, which the Indian that Stephan sent me had tolde mee of, almost in the very same maner that Stephan had sent mee worde; and so I sent backe the people of the sea-coast: and two Indians of the Islandes sayde they would goe with mee seven or eight dayes.

So with these and with the three Pintados above mentioned, I departed from Vacupa upon Easter tuesday, the same way that Stephan went, from whom I received new messengers with a Crosse of the bignesse of the first which he sent me: which hastened mee forward, and assured me that the land which I sought for, was the greatest and best countrey in all those partes. The sayd messengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the first messenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gave mee more plaine information thereof. So I travelled that day being Easter tuesday, and two dayes more, the very same way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might travell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Cevola, which is the first of the seven. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the fashion of them, as the first messengers had informed me. Also they told me, that besides these seven Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. I enquired of them wherefore they travelled so farre from their houses? They said that they went for Turqueses, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewise I enquired how, and by what meanes they obteined these things? They tolde me, by their service, and by the sweat of their browes, and that they went unto the first citie of the Province which is called Cevola, and that they served them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they give them Hydes of oxen, which they have in those places, and turqueses for their service, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their eares and at their nostrils. They say also, that of these turqueses they make fine workes upon the principall gates of the houses of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Cevola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long string hanging downe at the same, and that the sleeves of these gownes are as broad beneath as above. They say, they gyrd themselves with gyrdles of turqueses, and that over these coates some weare good apparel, others hides of kine very well dressed, which they take to bee the best apparell of that countrey, whereof they have there great quantitie. Likewise the women goe apparelled, and covered downe to the foote. These Indians gave me very good intertainment, and curiously enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might provide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine sicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and sought to touch my apparell, and gave mee certaine Cow-hydes so well trimmed and dressed, that by them a man might conjecture that they were wrought by civile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Cevola.

Another village.

The next day I followed my journey, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well received by the people of the same: who likewise sought to touch my garments, and gave mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforesayde, as I had received of those which mette mee before: and also tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez foure or five dayes journey. And here I found a great crosse, which Stephan had left me for a signe, that the newes of the good Countrey increased, and left worde, that with all haste they should sende mee away, and that hee would stay for mee at the ende of the first Desert that he mette with. Heere I set up two Crosses, and tooke possession according to mine instruction, because that the Countrey seemed better unto mee then that which I had passed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of possession as farre as that place.

[III. 369.] In this maner I travailed five dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hospitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueses, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I understood, that after two dayes journey I should finde a desert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I hastened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, because in that place hee had left worde that hee would stay for mee. Before I came to the desert, I mette with a very pleasant Towne, by reason of great store of waters conveighed thither to water the same. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and some covered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to say, with Turqueses hanging at their nostrilles and eares: which Turqueses they call Cacona. Amongst others, the Lord of this Village came unto me, and two of his brethren very well apparelled in Cotton, who also were in Caconados, each of them having his collar of Turqueses about his necke: and they presented unto mee many wilde beastes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueses, and dressed Oxe-hydes, and very fayre vessels to drinke in, and other things: whereof I would receive no whit. And having my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of such Cloth there was great store in Totonteac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the same. Whereat I laughed, and sayde that it was nothing else but such apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replyed: We would have thee thinke that we understand, that that apparell which thou wearest, and that which we weare are of divers sortes. Understand thou, that in Cevola all the houses are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totonteac there are certaine litle beasts, from whom they take that thing wherewith such apparell as thou wearest, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the sayde beastes were about the bignesse of the two

A pleasant village.

Store of woollen cloth and sheepe in Totonteac.

braches or spaniels which Stephan caryed with him, and they say that there is great store of that cattell in Totonteac.

Chap. 3.

He entreth into a desert, and the Indians suffer him to want nothing necessary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge given him (as he had before) of the state of Cevola and of Totonteac; and that the coast of the sea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Westward: and also of the kingdomes of Marata and Acus.

A desert of foure dayes journey.

THe next day I entred into the Desert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a rivers side: and at night I found bowers and victuals in like sort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes travell: all which time the wildernesse continueth.

A very populous valley.

At the ende of these foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the first Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueses hanging at their nostrils and eares, and some had collars of turqueses like those which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Desert, and his two brethren wore: saving that they ware them but single about their neckes, and these people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and skinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the sayd Turqueses at their nostrils and eares, and very good wastcoats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Cevola, as in Nueva Espanna of Temistitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde us particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and marketplaces, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnished from thence with things necessary for the service of their housholde, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be

Collars of turqueses two or three times double.

made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better understanding tooke earth or ashes, and powred water thereupon, and shewed me how they layd stones upon it, and how the buylding grewe up, as they continued laying stones thereon, untill it mounted aloft. I asked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount up unto those loftes: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it over their heads, and said that the lofts were so high one above another. Likewise heere I had information of the woollen cloth of Totonteac, where they say are houses like those of Cevola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Province, and hath no governour. [III. 370.]

Here I understood that the coast of the sea trended much toward the West: for unto the entrance of this first desert which I passed, the coast still stretched Northward: and because the trending of the coast is a thing of great importance, I was desirous to knowe and see it: and I saw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coast stretcheth to the West, whereat I rejoyced no lesse, then of the good newes within land, and so I returned backe to proceede on my journey.

This graduation is mistaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the least.

Through the foresayd valley I travailed five dayes journey, which is inhabited with goodly people, and so aboundeth with victuals, that it sufficeth to feede above three thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all these villages, I found very ample report of Cevola, whereof they made such particular relation unto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their living. Here I found a man borne in Cevola, who told me that he came thither, having escaped from the governour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of these seven Cities liveth and abideth in one of those townes called Ahacus, and in the rest he appoynteth lieu-tenants

Ahacus.

under him. This townesman of Cevola is a white man of a good complexion, somewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then those which I had left behind me. Hee sayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Cevola was a great Citie, inhabited with great store of people, and having many Streetes and Market-places: and that in some partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houses of five stories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie assemble themselves at certaine dayes of the yeere. He sayeth that the houses are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and small pillars of the principall houses are of Turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are served, and the other ornaments of their houses were of golde: and that the other sixe Cities are built like unto this, whereof some are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefest of them. Hee sayth that toward the Southeast there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and those great Cities, which were all built of houses of Stone, with divers lofts; and that these have and doe wage warre with the Lord of the seven cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre against the other.

Marata lieth toward the Southeast.

Totenteac lyeth West.

Likewise he saith, that the kingdome called Totanteac lyeth toward the West, which he saith is a very mightie Province, replenished with infinite store of people and riches: and that in the sayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer sorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of those beastes which they described before unto me: and that they are a very civile people. Moreover hee tolde me, that there is another great Province and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aspiration, which is the principall of the seven cities: and Acus without an aspiration is a kingdome and Province of it selfe. He told me also, that the apparel which they weare in Cevola is after the same maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie upon beddes raysed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies over them, which cover the sayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Cevola and farther also, if I would take him with me. The like relation was given unto me in this towne by many others, but not so particularly. I travelled three dayes journey through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainement. In this valley I saw above a thousand Oxe-hides most excellently trimmed and dressed. And here also I saw farre greater store of Turqueses and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had passed; and they say, that all commeth from the city of Cevola, whereof they have great knowledge, as also of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totonteac.

Chap. 4.

Of a very great beast with one horne upon his forehead; and of the courtesies which the Indians shewed Frier Marcus of Niça, in his Voyage. Also how cruelly Stephan Dorantez and his companions were used upon their arrivall at Cevola, by the Lorde thereof.

A mightie beast with one horne.

HEre they shewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne upon his forehead, & that this horne bendeth toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake any thing how strong so ever it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had messengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to [III. 371.]

the farthest part of the desert, and that he was very joyfull, because the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatnesse of the countrey, and sent me word, that since his departure from me, hee never had found the Indians in any lye; for even unto that very place he had found al in such maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he should find the like at his arrivall in the valley which he was going unto, as he had found in the villages before passed. I set up crosses, and used those acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my instructions. The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or foure daies, because that from this place there were foure dayes journey unto the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert unto the citie of Cevola are 15 great dayes journey more; also that they would provide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage. Likewise they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone above 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like sort many of them would go with me to serve me, because they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to set things in order with speede, and so I rested there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my selfe of Cevola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians unto mee, and examined them severally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the streetes, of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the strength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the rest before had told me. After three dayes many assembled themselves to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueses, which some of them weare five or sixe times double, and other people to cary things necessary for them and me, and so set forward on my voyage.

Fifteene daies journey from the end of the desert to Cevola or Civola.

Thus I entred into the second desert on the 9 of May, and travelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to diner unto a water, where the Indians had made provision for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a house which they had fully made up for me, and another house stood made where Stephan lodged when he passed that way, and many old cottages and many signes of fire which the people had made that travelled to Cevola by this way. In this sort I travelled 12 dayes journey being alway well provided of victuals, of wild beasts, Hares, and Partridges of the same colour and tast with those of Spaine although they are not so big, for they be somewhat lesse.

The second desert entred the 9. of May.

Twelve dayes journey.

Here met us an Indian the sonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, having his face and body all covered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadnesse in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes journey before Stephan came to Cevola he sent his great Mace made of a gourd by his messengers, as he was alwayes woont to send them before him, that hee might knowe in what sort hee came unto them, which gourd had a string of belles upon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Cevola before the Magistrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they delivered him the sayde great gourd, who tooke the same in his hands, and after he had spyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee cast it to the ground, and willed the messengers to get them packing with speed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they should will them in no case to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The messengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had passed, who answered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Cevola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but shut him into a great house which stoode without the citie, and straightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueses, and other things which he had received of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giving him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirst, and went out of the house to drinke at a river that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he saw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and slew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian saw these things, he hid himselfe on the banks of the river, and afterward crossed the high way of the desert. The Indians that went with me hearing these newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought these heavie and bad newes would cost mee my life, neither did I feare so much the losse of mine owne life, as that I should not bee able to returne [III. 372.] to give information of the greatnesse of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: and streightway I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me ful of merchandise for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor give any thing to any man, and began to divide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and so they did. And going on our way, within a dayes journey of Cevola wee met two other Indians of those which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and assoone as they came to us, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. These wounded Indians I asked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the first Indian sayd, that after they had put him into the foresayd great house without giving him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the house, and some of the chiefe men with him, and suddenly came store of people from the citie, whom assoone as hee sawe he began to run away and we likewise, and foorthwith they shot at us and wounded us, and certaine dead men fell upon us, and so we lay till night and durst not stirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and saw many men and women keeping watch and ward upon the walles thereof, and after this we could not see Stephan any more, and wee thinke they have shot him to death, as they have done all the rest which went with him, so that none are escaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The situation and greatnesse of the Citie of Cevola, and how frier Marcus tooke possession thereof and of other provinces, calling the same. The new kingdome of S. Francis, and how after his departure from thence being preserved by God in so dangerous a voyage, he arrived at Compostella in Nueva Galicia.

HAving considered the former report of the Indians, and the evill meanes which I had to prosecute my voyage as I desired, I thought it not good wilfully to loose my life as Stephan did: and so I told them, that God would punish those of Cevola, and that the Viceroy when he should understand what had happened, would send many Christians to chastise them: but they would not beleeve me, for they sayde that no man was able to withstand the power of Cevola. And herewithall I left them, and went aside two or three stones cast, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and sayde unto me: Father, these men have consulted to kill us, for they say, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are slaine, and that neither man nor woman of them shall remaine unslaine.

Then againe I devided among them certaine other things which I had, to appease them, whereupon they were somewhat pacified, albeit they still shewed great griefe for the people which were slaine. I requested some of them to goe to Cevola, to see if any other Indian were escaped, with intent that they might learne some newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I saw this, I sayd unto them, that I purposed to see the citie of Cevola, whatsoever came of it. They sayde that none of them would goe with me. At the last when they sawe mee resolute, two of the chiefe of them sayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Cevola, which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh shew to bee a faire citie, and is better seated then any that I have seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with divers stories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the citie. The people are somewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they have Emralds and other jewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they use them in stead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of oxe hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other mettall, whereof there is greater use and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the province of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine so particular instruction. Divers times I was tempted to goe thither, because I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered unto God the first day that I began my journey: in the ende I began to bee afraid, considering in what danger I

Most rich mines of gold and silver in the province of the Pintados.

should put my selfe, and that if I should dye, the knowledge of this Countrey should be lost, which in my judgement is the greatest and the best that hitherto hath beene discovered: and when I tolde the chief men, what a goodly citie Cevola seemed unto mee, they answered me [III. 373.] that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totonteac is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people, that there is no ende of them. *Totonteac the greatest and most populous province.* Having seene the disposition and situation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nuevo reyno de san Francisco: in which place I made a great heape of stones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I set up a small slender crosse because I wanted meanes to make a greater, and sayd that I set up that crosse and heape in the name of the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueva Espanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of possession, according to mine instruction. Which possession I sayd that I tooke in that place of all the seven cities, & of the kingdomes of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, *He returneth.* and went untill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the speede that I could make, whome I overtooke in two dayes travell, and went in their company till I had passed the desert, where I was *A desert.* not made so much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were slaine at Cevola, and with feare I hastened from the people of this valley, and travelled tenne leagues *A valley.* the first day, and so I went daily eight or ten leagues, without staying untill I had passed the second desert. *A second desert.* And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, wherof I said before, that I had information, being situate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I understoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes journey toward the East, but I durst not enter into it, considering, that if hereafter wee shoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the seven cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better discover the same, without putting my selfe in hazard, and leave it for this time, that I might give relation of the things which I had now seene. At the entrance of this plaine I sawe but seven Townes onely of a reasonable bignesse, which were a farre off in a lowe valley beeing very greene and a most fruitfull soyle, out of which ranne many Rivers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into vessels and thinne plates, wherewith they strike and take off their sweat, and that they are people that will not suffer those of the other side of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cause thereof. Here I set up two crosses, and tooke possession of the plaine and valley in like sort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haste as I coulde make, untill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the province of Culiacan, thinking there to have found Francis Vazquez de Coronado governour of Nueva Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my journey till I came to the Citie of Compostella, where I found him. I write not here many other particularities, because they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I have seene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I travelled, and of those which I had information of.

Compostella in 21. degrees of latitude.

The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperours majestie to the Countrey of Cibola newly discovered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoça Vice-roy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after divers troubles in his voyage, arriveth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.

THe 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the province of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned unto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles have bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote unto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in travailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs,

[III. 374.]

This was but 200. leagues from Mexico.

and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with us, that was above a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our selves to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driven to our shifts. And no marvayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuses downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the passage of Rivers, the greater part of our corne was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawen in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

Frier Marcus of Niza.

Thirtie leagues before wee arrived at the place which the father provinciall tolde us so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giving him order to make but one dayes journey of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arrivall: who travailed foure dayes journey through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, saving that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee understoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, utterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write unto your Lordship thereof.

It grieved the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceived I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation upon those seven Cities, and other provinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent us for the provision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way: and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the River of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with us, and because they might come softly after us, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are nowe come unto us, and have brought us not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with travailing through that rough passage, although they travailed but two leagues a day, and rested themselves every day.

The river of Lachimi.

At length I arrived at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan untill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, save onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leave them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of tillage. But I understood that there was store thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to give the sayde Maiz to the

The valley of the people called Caracones.

Valle del Sennor.

Indians our friendes which wee brought with us, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releived and some Spanyards.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelve of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being overcharged with great burdens, and having but little meate, they could not endure the travaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want unto us for the performance of our enterprise. They tolde me that this valley of the Caracones is five dayes journey from the Westerne Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to understand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the Sea coast came unto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were seven or eight Islands right over against them, well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore: which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of those that went to discover the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals.

The valley de los Caracones distant five dayes journey from the Westerne sea.

[III. 375.]

Seven or eight Isles, which are the Isles of California.

A ship seene on the sea coast.

Chap. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselves two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to travaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a river called Rio del Lino, they fight with the Indians being assaulted by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieved themselves of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could judge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arrived at Chichilticale I found my selfe tenne dayes journey from the Sea: and the father provinciall sayd that it was onely but five leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceived great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found every thing contrary to the information which he had given your Lordship.

Chichilticale ten dayes journey from the sea.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe traversing, and are tenne dayes journey in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians give me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right over against the Caracones the space of tenne or twelve leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discover the haven of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça sayd to bee in five and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I have sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is fallen unto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they have made some good discoverie, and in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

This Chichilticale is indeede but in 28. deg.

I rested my selfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to have done well I should have stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Johns eve, and to refresh our former travailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes journey the master of the fielde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horses to discover the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I have enformed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

The 23. of June.

Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh rivers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne river which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is say, the river of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes travaile, but afterward foure Indians came out unto us in peaceable maner, saying that they were sent even to that desert place to signifie unto us that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete us on the way with victuals: and the master of the fielde gave them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should

A godly and fruitfull countrey found.

Rio del Lino.

rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his majestie to defend and ayd them.

And this done, Fernando Alvarado returned to advertise mee, that certaine Indians were come unto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my comming with the master of the fielde. Whereupon I went unto them and gave them beades and certaine short clokes, willing them to returne unto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses, and feare nothing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against us, and that hee should take and defend it untill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might have sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate sounded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very same night the master of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among us all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooved mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and their made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our lives could have done, to give their fellowes understanding, how wee marched and where we arrived.

[III. 376.]

A wise forecast.

The treason of the Indians.

Great forecast and diligence of the Campe-master.

They arrive at the citie of Cibola.

Assoone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Don Garcias Lopez Campe-master, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to advertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his majestie had given us in charge: which message was delivered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy us without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.

In the meane space I arrived with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at us with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set upon them, in any wise to provoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set upon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiving that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage unto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at us with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set upon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would have suffered them to have bene pursued.

Commandement to use gentlenesse to the Savages.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and devided them as I thought best to assault

There were 800 men within the towne. Gomara, Hist. gen. cap. 213.

the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selves on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde give the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt us, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me there was a scaling ladder set up, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing us all the mischiefe they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neverthelesse my companie tooke mee up with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding over mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeelded themselves unto us, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie [III. 377.] required. The Master of the fielde, and Don Pedro de Tovar, and Fernando de Alvarado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the shot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was shot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they

They defend the wals with stones like those of Hochelaga.

all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the rest, not that I did more then they, or put my selfe forwarder then the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselves as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recovered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other souldiers were hurt, and three horses slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seven or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

Chap. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seven cities called the Kingdome of Cibola, and of the customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seven cities, and of the kingdomes and provinces whereof the Father provinciall made report unto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or five lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers in stead of staires, and certaine cellers under the ground very good and paved, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stooves: and the lathers which they have for their houses are all in a maner mooveable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seven cities are seven small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they

Excellent houses foure or five loftes high.

are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and every one of them have their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I have named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like unto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may bee some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together five hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seven, & it is somwhat bigger then this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted unto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne seeme unto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that judgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, except their privie partes which are covered: and they have painted mantles like those which I send unto your lordship. They have no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they have Turqueses I thinke good quantitie, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conveyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth under fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes above sixtie, saving two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to governe all the rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour some-

Cibola is a province conteining seven townes.

Five hundred houses in Granada.

A painter necessarie in a new discovery.

Painted mantles.

Store of Turqueses.

Emralds.

Granates. Christall. what like Granates very bad, and other stones of Christall, which I gave one of my servaunts to lay up to send them to your lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. *Excellent and very great Guinie cocks.* Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all these seven cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeve them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I never sawe it raine, but once there fell a little showre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

[III. 378.] The snow and cold are woont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect to the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furres and other things which this people have to defend them from colde. *Gomara hist. gen. Cap. 213. sayth that the colde is by reason of the high mountaines.* There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of Foules: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great store of wood, because they have wood for their fuell sufficient foure leaugues off from a wood of small Cedars. *A wood of Cedars. Excellent grasse.* There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well to feede them in pasture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee stoode in great neede, because our horses came hither so weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey have, is Maiz, whereof they have great store, and also small white Pease: and Venison, which by all likelyhood they feede upon, (though they say no) for wee found many skinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. *Deere, hares, and conies.* They eate the best cakes that ever I sawe, and every body generally eateth of them. They have the finest order and way to grinde that wee ever sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They have most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes journey from hence. They have no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee nearest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I have seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I have seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger then that beast which your lordship bestowed upon me, which once belonged to John Melaz. They travell eight dayes journey unto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for so they say themselves.

Very good salte.

The Westerne sea within 150. *leagues from Cibola.*

Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, mightie sheep, wilde goates. Wilde Bores. Deere. Ounces. Stagges.

They travaile 8. *dayes journey toward the North sea.*

Oxe hides dressed and painted very cunningly.

[Chap. 4.

Chap. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of Totonteac, Marata, and Acus, quite contrary to the relation of Frier Marcus. The conference which they have with the Indians of the citie of Granada which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres past foreseene the comming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they have of other seven cities, whereof Tucano is the principall, and how he sent to discover them. A present of divers things had in these countreys sent unto the Viceroy Mendoça by Vasques de Coronado.

Totonteac is an hotte lake.

Tadouac seemeth because it is a lake, and endeth in ac to have some affinitie herewith.

Other townes neere a river.

THe kingdome of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father provinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are five or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither have the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I say that this is a towne. For Acus with an aspiration nor without, is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would derive Acucu of Acus, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is converted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a river which I have seene and have had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write unto your lordship: neverthelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am nowe to advertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would have you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could have done no more in the service of his Majestie and of your lordshippe, then I have done in comming hither whither you have sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals upon our shoulders and upon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote travailing over hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart unto the death, if it please his Majestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

[III. 379.]

Turqueses. Mantles.

The Indians flee to the hils with their wives,children and goods.

A citie greater then Granada.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses and badde mantles, and I received them in his Majesties name with all the good speaches that I could devise, certifying them of the purpose of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Majestie, and by the commaundement of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this province should become Christians, and should knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receive his Majestie for their King, and earthly Soveraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leaving their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I sawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recovered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I sayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde that they should not bee afrayd, and that they should call their governour unto mee: howbeit, forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any governour: for I sawe not there any chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one over another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and give order what course should bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and some Turqueses. I advised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wives and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours majestie for their King and lorde. And even to this present they keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they have. I commaunded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in their countrey: And such badde painters as they are, foorthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beastes, another of their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And they assure us, that above fiftie yeeres past it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like us should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that countrey.

Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beasts another of birdes and fishes.

An old prophecie that these parts should be subdued by Christians.

They worship the water.

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reason, but that their ancesters did so. I have sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabitants of these townes, whether they have any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of seven cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like unto these, though they have not houses like unto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these townes whereof they have knowledge, they say is called Tucano: and they gave mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselves deceived. I sent Don Pedro de Tovar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I would not

Seven cities farre from Granada.

Tucano.

have dispatched this packet unto your lordship, untill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelve or fifteene dayes I might have had newes from him: for hee will stay in this journey thirtie dayes at least. And having examined that the knowledge hereof is of small importance, and that the colde and the waters approch: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordship gave mee charge in your instructions, which is, that immediatly upon mine arrivall here, I should signifie so much unto your lordship, and so I doe, sending withall the bare relation of that which I have seene. I have determined to send round about the countrey from hence to have knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to leave this enterprise to serve his majestie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, untill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee have great want of pasture: and your lordship also shal understand, that among all those which are here, there is not one pound of raisins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, save only one pinte which is saved to say Masse: for all is spent & spilt by the way. Now your lordship may provide us what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send us cattell, your lordship must understand that they will bee a sommer in comming unto us: for they will not be able to come unto us any sooner. I would have sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so: neverthelesse I send you twelve small mantles, such as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine garment also, which seemeth unto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, because I beleeve that no man ever sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this countrey, although as I have sayde, the picture bee

The Spaniards victualling in discoveries.

[III. 380.]

A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.

very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I have seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I send your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earerings of the same, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians have great store. I send your lordship also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee use to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hande up a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, have never beene seene. I can say nothing unto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from us, that hitherto I have not seene any of them, saving onely two olde women, and these had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to give me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they have two pendents like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat over their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like unto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians love more then themselves; therefore

An oxhide. Certaine Turqueses.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

they determined to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither slewe they the young lad which was with him of the province of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie untill nowe. And when I sought to have him, they excused themselves two or three dayes to give him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion, when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not give him mee, they gave him unto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet hee understandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and silver, which those which are skilfull in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could never learne of these people from whence they have it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I have sayde, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselves. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Majestie of the successe of this voyage. For seeing wee have no more then that which is aforesayd, and untill such time as it please God that wee finde that which wee desire, I meane not to write my selfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preserve your Excellencie.

Acucu.

Gold and silver found in Cibola.

From the province of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540. Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

The rest of this voyage to Acuco, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, and unto the Westerne Ocean, is thus written in the generall historie of the West Indies by Francis Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 214.

BEcause they would not returne to Mexico without doing something, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to passe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to

Acuco. Acuco a towne upon an exceeding strong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horsemen went unto the Sea: and Francis Vasques went to Tiguex, which standeth on the banke of a great river. There they had newes of Axa and Quivira. There they sayde was a King whose name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed upon a payre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heaven. This newes did greatly rejoyce and cheere up the armie: although some thought it to bee false, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a countrey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horses dead, which put the armie in feare. In their journey they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they assaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horses, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ovando wounded or dead, to eate and sacrifice him as they thought, or peradventure to see more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any signe of sacrificing men. Our people layde siege unto the towne, but could not take it in more then five and fortie dayes space. The townesmen that were besieged, dranke snowe in stead of water: and seeing themselves forlorne they made a fire, wherein they cast their mantles, feathers, Turqueses and precious things, that those strangers might not enjoy them. They issued out in a squadron with their women and children in the middest, to make way by force, and to save themselves, but fewe escaped the edge of our swordes and the horses, and a certaine river which was neere the towne. Seven Spaniards were slaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horses: whereby a man may see of what force resolution is in necessitie.

The Westerne sea discovered.
Tiguex.
Axa and Quivira.
[III. 381.]
A towne burnt.
Another towne assaulted.
Mantles.
Turqueses.
Feathers.
Precious things.

Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themselves, untill our men set fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes journey to Cicuic, which is a small towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourescore, which sufficed the armie with flesh. From Cicuic they went to Quivira, which after their accompt, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plaines, and sandie heathes so smooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselves at their returne: for three horses were lost on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his companie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crookebacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of sheepe: but there is no people but such as keepe those cattell. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great showre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which caused many teares, weakenesse, and vowes. At length they came to Quivira and found Tatarrax, whome they sought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a jewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards seeing the false report of so famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without seeing either crosse or shewe of Christianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey.

Melons.
Cotton.
Large mantles.
Cicuic foure dayes journey from Tiguex.

Quivira.

Heapes of oxe dung made for markes to know the way.

The Spaniards returne to Tiguex, and so to Mexico 1542.
The Spaniards would have inhabited the countrey.

Quivira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much grasse, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themselves with oxe-hides and deeres skinnes. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and silver in their prows, and were laden with marchandises, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, because they shewed our men by signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes.

Ships seene on the sea coast of Quivira, which were 30. dayes in sayling thither.

Frier John de Padilla stayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quivira, with some dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horses and mules with provision. Hee tooke sheepe and hennes of Castile, and ornaments to say Masse withall. The people of Quivira slewe the Friers, and the Portugall escaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he escaped death, yet could hee not free himselfe out of captivitie: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captive, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee travailed, hee blessed the people with a crosse, whereunto they offered much, and wheresoever hee came, they gave him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arrived at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed up in a lace, and reported strange things of the lands, rivers and mountaines that he had passed.

Andrew de Campo travailed from Quivira to Panuco.

It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home: for hee had spent above threescore thousand pesos of golde in the enterprise, and ought a great part thereof still. Many sought to have dwelt there; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselves in so poore a countrey, and so farre from succour. They travailed above nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The cause why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

[III. 382.]

The foresayd Francis Lopez de Gomara in his generall historie of the West Indies, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and strange beasts never seene nor heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa: which somewhat resembling our oxen, having high bunches on their backes like those on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him Vacas corcobados, that is to say, Crooke-backed oxen, being very deformed & terrible in shewe, and fierce by nature: which notwithstanding for foode, apparell, and other necessarie uses, are most serviceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of those countreys. He reported also in the same chapter of certaine strange sheepe as bigge as horses, and of dogs which use to carie burthens of 50. pound weight upon their backes.

These are much like the people that Captain Frobisher brought into England from Meta Incognita.

ALl the way betweene Cicuic and Quivira is a most plaine soyle, without trees and stones, and hath but fewe and small townes. The men clothe and shooe themselves with lether; and the women which are esteemed for their long lockes, cover their heads and secrets with the same. They have no bread of any kinde of graine, as they say: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefest foode is flesh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of custome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers say that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it also colde dissolved in water. They seeth not the flesh for lacke of pots, but rost it, or to say more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung: when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and raven up much, and holding the flesh with their teeth, they cut it with rasors of stone, which seemeth to be great bestialitie: but such is their maner of living and fashion. They goe together in companies, and moove from one place to another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the seasons and the pasture after their Oxen.

The description of the oxen of Quivira.

These Oxen are of the bignesse and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not so great. They have a great bunch upon their fore shoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They have as it were an horse-mane upon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downeward. They have great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it seemeth that they have beardes, because of the great store of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males have very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: so that in some respect they resemble the Lion, and in some other the Camell. They push with their hornes, they runne, they overtake and kill an horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beast of countenance and forme of bodie. The horses fledde from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had never seene them. Their masters have no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they shooe themselves: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calves-skinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so many things of them as they have neede of, or as many as suffice them in the use of this life.

Sheepe as big as horses.

There are also in this countrey other beastes as big as horses, which because they have hornes and fine wool, they cal them sheepe, and they say that every horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

Mightie dogs carrying 50. pound weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in sackes when they

goe on hunting, or when they remoove from place to place with their flockes and heards.

[III. 383.]

El Viaje que Hizo Antonio de Espejo en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companneros descubrieron una tierra en que hallaron quinze Provincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien pusieron por nombre El Nuevo Mexico, por parecerse en muchas cosas al viejo. Esta à la parte del norte, y se cree que por ella, y por poblado, se puede venir hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador.

Del Nuevo Mexico, y de su descubrimiento, y lo que del se sabe.

Nuevo Mexico.

YA dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, se avian descubierto quinze Provincias, aquien los inventores llamaron El nuevo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueva Espanna, y prometi de dar noticia del descubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor brevedad que sea possible, porque si uviera de poner diffusamente todo lo que vieron y supieron, fuera menester hazer dello nueva historia. La substancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y uno, teniendo noticia un Religioso de la Orden de sant Francisco, que se llamava fray Augustin Ruyz, que morava en el valle de sant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios. Conchos que se comunicavan con otros sus convezinos llamados Passaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando siempre por tierra) avia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca sabidas de nuestros Espannoles, ni descubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de salvacion de las almas, pidio licencia al

Augustin Ruyz.

Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueva Espanna, y a sus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprender su lengua, y sabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el santo Evangelio. Alcançada la licentia de los sobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de su mesma Orden, se partio con ocho soldados, que de voluntad le quisieron acompannar, a poner en execution su Christiano y zeloso intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparon con una Provincia, que se llamava de los Tiguas, distante de las minas de sancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta occasion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre uno de sus dos companneros. El qual, los soldados que yvan con el, viendo, y sintiendo el successo, y temiendo que del se podria seguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comun consentimiento de bolverse a las minas de donde avian salido, con consideracion de que la gente que yva era muy poca para resistir a los successos que se podian offrecer en tanta distancia de la vivienda de los Espannoles, y tan lexos del necessario socorro. Los dos Religiosos que havian quedado, no solo no vinieron en su parecer, mas antes viendo la ocasion para poner en execucion su buen desseo, y tanta mies madura para la mesa de Dios, viendo que no podian persuadir a los soldados a passar adelante en el descubrimiento, se quedaron ellos en la dicha Provincia con tres muchachos Indios, y un mestizo, que avain llevado consigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedassen solos, estavan alli seguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratavan. Llegados los ocho soldados adonde desseavan, embiaron luego la nueva al dicho Virey delo succedido a la ciudad de Mexico, que dista de las dichas minas de santa Barbora ciento y sesenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religiosos de sant Francisco la quedada de sus hermanos : y timiendo no los matassen viendo los solos, començaron a mover los animos de algunos soldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioso de la mesma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornassen à la dicha

Tiguas.

Fray Bernardino Beltran.

Provincia, a sacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religiosos, y proseguir con la empresa començada.

En esta sazon estava en las dichas minas por cierta ocasion un vezino de la ciudad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Espejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y industria, y zeloso del servicio de la majestad del Rey Don Philippe nuestro sennor, natural de Cordova. El qual como entendiesse el desseo delos dichos religiosos, y la importancia del negocio, se offrecio a la jornada y a gastar en ella parte de su hazienda, y a riesgar su vida, siendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna persona que representasse a su majestad, la qual procurandola los dichos religiosos, le fue dada por el Capitan Juan de Ontiveros Alcalde mayor por su magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que son en la gouvernacion de la Nueva Vizcaya, setenta leguas de las dichas minas de santa Barbora, assi para que el pudiesse yr, como para que juntasse la gente y soldados pue pudiesse, para que le acompannassen, y ayudassen a conseguir su Christiano intento.

Antonio de Espejo morio en la Havana 1589.

[III. 384.]

Nueva Bizcaya.

El dicho Antonio de Espejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias juntò los soldados y bastimentos necessarios para hazer la jornada, gastando en ello buena parte de su hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de sant Bartholome a los diez de Noviembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, llevando para lo que se offreciesse ciento y quinze cavallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y bastimentos, y alguna gente de servicio.

Endereço su camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornados topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherias o poblaciones de casas pagicas. Los quales como lo supiessen, y tuviessen dello relacion muy de atras, los salieron a recebir con muestras de alegria. La comida destos, y delos de la Provincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandissima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabaças, y melones, y en

Conchos Indios.

abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de pescado muy bueno, y de diversas suertes: andan casi todos desnudos, y las armas que usan son arco y flecha, y viven debaxo de govierno, y sennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adorassen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente consintieron en que les pusiessen los Christianos cruzes, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, despues de aversido informados de los nuestros dela significacion dellas, que se hizo por interpretes que llevavan, por cuyo medio supieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, accompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas estavan poblades de gente de su nacion, y los salian a recebir de paz, por aviso que embiavan los Caciques de unos pueblos a otros.

Passaguates Indios.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Passaguates, los quales vivian al modo que los ya dichos Conchos sus convezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornados, con los avisos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nuestros en este camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Una jornada destas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Tobosos, los quales en viendo el rastro de los nuestros, se huyeron a las sierras, dexando sus casas y pueblos desiertos. Supose despues que algunos annos antes avian acudido por alli ciertos soldados que yvan en busca de minas, y avian llevado cautivos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temerosos y abispados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fuessen a llamar, assegurandolos de que no les seria hecho ningun mal, y diose tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, aquien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yvan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual se bolvieron todos a sossegar, y consintieron les pusiessen Cruzes, y declarassen el mysterio dellas, mostrando reciber della gran contentamiento, en cuya demostracion los fueron acompannando, como

Muchas minas de plata.

Tobosos Indios.

lo avian hecho sus vezinos, hasta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion differente, que distavan de la suya cosa de doze leguas: usan arco, y flecha, y andan desundos.

Prosiguese del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico.

LA nacion hasta donde los dicho Tobosos los guiaron se llamava Jumanos, a quien por otro nombre llaman los Espannoles Patarabueyes: tienen una Provincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las casas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los rostros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que hasta alli avian visto, y tenian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantidad de pescado, a causa de tener grandes rios que vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquivir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agua salada que se quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y se haze muy buena sal. Es gente bellicosa, y mostraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nuestros assentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cavallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, sino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho este mal recado, despoblaron el lugar, y se subieron a una sierra que estava cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco soldados bien armados con un interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de su mesma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a su pueblo y casas, y persuadiendolos a que diesten aviso asus vezinos de [III. 385.] que no eran hombres que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yvan a tomar sus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con su prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas sartas de quentas de vidrio que llevava para este effeto, y sombreros, y otras ninnerias: con este, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, se fueron muchos dellos en

Jumanos Indios.

Rio del Norte.

Buena sal.

compannia de los nuestros algunos dias, caminando siempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, por toda la qual havia muchos pueblos de Indios desta nacion, que duraron por espacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales avisados los unos Caciques de los otros salian a recebir a los nuestros sin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadivos, en especial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en esto las de Flandes. Es gente toda vestida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nuestra sancta Fee, porque sennalavan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en su lengua Apalito, y le conocen por sennor, de cuya larga mano, y misericordia confiessan aver recibido la vida, y el ser natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioso, que diximos que yva con el dicho Capitan y soldados, los santiguasse, y echasse la benedicion: el qual como les preguntasse de quien avian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: respondieron, que de tres Christianos, y un negro, que avian passado por alli, y detenidose algunos dias en su tierra, que segun las sennas que dieron, eran Alvar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y un negro, que todos ellos avian escapado de la armida con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y despues de aver sido muchos dias esclavos, vinieron a dar a estos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y sanando con el tocamento solo de sus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda esta Provincia quedo de paz, y muy sossegada, en cuya demonstracion fueron acompannando y sirviendo a los nuestras algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

Rio grande.

12 Jornadas.

Apalito.

Otra Provincia.

A pocas dias toparon con una gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los salieron a recebir por nueva que tuvieron de sus vezinos, y les sacaron muchas cosas muy curiosas de pluma de differentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodon barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para rescatarlas, y trocarlas por otras cosas. Yvan todos, assi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos vestidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nuncapudieron los nuestros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que intendiesse su lengua, aunque por sennas tratavan con ellos, à los quales como les mostrassen algunas piedres de metal rico, y les preguntassen si havia de aquello en su tierra: Respondieron por las mesmas sennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, avia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y se lo mostrarian, como lo cumplieron despues, acompannandolos por espacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de su mesma nacion: a quien immediatamente se seguia por el mesmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la passada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos presentes, especialmente de pescado que havia infinito, a causa de unas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli havia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Estuvieron entre estos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a su modo, con particular signification de alegria: no se supo como se llamava esta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que se extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre estos hallaron un Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y sennalo, que quinze jornadas de alli hazia el Poniente havia una laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y casas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien vestida, y la tierra de muchos bastimentos, el qual se offrecio de llevarlos alla, y holgaran los nuestros dello, y solo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proseguir el intento con que avian començado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar socorro a los Religiosos arriba dichos.

Metal rico.

Otra provincia. Lagunas grandes.

Laguna muy ancha.

En esta Provincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que havia muy buen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras cosas particulares, y de provecho.

Muchos Metales ricos.

Desta Provincia fueron siguiendo su derrota por espacio de quinze dias, sin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grandes pinales de pinnas y pinnones, como los de Castilla: al cabo de los quales aviendo caminado a su parecer ochenta leguas, toparon una pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en sus casas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y *Sal blanca.* mucha sal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hospedaje dos dias que alli estuvieron, despues delos *Rio Turbioso del Norte.* quales los accompannaron como doze leguas a unas poblaciones grandes, caminando siempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman el *Nuevo Mexico.* Nuevo Mexico. Estava toda la ribera del dicho rio llena [III. 386.] de grandissimas alamedas de alamos blancos y en partes tomavan quatro leguas de ancho, y ansi mesmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Castilla. Aviendo caminado dos dias por estas alamedas, y noguerales, toparon diez pueblos que estavan assentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, sin otros que se mostravan mas desviados, en los quales les parecio avia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron passavan en numero de diez mil animas. En esta Provincia los regalaron mucho con recebimientos, y con llevarlos a sus pueblos, donde les davan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras cosas, *Casas de quatro altos.* y todo con gran voluntad. Aqui hallaron casas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos aposentos, y en *Estufas.* las mas dellas avia estufas para tiempo de invierno. Andavan vestidos de algodon, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, assi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les causo mas estranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andavan calçados con çapatos y botas de buen cuero con *Suelas de vaca.* suelas de vaca, cosa que hasta alli nunca la avian visto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compuesto, y sin cosa sobre la cabeça. En todos estos pueblos avia Caciques que los governavan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar sus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à vozes la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En esta Provincia hallaron los nuestros muchos Idolos que adoravan, y en especial que tenian en cada casa un templo para el Demonio, donde le llevavan de ordinario de comer, y otra cosa, que de la manera que entre los Christianos tenemos en los caminos cruzes: assi tienen ellos unas como capillas, altas, donde dizen, descansa, y se recrea el Demonio, quando va de un pueblo a otro: las quales estan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las sementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a un lado dellas un portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y passan la siesta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y estan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que usan son arcos muy fuertes, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que passan una cota, y macanas, que son unos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que bastan a partir por medio un hombre, y ansi mesmo unas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudio.

Cuero de vaca.

Prosiguese del Nuevo Mexico, y de las cosas que en el se vieron.

DEspues de aver estado en esta Provincia quatro dias, y a poca distancia toparon son otra, que se llamava la Provincia de los Tiguas, en la qual avia diez y seys pueblos: en el uno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que avian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Francisco Lopez, y fray Augustin, a quien yvan a buscar, y juntamene a tres muchachos, y un mestizo. Quando los deste pueblo, y sus convezinos vieron a los nuestros, remordiendo les la propria consciencia, y temiendose que yvan a castigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los osaron esperar, antes dexando sus casas desiertas se subieron a las sierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, aunque lo procuraron con alagos y

Tiguas.

Poala.

Metales muy buenos.

mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y casas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas suertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No se pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fuesse la desta Provincia, por causa de averse (como ya dixe) subido a la sierra.

Nueva Vizcaya.

Nota diligentissime.

Otra provincia.

Minas ricas.

[III. 387.]

Aviendo hallado muertos a los que buscavan, entraron en consulta sobre si se bolverian à la Nueva Vizcaya, de donde havian salido, o passarian adelante: en lo qual uvo diversos pareceres: pero como alli entendiessen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Provincia, y muy distante de alli havian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandose alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo de consentimiento de Religioso ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de sus soldados, y companneros, de proseguir con el descubrimiento hasta ver en que parava, para poder dar dello noticia cierta y clara a su Megestad, como testigos de vista: y assi conformes determinaron que quedandose alli el Real, fuessen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de su desseo, que lo pusieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con una Provincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a su parecer passava en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fertil y bastecida, cuyos confines estan immediatamente juntas con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros se visten, y de algodon: siguiendo en la manera del govierno el orden que guarden sus convezinos: ay sennales de muchas minas ricas, y assi hallavan metales dellas en algunas casas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Visto esto, y la disposicion de la tierra, se bolvieron al real de donde avian salido, a dar noticia a sus companneros de todo lo sobredicho.

Quires.

Llegados al Real (como esta dicho) tuvieron noticia de otra Provincia, llamada los Quires, que estava el rio del Norte arriba seys leguas de distancia, y como se partiessen para alla, y llegassen una legua della, les salieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que se fuessen con ellos a sus pueblos, que como lo hiziessen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron solamente cinco pueblos en esta Provincia, en los quales avia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron passava de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como sus vezinos. Hallaron en uno destos pueblos una Urraca en una jaula, como se usa en Castilla, y tira soles, como los que se traen de la China, pintados en ellos el sol y la luna, y muchas estrellas. Donde como tomassen la altura, se hallaron en treynta y siete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Salieron desta Provincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Provincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande se llamava Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas casas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que havian visto en las Provincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron passavan de veynte mil animas: hizieron presente a los nuestros de muchas mantas curiosas, y de cosas de comer muy bien guisadas, y juzgaron ser la gente mas curiosa, y de mayor policia, de quantas hasta alli havian visto, y de mejor govierno: monstraronles ricos metales, y unas sierras alli cerca de donde de los sacavan. Aqui tuvieron noticia de otra Provincia, que stava hazia el Nordueste, que se determinaron de yr a ella.

Cunames Indios.
Cia.

Ricos metales.

Como uviessen andado como seys leguas, toparon con la dicha Provincia, que se llamava de los Ameies, en la qual havia siete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a su entender mas de treynta mil animas. Uno destos siete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoso, que le dexaron de yr a ver, assi por estar detras de una sierra, como por temor de algun ruyn successo, si a caso se dividian los unos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Provincia su vezina, y tan abastada como ella, y de tan buen govierno.

Ameies.

15 *Leguas.* *Acoma.* A quinze leguas desta Provincia, caminando siempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron un pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de seys mil animas, y estava essentado sobre uno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta estados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada sino por una escalera que estava hecha en la propria penna, cosa que admiro mucho alos nuestros: toda el agua que en el pueblo avia era de cisternas.

Metales. Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Espannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adere çadas, y gran cantidad de bastimentos. Tienen sus sembrados dos leguas de alli, y sacan el agua para regarlos de un rio pequenno que esta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes rosales como los de aca de Castilla. Ay muchas sierras con sennales de metales, aunque no subieron a verlo, por ser los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicosos. Estuvieron los nuestros en este lugar tres dias, en uno de los quales los naturales les hizieron un bayle muy solenne, saliendo a el con galannos vestidos, y con juegos muy ingeniosos, con que holgaron en se estremo.

24 *leguas.* *Zuny o Cibola.* Veynte y quartro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con una Provincia, que se nombra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Espannoles Cibola, ay en ella gran cantidad de Indios, en la qual estuvo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes puestas, y otras sennales de Christianidad que siempre se estavan en pie. Hallaron ansi mesmo tres Indios Christianos que se avian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales tenian casi olvidada su mesma lengua, y sabian muy bien la delos naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron se entendieron facilmente. De quien supieron que sesenta jornadas de alli avia una laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas estavan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras

60 Jornadas. Lago muy grande mucho oro.

dello: y que como el sobredicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado tuviesse noticia muy cierta dello, havia salido desta Provincia de Cibola para yr alla, y aviendo andado doze jornadas le falto el agua, y se determino de bolver, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de proposito a ello, que despues no lo puso en execucion, porque la muerte le atajo los passos y pensamientos.

Prosigue del Nuevo Mexico.

A La nueva de la riqueza dicha, quiso a cudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo, y aunque eran de su parecer algunos de sus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioso fue de contrario: diziendo, era ya tiempo de bolverse à la nueva Viscaya de donde havian salido, a dar cuenta de lo que avian visto: que lo pusieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan, con nueve companneros que lo quisieron seguir: el qual, despues de haverse certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello avia muy buenos, salio con los dichos sus companneros desta provincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, despues de haver andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la quel les parecio havia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como supiessen su llegada, les embiaron un recado, diziendo, que si no querian que los matassen, no se acercassen mas a sus pueblos: a lo qual respondio el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yvan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que assi les rogavan no se pusiessen en llevar adelante su intento, dando al mensajero algunas cosas de las que llevava: el qual supo tan bien abonar a los nuestros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entrassen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la provincia de Cibola ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Una legua antes que llegassen al primer pueblo, les salieron a

Nueva Viscaia. [III. 388.]

28 *Leguas. Otra Provincia.*

Zaguato o Ahuato pueblo.

recebir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de bastimentos, a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas cosas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ser de mucho, y las estimaron mas que si fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que se llamava Zaguato, salio a recebirlos gran muchedumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demostracion de plazer y regozijo, que echavan mucha harina de maiz por el suelo, para que la pisassen los cavallos : con esta fiesta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hospedados, y regalados, que se lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales sombreros, y quentas de vidrio, y otras muchas cosas que llevava para semejantes offrecimientos.

Metales ricos. La laguna grande arriba dicha.

Despacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Provincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los huespedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteses, y no les hazian mal : lo qal fue bastante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de presentes para los nuestros, y de que los importunassen, fuessen con ellos a holgarse a sus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque siempre con recado de lo que podia succeder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan uso de una cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cavallos eran muy bravos, y les avian dicho que los querian matar, seria necessario hazer un fuerte de calicanto donde meter lospara evitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dentro de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nuestros querian con una presteza increyble. Demas desto, diziendo el Capitan que se queria yr, le traxeron un presente de 40. mil mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas cosas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que mostravan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre estos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundantia de oro.

Fiado el Capitan desta gente, y de sus buenos animos, a cordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de sus copanneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que se bolviessen a la provincia de Zuny con el bagaje, y de yrse el con los quatro que quedavan a la ligera en descubrimento de cierta noticia que tenia de unas minas muy ricas. Lo qual puesto por obra se partio con las guias que llevava, y como uviesse caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y saco con sus proprias manos riquissimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas, que eran de una veta muy ancha, estavan en una sierra adonde se podia subir con facilidad, a causa de haver para ello camino abierto. Cerca delas avia algunos pueblos de Indios serranos que les hizieron amistad, y los salieron a recebir con Cruzes en las cabeças, y otras sennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas havia muchas patras de unas muy buenas, y grandes noguerales, y mucho lino como lo de Castilla, y dixeron por sennas que detras de aquellas sierras estava uno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no se pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonstracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de una y orta banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en su comparacion a quellos en que estava eran barrios.

45 *Leguas.* *Riquissimos metales.*

Rio grandissimo.

Mar del Norte.

Despues de haver tomado toda esta relacion, se partio el dicho Capitan para la Provincia de Zuny, adonde havia mendado yr a los dichos companneros: y como llegasse a ella con salud, haviendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a sus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los soldados que se avian determinado de bolver, como ya diximos, que aun no se avian partido, por ciertas ocasiones: a los quales los naturales havian hecho muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo necessario muy complida mente, haziendo despues lo mesmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien salieron a recebir con demonstracion de alegria, y dieron muchos bastimentos para la jornada que havian de hazer, rogandoles que bolvissen con brevedad, y traxessen

Zuni, o Cibola.

[III. 389.]

muchos Castillas (que assi llaman a los Espannoles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad avian sembrado a quel anno mas trigo y semillas, que en todos los passados.

En este tiempo se retificaron en su primera determinacion el dicho religioso, y los soldados arriba dichos, y accordaron de bolverse a la provincia de donde avian salido con el designio que queda dicho, a quien se junto Gregorio Hernandez que avia sido Alferez en la jornada: los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con solos ocho soldados, se resolvio de seguir lo començado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puso por obra. *Sesenta leguas.* Y haviendo caminado como sesenta leguas hazia la provincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron una provincia que se llamava los *Hubates Indios.* Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de *Minas muy ricas. 25000.* alli havia unas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y sacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales se bolvieron al pueblo de donde avian salido. Juzgaron esta provincia por de hasta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien vestidos de mantas de algodon pintadas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las casas de los pueblos son de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuvieron *Tamos. 40000.* noticia que otra provincia que estava una jornada de alli, que se llamava de los Tamos, en que havia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegassen no les quisieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en sus pueblos: por lo qual, y por el peligro en que estavan, y estar algunos soldados enfermos, y ser tan *They returne.* pocos (como havemos dicho) se determinaron de yrse saliendo para tierra de Christianos, y lo pusieron en *Julio. 1583.* execucion a principio de Julio del anno de ochenta y tres, siendo guiados por un Indio que se fue con ellos, y los llevo por camino differente del que a la venida havian *Rio de las vacas.* traydo, por un rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por aver gran muchedumbre dellas en toda su ribera, por donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui salieron al rio de los Conchos por donde avian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde havian salido para dar principio al descubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y sus companneros avian llegado a salvamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias havia, y que de alli se avian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en este pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, laqual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a su Magestad, y a los Sennores, de su Real Consejo de las Indias, para que ordenassen lo que fuessen servidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nuestro Sennor se situa de ayudar este negocio, de modo que tantas almas redemidas con su sangre no se condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden alos de Mexico y Peru, segun se entendio de los que los trataron) se puede presumir, abraçaran con facilidad la ley Evangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene: que lo haga Dios como puede para honra y gloria suya, y augmento de la sancta fe Catholica.

Ciento y veynte leguas.

Rio de los Conchos.

Guadiana.

Nota.

[A briefe

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier Augustin Ruyz a Franciscan, in the yeere 1581: the second by Antonio de Espejo in the yeere 1583: who together with his company discovered a land wherin they found fifteene provinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and five stories high, which they named New Mexico; for that in many respects it resembleth the province of olde Mexico. This land is situate to the North of Nueva Espanna, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may travell even to Terra de Labrador. Taken out of the history of China written by Frier Juan Gonzales de Mendoça, and printed in Madrid 1586.

I Have now declared in the title of this present discourse, that in the yeere 1583 there were discovered fifteene provinces, which the discoverers called New Mexico, situate on the firme land of Nueva Espanna, and I promised to give notice of the sayd discovery, which I will do with as much brevity as is possible: for if I should record at large all particulars which they saw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full history. The substance thereof is as followeth.

The first voyage made by Frier Augustin Ruiz to the province de los Tiguas.
[III. 390.]

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Franciscan frier called Augustin Ruiz which dwelt in the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos, which had dealings and conversation with other of their neighbours called Passaguates; that toward the North, travelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor discovered by our Spanyards: mooved with a zeale of charity, and a desire to save soules, craved licence of the Conde of Corunna as then Viceroy of Nueva Espanna, and of his superiours, to go to the sayd townes, and to indevour to learne their language, and having learned the same, to baptize them, and to preach the holy Gospel unto them. After he had obteined licence of the parties aforesayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Christian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes travell come unto a countrey called The province de los Tiguas distant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their journey, 250 leagues towards the North: in which province the inhabitants, upon a certaine occasion, slew one of the sayd friers two companions. The souldiers that went with him seeing this mishap, and perceiving the successe, and likewise fearing, that thereof might happen some greater danger, determined with a common consent to return unto the mines from whence they departed: considering that their company was too small to resist the dangers that might happen, being so farre distant from the dwellings of the Spanyards, and from all necessary succour. But the two friers which remained alive did not onely refuse their determination, but rather seeing fit occasion to put their good desire in execution, and so great a harvest ripe for the Lords table, because they could not persuade the souldiers to proceed any further in that discovery, remained behinde in the sayd province with three Indian boyes, and one Mestiço, whom they had caried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet should they be there in securitie, by reason of the great affability and love which the people of that place shewed unto them.

The chiefe of these 8 souldiers was Francisco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of these provinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The province de los Tiguas distant 250 leagues Northward from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The eight souldiers being returned to their wished home, immediatly sent newes of all that had passed to the Viceroy unto the city of Mexico, which is distant from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues distant from Mexico.

The friers of Sant Francis were very much agrieved at the staying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing least the Savages would kill them seeing them left alone, they began to moove the minds of certaine souldiers to make another voyage to the sayd province in the company of another frier of the foresayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliver the aforesayd two religious men out of danger, and to prosecute their former enterprise.

The second voyage.

At the same time there was at the foresayd mines upon some occasion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Espejo, a rich man, and of great courage and industry, and very zealous in the service of king Philip his sovereine, and was borne in Cordova. Who understanding the desire of the foresayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himselfe to go on that voyage, and also to spend part of his substance, and to adventure his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the same purpose from some person sufficiently authorised by his Majestie. Which licence at the sayd friers procurement was granted unto him by the governour Juan de Ontiveros the kings Alcalde mayór or chiefe Justice in the towns called Las quatro Cienegas situate within the jurisdiction of Nueva Biscaya seventy leagues from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the sayd voyage, and also to assemble such people and souldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Christian intent.

Las quatro Cienegas in the province of Nueva Biscaya 70 leagues from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The sayd Antonio de Espejo was so earnest in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of souldiers, and made provision of things necessary for his voyage, spending therein a good part of his substance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of November 1582; taking with him (for whatsoever should happen) 115 horses and mules, with great store of weapons, munition, and victuals, and some Indians to serve him in his journey.

Antonio de Espejo his setting forth from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of November 1582.

Directing his course toward the North, after two dayes journey he met with great store of the foresayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages covered with straw. Who, so soone as they understood of his approch, having newes thereof long before, came foorth to receive him with shewes of great joy. The food of this people and of all the rest of that province, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they have great abundance. Also they have great store of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull: and there are many rivers full of excellent fish of divers sorts. They goe almost naked, and the weapons that they use are bowes & arrowes, and live under the government and lordship of Caçiques like those of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they understand that they worshipped any thing, whereupon they easily consented that the Spanyards should set up crosses, [III. 391.] and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the signification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whose meanes they understood of other townes, whither the sayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company above foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably received by advice that was sent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

Indians called Conchos.

Many rivers.

Having passed the foure and twenty leagues aforesayd, they came unto another nation of Indians called Passaguates, who live after the maner of the foresayd Conchos their borderers, and did unto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes journey, with advice of the Caçiques as before. The

Passaguates.

Very great and rich silver mines.

Spanyards found in this journey many mines of silver, which according to the judgement of skilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

Tobosos.

A dayes journey from thence they met with another nation called Tobosos, who so soone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde unto the mountaines, leaving their townes and houses desolate. Afterward wee understood that certeine yeeres past there came unto that place certaine souldiers to seeke mines, who caried away captive certaine of the people of the countrey, which caused the rest of them to be so shey and fearefull. The captaine sent messengers to call them backe againe, assuring them that they should not sustaine any harme, and handled the matter so discreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gave them gifts, using them kindly, and declaring unto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they should set up crosses, and declare the mystery of the same, making shew that they were highly pleased therewith. For proofe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, untill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was distant from theirs some 12 leagues. They use bowes and arrowes and go naked.

Jumanos or Patarabueyes.

The nation unto which the sayd Tobosos conducted them, is called Jumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes: their province is very great, conteining many townes and great store of people: their houses are flat-rooffed, and built of lime and stone, and the streets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women have their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced.: they are a people of great stature, and of better government, then the rest which they had seene in their former journeyes: and are well provided of victuals, and furnished with plenty of wilde beasts, fowles and fishes, by reason of mighty rivers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as

Rio turbioso del Norte.

Guadalquivir, which falleth into the North sea or bay of Mexico. Here are also many lakes of salt water, which at a certeine time of the yere waxeth hard, and becommeth very good salt. They are a warlike people, and soone made shew thereof: for the first night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they slew five horses, and wounded five other very sore, nor would not have left one of them alive, if they had not beene defended by our guard. Having done this mischiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themselves to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him five souldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good persuasions appeased them, causing them to descend to their towne and houses, and persuading them to give advice unto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained easily by his wisedome, and by giving unto the Caçiques certeine bracelets of glasse beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the same purpose: so by this meanes, and by the good interteinment which they gave them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certeine dayes, alwayes travelling along the banke of the great river abovesayd; along the which there were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelve dayes travel, all which time the Caçiques having received advice from one to another, came forth to interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamois-skins very well dressed, so that those of Flanders do nothing exceed them. These people are all clothed, and seemed to have some light of our holy faith: for they made signes of God, looking up towards heaven, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whose bountifull hand and mercy they confesse that they have

Rio del Norte.

Apalito.

received their life and being, and these worldly goods. Many of them with their wives and children came unto the frier (which the captaine and souldiers brought with them) that hee might crosse and blesse them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had received that knowledge of God, they answered, from three Christians, & one Negro which passed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the signes which [III. 392.] they made, were Alvaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which escaped of the company which Pamphilo de Narvaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captives and slaves, escaped and came to these townes, by whom God shewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many sicke persons, by reason wherof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this province remained in great peace and security; in token whereof, they accompanied and served our men certaine dayes, travelling along by the great river aforesayd.

Pamphilo de Narvaex entred into Florida 1527.

Rio del Norte.

Another province.

Within few dayes after they came unto another great province of Indians, from whence they came forth to receive them, upon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of divers colours, and many mantles of cotton straked with blew and white, like those that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois skinnes very good and wel dressed. Our people could never understand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by signes; and having shewed unto them certaine stones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any such in their countrey: they answered by the same signes, that five dayes journey Westward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and shew it unto them; as afterward they performed their

Very great quantity of silver.

promise, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the same nation.

Next unto the foresayd province they came unto another further up the great river aforesayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well received, and welcomed with many presents, especially of fish, whereof they have exceeding great store, by reason of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the foresayd plenty. They stayed among these people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their fashion, with signification of speciall joy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they understood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among these people they found an Indian of the foresayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and shewed them by signes, that fifteene dayes journey from thence toward the West there was a very broad lake, and nere unto it very great townes, and in them houses of three or foure stories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and provision. This Concho offered himselfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company rejoyced, but left off the enterprise, onely to accomplish their intent for which they undertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to give ayd unto the two friers aforesayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this province was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich soyle, and had great store of wilde beasts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

Another province.

Great lakes.

A mighty lake.

Rich metals.

From this province they folowed their journey for the space of fifteene dayes without meeting any people all that while, passing thorow great woods and groves of pine trees bearing such fruit as those of Castile: at the end whereof, having travelled, to their judgement, fourescore leagues, they came unto a small hamlet or village of fewe

Woods of pine trees.

people, in whose poore cottages covered with straw they found many deeres-skinnes as well dressed as those of Flanders, with great store of excellent white salt. They gave our men good entertainment for the space of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelve leagues, unto certaine great townes, alwayes travelling by the river called Rio del Norte abovesayd, till such time as they came unto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the shore of the sayd river grew mighty woods of poplar being in some places foure leagues broad, and great store of walnut trees, and vines like those of Castillia.

New Mexico.
Woods of poplar and walnut trees.
Vines.

Having travelled two dayes thorow the said woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes situate on both sides of the sayd river, besides others which they might see further out of the way, wherein there seemed to be great store of people, and those which they saw were above ten thousand persons. In this province they received them very courteously, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gave them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houses of foure stories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in most of them were Stooves for the Winter season. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-skinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the strangest thing of all was to see both men and women weare shooes and boots with good soles of neats leather, a thing which they never sawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dressed, wearing nothing els upon their heads. In all these [III. 393.] townes they had Caçiques which governed their people like the Caçiques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleasure of the Caçiques, commanding the same to be put in execution. In this

Houses of 4 stories high.

province our men found many idols which they worshipped, and particularly they had in every house an Oratory for the divell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an use among the Christians to erect crosses upon the high wayes, so have this people certaine high chapels, in which they say the divell useth to take his ease, and to recreat himselfe as he travelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are marvellously well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they have great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage or shed standing upon foure studdes, under which the labourers do eat, and passe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much given to labour, and doe continually occupy themselves therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forrests of Pine trees. The weapons that they use are strong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, so beset with sharpe flints, that they are sufficient to cleave a man asunder in the midst: they use also a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

These high mountaines are a cause of the coldnes of the countrey.

Having remained foure dayes in this province, not farre off they came to another called The province of Tiguas conteining sixteene townes, in one whereof, called Poala, they understood that the inhabitants had slaine the two fathers aforesayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Augustus Ruyz, whom they went to seeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the mestiço. So soone as the people of this towne and their neighbours saw our men there, their owne consciences accusing them, and fearing that our men came to punish them, and to be avenged of the death of the foresaid fathers, they durst not abide their comming, but leaving their houses desolate they fled to the mountaines next adjoyning, from whence they could never cause them to descend, although our men attempted the same by divers devises and entisements. They found in the townes and houses good store

The province of Tiguas.

Poala.

of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many sorts of metals, whereof some seemed to be very good. They could not perfectly understand what numbers of people this province might conteine, by reason they were fled into the mountaines, as I have sayd before.

Very rich and good metall.

Having found those to be slaine which they went to seeke, they entred into consultation, whether they should returne to Nueva Biscaya, from whence they came, or should proceed further in their journey; whereabout there were divers opinions: howbeit, understanding there, that toward the Orient or East parts of that province, and very far distant from thence, there were great and rich townes: and finding themselves so far on the way, the sayd captaine Antonio de Espeio with the consent of the foresayd frier called Frier Bernardine Beltran, and the greater part of his souldiers and companions determined to proceed on the discovery, till such time as they did see to what end it would come; to the end they might give certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Majesty, as eye-witnesses of the same. And so with one accord they determined, that while the army lay still there, the captaine and two more of his company should prosecute their desire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes journey they came unto another province, where they found eleven townes, and much people in them, which in their judgement were above forty thousand persons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whose confines bordered upon the territories of Cibola, where there are great store of kine, with whose hides and with cotton they apparell themselves, imitating in the forme of their government their next neighbours. In this place are signes of very rich mines, some quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houses of the Indians; which Indians have and doe worship idols. They received our men peaceably, and gave them victuals. Having seene thus much, and the disposition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they

This draweth toward Virginia.

Another province.

departed, to informe their companions of the things above mentioned.

Quires bordering upon Rio del Norte.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another province called Los Quires, which stood sixe leagues higher up the river called Rio del Norte. And in their journey thitherward, being arrived within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receive them in peace, requesting them to beare them company to their townes: which they did, and were marvellous well interteined and cherished. In this province they found five townes only, wherein were great store of people, and those which they saw were above 14000 soules, who worship idols as their neighbours do. In one of these townes they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Castile, and certaine shadowes or canopies like unto those which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where having taken the height of the pole-starre, they found themselves to be in 37 degrees and ½ of Northerly latitude.

Seven & thirty degrees and a halfe.

[III. 394.]

They departed out of this province, and keeping still the same NORTHERLY course, foureteene leagues from thence they found another province called The Cunames, where they saw other five townes, the greatest whereof was called Cia, being so large, that it conteined eight market-places, the houses whereof being plaistered and painted with divers colours, were better then any which they had seene in the provinces before mentioned: the people which they heere saw, they esteemed to be above twenty thousand persons. They presented to our men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dressed; so that our men deemed this nation to be more curious, and of greater civility, and better government, then any other that hitherto they had seene. They shewed them rich metals, and the mountaines also not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another province standing toward the Northwest, whereunto they purposed to goe.

Cunames, or Punames.

Cia a great city.

Rich metals.

Ameies, or Emexes.

Having travelled about sixe leagues, they came to the sayd province, the people whereof were called Ameies, wherin were seven very great townes, conteining, to their judgement, above thirty thousand soules. They reported that one of the seven townes was very great and faire, which our men would not go to see, both because it stood behinde a mountaine, and also for feare of some mishappe, if in case they should be separated one from another. This people are like unto their neighbours of the former province, being as well provided of all necessaries as they, and of as good government.

Acoma or Acoman a towne conteining above 6000 persons.

Signes of metals.

About fifteene leagues from this province, travelling alwayes toward the West, they found a great towne called Acoma, conteining above sixe thousand persons, and situate upon an high rocke which was above fifty paces hie, having no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of staires hewen into the same rocke, whereat our people marvelled not a little: all the water of this towne was kept in cisternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to visit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles, and chamois-skinnes excellently dressed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small river nere thereunto, to water the same, on the brinks whereof they saw many great banks of Roses like those of Castile. Here are many mountaines that beare shewes of mettals, but they went not to see them, because the Indians dwelling upon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, upon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very solemne dance, comming foorth in the same with gallant apparell, using very witty sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Zuny or Sunne.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the West, they came to a certaine province called by the inhabitants themselves Zuny, & by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which province Francisco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many

Vasquez de Coronado was here 1540 & 1541.

crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Heere also they found three Indian Christians which had remained there ever since the said journy, whose names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almost forgotten their owne language, but could speake that countrey speech very well; howbeit after some small conference with our men, they easily understood one another. By these three Indians they were informed, that threescore dayes journey from this place there was a very mighty lake, upon the bankes whereof stood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the same had plenty of golde, an evident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings: and also that after the sayd Francis Vasquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this province of Cibola to goe thither, and that having proceeded twelve dayes journey, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a second voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being prevented of his determined journey by death.

A mighty lake 60 daies journey from Cibola.

Plenty of golde.

Upon the newes of these riches the sayd Captaine Antony de Espeio was desirous to go thither; and though some of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, saying that it was now high time to returne home unto New Biscay from whence they came, to give account of that which they had seene: which the sayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leaving the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himselfe of the riches abovesayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this province of Cibola with his companions; and travelling directly toward the West, after hee had passed 28 leagues, he found another very great province, which by estimation conteined above 50000 soules: the inhabitants whereof

Another mightie province Westward of Cibola 28 leagues, called Mohotze.

assoone as they understood of their approch, sent them word, upon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine answered, that their [III. 395.] comming was in no wise to hurt them, as they should well perceive, and therefore requested them not to molest him in his intended voyage, and withall gave to the messenger a reward of such things as they brought with them: who thereupon made so good report of our people, and so appeased the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free accesse unto their townes, and so they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the province of Cibola aforesaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the first towne, there came forth to meete them above 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with some things of small value, which they made great accompt of, and esteemed more precious then gold. As they approched neere unto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the rest their Caçiques, with so great demonstration of joy and gladnes, that they cast much meale of Maiz upon the ground for the horses to tread upon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giving to the chiefest among them hats, and beads of glasse, with many such trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpose. The said Caçiques presently gave notice to the whole province of the arrival of these new guests, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and such as offered them no harme: which was occasion sufficient to make them all come laden with presents unto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeelded unto, though alwayes with great foresight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine used a certaine policie, making the Caçiques beleeve, that forasmuch as his horses were very fierce (for they

Zaguato, or Ahuato a towne.

A witty policie to be used by the English in like cases.

had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was necessary to make a Fort of lime and stone to inclose them, for the avoyding of such inconveniences as otherwise might happen unto the Indians by them. This tale was so stedfastly beleeved by the Caçiques, that in five houres they assembled such store of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the said Fort which our men required.

Moreover, when the Captaine saide that he would depart, they brought unto him a present of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great store of hand-towels, with tassels at the corners, with divers other things, and among the rest rich mettals, which seemed to holde much silver. *Rich metals.* Among these Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforesaide, whose report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake. *Great abundance of gold.*

The Captaine reposing great confidence in this people & in their good disposition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leave there five of his companions with the rest of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the province of Zuni, while himselfe with the foure other which remained should ride in post to discover certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpose in execution he departed with his guides, and having traveiled due-west 45. leagues he came unto the said Mines, and tooke out of the same with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of silver: *Exceeding rich Mines of silver.* and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led up to the same. Neere unto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling upon the mountaines, who shewed them friendship & came forth to receive them with crosses on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two rivers of a reasonable bignesse, *A mighty River of eight leagues broad running toward the North sea. Perhaps this River may fall into the Chesepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac.*

upon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groves of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Castile: and they shewed our men by signes, that behinde those mountaines there was a river about 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was: howbeit the Indians made demonstration that it ran towards the North sea, and that upon both sides thereof stood many townes of so great bignesse, that in comparison thereof those wherein they dwelt were but small hamlets.

Zuni.

After he had received all this information, the said Captaine returned toward the province of Zuni, whither he had sent his said companions: and being arrived there in safety, having travailed upon a very good way, he found in the same place his 5. companions, & the said father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the souldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforesaid, but upon certaine occasions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had most friendly intreated, & furnished with all things necessary in abundance, as afterward likewise they used the Captaine, and those that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with shew of great joy, and giving them great store of victuals to serve them in their journey homewards, and requesting them to returne againe with speed, and to bring many Castilians with them (for so they call the Spaniards) to whom they promised food sufficient. For the better performance whereof they sowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

[III. 396.] At this present the Frier and souldiers aforesaid resolved themselves in their former determination, & agreed to returne unto the province from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to seek the two Friers that were slaine, to whom also Gregorio Hernandez who had bene standard-bearer in the journey, joyned himselfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. souldiers, determined to prosecute his former attempt, & to passe up higher the saide river called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And having traveiled about 60. leagues toward the province of the Quires aforesaid, 12 leagues from thence toward the Orient or East they found a province of Indians called Hubates, who received them peaceably, and gave them great store of victuals, informing them also of very rich Mines which they found, whereout they got glistering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This province contained by their estimation 25000. persons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-skins very well dressed. They have many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houses of their townes are of 4. and 5. stories high. Here they had notice of another province distant about one dayes journey from thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing above 40000. soules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither give them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cause, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and because some of the souldiers were not well at ease, and for that they were so fewe (as we have said) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Christians, which they put in execution in the beginning of July 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a river, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to say, The river of oxen, in respect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed upon the bankes thereof, by the which they traveiled for the space of 120. leagues, still meeting with store of the said cattell. From hence they went forward to the river of Conchos by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they first entered into their discoverie. Upon their comming thither they found that the said Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were safely arrived at the said towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In

60. Leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich Mines.

Houses of 4. and five stories high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las vacas.

120. Leagues.

Guadiana.

this towne the foresaid captaine Antony de Espejo made most certaine relation of all that is aforesaid, which relation presently hee sent unto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueva Espanna, who sent the same to his Majestie, & to the Lords of his royal counsel of the Indies, to the end they might take such order as they thought best, which they have already performed with great care and circumspection.

Almighty God vouchsafe his assistance in this busines, that such numbers of soules redeemed by his blood may not utterly perish, of whose good capacitie, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru (as we be given to understand by those that have delt with them) we may boldly presume that they will easily embrace the Gospel, and abandon such idolatrie as now the most of them doe live in: which Almightie God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increase of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of Bartholomew Cano from Mexico the 30. of May 1590. to Francis Hernandes of Sivil, concerning the speedy building of two strong Forts in S. John de Ullua, and in Vera Cruz, as also touching a notable new and rich discovery of Cibola or New Mexico 400. leagues Northwest of Mexico.

IT may please you Sir, to be advertised that I have received your letters, whereby I understand that our ship with the treasure is safely arrived, God be praised therefore. The frigate arrived here in safetie which brought the letters of Advise from the King to the Viceroy. She arrived in S. John de Ullua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Majestie writeth unto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete shall depart from hence, and what course they shall take, not as they had wont for to do; by reason that there are great store of men of war abroad at the sea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God sende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very sore with men of warre on this coast. His Majestie hath sent expresse commandement unto the Marques of Villa Manrique his cosen, Viceroy of Nova Hispania, that immediatly upon sight of his letters he shal command to be builded in S. John de Ullua, & in Vera Cruz two strong Forts for the defence of these countries, of his Majesties charges: And that there shalbe garisons in both the Forts for the defence of the ships which ride there, and for the strength of the countrey.

The marques of Villa Manrique Viceroy of Nova Hispania.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. souldiers Spaniards, under the conduct of Rodorigo del Rio the governour of Nueva Biscaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the Northwest, and standeth up in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and silver Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become subject to his Majestie. There were certaine Spaniards sent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambassage: It is thought that they are slaine, for we can here no newes of them.

[III. 397.]

500. *Spaniards sent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is* 400. *leagues from Mexico North westward.*

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this instant is, that there is a Judge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inscensia lately maried. Also the kings Atturney of Guadalajara maried his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy saith that he hath a warrant from his Majestie, that if any Judge whatsoever dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara should mary any sonne in that jurisdiction, that then the said Viceroy is to deprive him of his office. And therfore he went about to deprive the Judge & the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that province would not thereunto consent, nor suffer them to be dismissed of their offices, nor to be arrested, nor caried prisoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did resist his commandement, and would not suffer them to be apprehended, he sent certaine Captaines with souldiers to goe and apprehend the Judge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withstood the viceroies forces, & put themselves in defence; and are up in armes against the viceroy: yet they do not rebel against the king, but say: God save king Philip, and wil submit themselves to his Majestie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is up in armes, and are all in a mutinie against us of Mexico. I beseech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or else all Nova Spania wil be utterly spoiled. I write this thing, because it is publiquely knowen in all places. And thus I rest, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a province of Nova Hispania.

Bartholomew Cano.

The first and second discovery of the gulfe of California, and of the Sea-coast on the North-west or back side of America, lying to the West of New Mexico, Cibola and Quivira, together with Sir Francis Drakes landing and taking possession upon Nova Albion in the behalfe of the Crowne of England, and the notable voyage of Francis Gaule; Wherein amongst many other memorable matters is set downe the huge bredth of the Ocean sea from China and Japan to the Northwest parts of America, in the 38. and 40. degrees.

A relation of the discovery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble Fernando Cortez Marques of the Vally, made with three ships; The one called Santa Agueda of 120. tunnes, the other the Trinitie of 35. tunnes, and the thirde S. Thomas of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Ulloa borne in the Citie of Merida. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by M. John Baptista Ramusio.

Chap. 1.

Francis Ulloa a captaine of Cortez departeth with a Fleet from the port of Acapulco, and goeth to discover unknowen lands, he passeth by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, and by tempest runneth to the river of Guajaval, from whence he crosseth over to the haven of Santa Cruz, along the coast whereof he discovereth 3. smal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he discovereth the river called Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo, and not far distant from thence two other rivers as big or greater then that of Guadalquivir which runneth by Sivil, together with their head-springs.

WE imbarked our selves in the haven of Acapulco on the 8. of July in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling upon almighty God to guide us with his holy hand unto such places where he might be served, and his holy faith advanced. And we sailed from the said port by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, which is sweete and pleasant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and rivers which passe through those countreis, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So sailing along we came to the haven of S. Iago in the province of Colima: but before we arrived there, the maine mast of our ship called Santa Agueda was broken by a storme of winde that tooke us, so as the ship was forced to

Acapulco in 17. degrees of latitude.

The coast of Sacatula and Motin.

S. Iago de Colima.

[III. 398.]

saile without her mast until we arrived in the said haven. From the port of Acapulco to this haven of Colima wee were sayling the space of 20. dayes. Here wee stayed to mende our mast and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the space of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the saide haven the 23. of August, and sayling by the Isles of Xalisco the 27. or 28. of the saide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempest wherein wee thought we should have perished, and being tossed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the river of Guajaval in the Province of Culiacan. In this storme wee lost the pinnesse called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed over to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were so beaten in the former tempest, the pilot of the Barke signified unto us, that he perceived she beganne to leake, and that already she had received in much water, insomuch that she beganne to founder: whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowen haven, if by chance the tempest should separate us, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the haven of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arrived in this place of Santa Cruz, wee stayed there five dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had lost: Whereupon the Captaine resolved to follow on our voyage; wherefore we set saile the 12. of September, and as wee sailed wee saw along the coast of the saide haven 3. Islands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Islands seemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Masters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leese time without any profit. So sailing over the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the river of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the same a small Island in the mouth of the River, being 4. or 5. miles distant from

The Isles of Xalisco.

Guajaval.

Santa Cruz in the point of California.

Three Ilands.

Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo.

the maine. On both sides of this River wee beheld goodly and pleasant great plaines full of many greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleasant to beholde. From this River wee sailed still along the coast the space of 15. leagues, in which course wee found two other Rivers in our judgement as great or greater then Guadalquivir the River of Sivilia in Spaine. Al the coast by these Rivers is plaine as the other which we had passed, with many woods: likewise within the lande appeared great mountaines covered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From these Rivers we sailed 18. leagues, and found very pleasant plaines, and certaine great lakes whose mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good throughly to discover what those lakes were, and to search whether there were any good haven for his ships to ride in, or to harbour themselves, if any tempest should arise; and so hee commaunded a boat to be hoised out into the Sea, with a Master and five or sixe men to view them, and to sound the depth, and botom of them: who went thither, and found the coast very sholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely because the shore was so shallow, for otherwise the land was very pleasant. Here at evening we saw on the shore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforesaide two Rivers are two leagues distant the one from the other little more or lesse, and are great, as I have saide, and being in the last of them we went up to the ship-top, and saw many lakes, and one among the rest exceeding great, and wee supposed that they had their springs out of this great lake, as other Rivers also have from other lakes, for wee sawe the course of them severally each by themselves, having goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of these Rivers might be discerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many

Two great rivers.

Certaine great lakes.

small stakes set up for markes: the shore here is plaine and sandie, and the countrey very pleasant.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coast from the two aforesaid great Rivers, they discover three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come unto Cabo Roxo, and take possession of those countreys for the Emperours Majesty. A discourse of the faire havens that are on those coastes, and of very many Islands which they saw, before they came to the Cape called Capo de las Plaias.

THis day wee sailed along the coast the space of 16. leagues, and in the midst of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, having certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleasure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and having sailed 3. or 4. leagues we saw 3. mouthes of lakes which entered into the land, where they became like standing pooles. Wee road a league distance from these mouthes in 6. fadome water, to see what they were, and sent our boat with certaine men, to see if there were any entry for our ships: for halfe a league from shore we had not past one or two fadome water. Here our men saw 7. or 8. Indians, and found sundry sorts of greene herbes somewhat differing from those of Nueva Espanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they saw great and small hils extending themselves a great way, and being very faire and pleasant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, sayling alwayes in sight of the plaine coast toward the Northwest, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And having sailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coast within the land of about 5. leagues over, from whence the coast trended Northwest, and this day we sailed about 16. leagues. All this coast is plaine, and not so pleasant as that which

The coast runneth Northward.

[III. 399.]

we had passed: here are certaine small hilles, but not so high as those which we had found before. Thus we sailed all night Northwest, and until the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white sand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our selves to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. This cape we called Capo Roxo. All the coast is plaine and faire and cleane sand, and we saw within land some few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3. or 4. leagues distant from the said cape: and here likewise appeared a mouth of a river, which (as far as we could discerne) made certaine lakes up within the land: from the mouth whereof for the space of a league into the sea it seemed to be very sholde, because the sea did breake very much. Here we saw within the land 3. or 4. rivers. In this sort we sailed on our voiage to the Northward, & because we had not good weather we road that night in a great haven lying in our way, where on the shore wee saw certaine plaines, and up within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our course toward the North about 3. leagues from this haven we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the said haven. And sailing forward we found an haven which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermost mouth, which hath 10. or 12. fadome water, & so decreaseth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a strange thing to beholde, for there are so many entrances & mouths of streames and havens, that we were all astonied at the sight thereof; and these havens are so excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be seene in the world, wherein we found great store of fish. Here wee anckered, and the Captaine went on shore, and tooke possession, using all such ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here also wee found certaine weares to catch fish made by the Indians, and certaine small cottages, wherein were

Capo Roxo.

The coast runneth Northward.

Fishingweares like those of Virginia.

divers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as those in Spaine. Here by commandement of the Captaine a Crosse was erected upon an hill, and it was set up by Francis Preciado. In this place we saw the Countrey full of fresh and greene grasse, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and up within the Countrey wee saw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey seemed very goodly and delightsome to all of us, in regard of the greennesse and beautie thereof, and we judged it to be very populous within the land. From this haven we departed and kept our way toward the Northwest with good weather, and began to finde hard by the sea-shore exceeding high mountaines spotted with white, and in them we saw many foules which had their nestes in certaine holes of those rocks, and sailed 10. leagues until night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our course Northwest with good weather: and from that day forward we began to see on the Westerne shore (whereon the foresaid haven of S. Cruz standeth) certaine Islands or high lands, whereat we rejoyced not a little. And so sayling forward we met with an Island about two leagues in bignesse, and on the East shore having still the maine land and Islands in sight, we sailed 15. leagues until the evening, alwayes finding hard by the sea-coast exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing still more plainely unto us on the Westerne shore. Whereupon wee began to be of divers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it joyned with the continent of Nueva Espanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing else but Islands, which were to the Westward. And in this sort we proceeded forward, having the land on both sides of us, so farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we sailed some 15. leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

An Island.

Some take the land of California to be nothing but Islands.

Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they discovered on the coast of Capo de las Plaias, and of the pleasant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called Los diamantes. Of the wonderfull whitenesse of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof: and of the multitude of Islands and lands, which extend themselves Northward from the haven of Santa Cruz.

THe day folowing we sailed until night with so good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coast along the shore is full of little hilles without grasse or trees: and that night we anckered in 20. fadome water. [III. 400.] The next day we followed our voyage beginning to saile before breake of day Northwestward, and we came into the midst of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midst thereof being 4. leagues distant the one from the other: and here we discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it seemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This streight (as far as we could perceive) was very deep, for we could finde no botome: and here we saw the land stretching afarre off from the one shore to the other, and on the Westerne shore of the haven of S. Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we passed on our way toward the North, and sailed some 15. leagues, and in the midst of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6. leagues into the land with many cooves or creeks, and the next day following continuing our course we sailed some 10. leagues, and the coast in this dayes journey was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the shore, and that night we were constrained to stay by reason of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we sailed still along the coast to

A Streight of 12. leagues broad, of exceeding depth.

The Streight here runneth Northward.

the Northwest until evening, and ranne about some 15. leagues. All along this shore wee sawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with some few trees, & the sea shore was all sandy. In the midst of this dayes course we found certaine small rockes in the sea 4. leagues distant from the maine, were the said land maketh a great point into the sea, and here we stayed the rest of the night, where we had a very great shower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and sailed untill night by a compasse or turning, some 8. or 9. leagues, and saw within land a few mountaines having no trees upon them, but the Sunne shining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could descry, they were very great, on the Westerne shore of the haven of Santa Cruz. Here we stayed all night because we found very shallow water and sawe the sea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, so that we all beganne to marveile thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coast Northwestward, and sailed eight leagues, and saw another land which stretched Northwest, and was full of high mountaines. And still continuing this course we searched very diligently to see if there were any passage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee sawe no land. And thus sayling wee alwayes found more shallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into five fadome water; and seeing this, wee determined to passe over to the land which wee had seene on the other side, and here likewise wee found as little depth and lesse, whereupon we rode all night in five fadome water, and wee perceived the Sea to runne with so great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be marveilled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe; during which time wee found 11. fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from sixe to sixe houres.

Small rocks called Los Diamantes.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went up to the shippes top, and sawe all the lande full of sand in

A.D. 1539.

a great round compasse, and joyning it selfe with the other shore, and it was so low, that whereas wee were a league from the same wee could not well discerne it, and it seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were divers opinions amongst us, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great River there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceive no passage through, nor could discerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of us went to take possession thereof. The same day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coast from the side of Nueva Espanna, though alwayes we had in sight the firme land on the one side of us, and the other Islands on our left hande, on the side of the port of Santa Cruz situate on the Westerne shore: for on that side there are so many Islands and lands, so farre as we could descry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the said haven of Santa Cruz, and from the coast of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both sides of us, and that so great a countrey, that I suppose if it should so continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and cast ancker until the flood increased, which was in the afternoone, and then wee set saile likewise with contrary winde untill midnight, and then cast ancker.

The next day wee departed, shaping our course along the coast Southwest, untill midnight with little winde, and wee sawe within the land high mountaines with some openings, and wee made way some three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our course but a little while, for we sailed not above five leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and sawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee descried a plaine countrey, and saw in the night certaine fires.

[Chap. 4

Chap 4.

[III. 401.] They land upon an Island to discover the same, and there they see many fires, which issue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fishes. Here they take an Indian, and can not understand his language. Running along they discover another Island, and take possession therof for the Emperours Majestie, and a great haven in the firme land, which they call Ancon de Sant Andres, or The haven of S. Andrew.

THe next day following our course we saw a great haven with an Iland in the sea, within a crosse-bow shoote of the firme land, and in this Island and on the firme land were seene many smokes by the judgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee should goe on land to know the certainty of these smokes and fires, himselfe taking ten or twelve of us with a boate in his company: and going on shore in the Island, we found that the smokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout ascended into the aire certaine cinders and ashes which mounted up to the middle region of the aire, in such great quantitie, that we could not esteeme lesse then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the causing of every of those smokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

Burning mountaines.

In this Island were such abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we stayed that day, and killed a great number of these Seals, with whom we had some trouble: for they were so many, and ayded one another so well, that it was strange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing some of them with staves, they assembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themselves up assayled us with their feete in a squadron, and overthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe those which they had in their hands, they and the others escaped us and went into

Abundance of Seales.

the sea, howbeit wee killed good store of them, which were so fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened some of them to have their livers, we found certaine small blacke stones in their bodies, whereat wee much marveiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to sayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on shore with nine or ten in his company, to see whether there were any people there, or any signe of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land seven or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fishing, and had a raft of canes; who so soone as they espied us ranne away and betooke themselves to flight, but being pursued by us, in the end we tooke one of them, whose language was so strange that wee could by no meanes understand him; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was starke naked. These people caried their water in bottels made of beasts skins, they fished with hookes of bone, and wee found good store of their fishes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

A raft of canes.

Bottles of beasts skins and fishhooks of bone.

The Indian which we had taken seeing himselfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giving him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it seemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared unto them how we had done him no harme at all, shewing them the things which we had given him: whereupon they also determined to come unto us to our boate, but because it was now night, and that our shippes were farre from us, we forced not to stay for them, especially because it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the sea-coast high and bare mountaines with certaine grasse in some places like unto our broomes, or like unto woods of rosemary.

The next day wee sayled neere to the coast on the same side, with very scarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not above five leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we saw on the

Ancon de S. Andres, or The haven of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.

Two Indians of exceeding huge stature.

shore five or sixe fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without grasse, having certaine caves in them: the next day also, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our course along the sayd coast, and passed betweene a great Island full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land, where we saw a very great haven in the firme land in which wee ankered to see what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and some of us went on land the same day to see if there were any people and fresh water, and wee found certaine small cottages covered with drie grasse, with certaine little staves layd overthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine small and streight pathes, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Majestie, and after this we returned to our ship, and that night we sawe foure or five fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, because hee had [III. 402.] seene these fires, to goe on shore, and so with our two boates we went fifteene or twenty of us unto certaine crooked strands two leagues from the place where our ships rode, and where we had seene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge stature, so that they caused us greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as soone as they saw us leap on shore they ran away, and wee followed them unto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers covered with boughs, and there we found great and small steps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fishes which wee found there. The countrey toward the sea side seemed but barren, for we saw neither trees nor greene grasse there, yet were there certaine smal pathes not well beaten, and along the sea-coast we saw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine small Islands neere unto the maine we saw Seale-fishes. This haven is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Ancon de Sant Andres.

Chap. 5.

They discover a mountainous Island very great, and neere unto it certaine other Islands with a goodly greene and pleasant countrey. They have sight of certaine Indians in Canoas of canes, whose language sounded like the Flemish tongue, with whome they could not have any traffique.

THe next day we proceeded on our voyage, sayling betweene the maine and an Island, which we suppose to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, sayling sometimes within one, and sometimes within two leagues of the maine. The soile of this Island is of certaine mountaines not very steepe with caves in them, and as farre as wee could descrie by the coast, there appeared no signe of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, considering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was supposed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan until the returning backe unto the said haven, was all firme land, and also because wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wise unto the sayd haven; but many thought and hoped that we should finde some mouth or out-let, whereby wee might passe through unto the other coast. What our successe was we will declare in the relation following.

A great Island.

The next day being Thursday wee sayled with scant winde, for it was almost calme, and passed beyond that great Island, having firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coasting (as I sayd) very neere unto it. The next day likewise we sayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and passed neere unto the shore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleasant to behold being somewhat greene, and there seemed to be some

They returne from the bottome of the gulf of California.

creeke there. This Friday at night wee sayled altogether with a fresh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Island on our left hand, which was somewhat big, as farre as we could discerne. There was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which stretched farre into the sea. The firme land seemed to bee much fresher and pleasanter then those lands which we had passed, having many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

Another Island.

The countrey (as farre as wee could discerne) was so pleasant and delightfull, that wee all desired to goe on shore, and to search up into it two or three dayes journey, to see whether it were inhabited or not. Wee saw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we sailed continually with a prosperous and fresh gale, and the wind was so great that we drew our bonet to our maine sayle, and sayled so till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our selves altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed us before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterward we passed through. This maine was much more fresh and greene then the other which wee had passed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleasant view, and full of greene grasse. Here all this night we saw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we saw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee stood still untill it came neere unto us in the ship, and they began to speake in their language which no man understood, whose pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haste unto the shore, and we were very sory because our boate had not followed them.

Here happened unto us a very strange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the shore in [III. 403.] certaine of these creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we sawe five Canoas issue foorth, which came toward us: whereupon wee stayed to see what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came up unto us, which was neere the shore, for she also had seene them, and so being come together we cast anker, expecting what those Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded us to make ready our boate, and to furnish the same with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take some of them, that we might come to some knowledge of them, and that wee might give them some of our trifles, and specially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendship. The Indians with their five Canoas approched within one or two stones cast of us, and then began to speake very loude unto us in a very strange language, alwayes standing upon their guard to retire themselves with speede. When our Captaine saw this, and that they would not come neere us, but rather retired, he commanded sixe mariners to goe into the boate from the sterne of the ship, and himselfe also went with them with all possible haste toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the shore with so great celeritie, that they seemed to flie in those little Canoas of canes. Neverthelesse our men used such diligence that one of the Canaos was boorded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa seeing himselfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but seeing himselfe within their reach, he ducked with his head under their boate, and so deceived them, and then rose up againe, and with their oares and with staves they gave him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would serve them; for as they were about to lay handes upon him hee still dived under water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the shore: and as he rose up above the water, hee called to his felowes which stood on the shore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and so they pursued him, and strooke him sometimes being very neere the shore, and he alwayes went calling the rest of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a short while after three other Canoas came foorth to succour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee should come on shore: these Indians were of great stature and salvage, fat also and well set, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiving this, least they should wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded us immediately to set sayle, and so foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind skanted, and we returned to anker in the foresayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Island, and wee which were in the ship called The Trinitie lay neere unto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a fresh gale. And before we disemboqued out of that chanell we saw certaine grasse very high and greene upon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went up into the top, and saw the mouth of a river which ranne through that greene countrey into the sea. But because our Admirall was under all her sayles farre from us, we could not tell them of this river, where wee would have taken water, whereof we had some neede, and because it was a very good haven to goe on shore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our course. On munday we departed from this haven which is like unto a lake, for on all sides we were compassed with land, having the continent before, behinde us, and on our right side, and the Island on our left side, and we passed foorth

Port Belen a very good haven.

at those mouthes beforementioned, which shewed an out-let into the open sea. Thus wee sayled along still viewing the situation of the countrey, rejoycing all of us at the sight thereof, for it alwayes pleased us more and more, still appearing more greene and pleasant, and the grasse which wee found neere unto the shore was fresh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our judgements) not past a spanne long. Likewise the hilles which wee saw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleasant prospect, especially because we judged, that there were many valleys and dales betweene them.

Chap. 6.

They discover a very great bay with foure small Islands in it, whereas they take possession. As they sayle along and discover divers Islands they come at length to the port of Santa Cruz, where not being able to get any knowledge of those Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called The well of Grijalva, they departed thence. They have a perilous and long tempest, which ceased, after they had seene a light on their shrowdes.

A great haven.

At our comming out of these openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great haven, environed with divers small hilles having upon them greene woods and pleasant to behold. In this bay and strand were two [III. 404.] small Islands neere unto the shore, one of the which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands served us onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, having but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd haven; and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this haven; but about midnight wee began to have a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the uttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by evening between seven and eight leagues, and came over against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into every of which a river seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed up one of those rivers, and found the footing of many Indians upon the sand. On the bankes of that river they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made us to strike our foresayle; and on the sixeteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seven leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that the same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd haven of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainely sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a river, which wee had left behind us unsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands. The land was very mountainous, part wherof was covered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere unto the haven of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be divided in the very nooke by some streite or great river which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not throughly discovered, all of us that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the haven of Acapulco, which standeth in seventeene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, untill we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a river or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed up without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd haven of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey, and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the haven of Santa Cruz, to

A bay with 4 or 5 Islands.

This current is in 32 degrees, and the sea is white and red.

This returne is mentioned cap. 5.

runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested our selves, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pithaias: and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selves all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to divide amongst us certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of us went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalva, where we stayed untill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could never see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastive-dogs which we caried with us to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles, and of the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could never overtake them: they left behinde them certaine staves so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

They arrive at the haven of Santa Cruz.

[III. 405.]

The Spaniards use mastives to take the Indians.

Reade more of these staves cap. 10.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wednesday, we set sayle out of this haven of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in sayling downe the chanell our shippe called the Trinitie came on ground upon certaine sholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could use wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were constrained to underprop her, and to stay the next tide: and when the tide began to increase wee used all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieved: for wee thought wee should have lost her there, although wee ceased not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capsten. In the ende it pleased God about midnight at a full sea with the great force which wee used to recover her, that wee drew her off the sand, for which we gave God most hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the rest of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or mishap. When day was come, wee set forward with a fresh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prows to the maine sea, to see whether it would please God to let us discover the secret of this point. But whether it pleased not his great goodnesse, or whether it were for our sinnes, wee spent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the point, by reason of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darknesse every night: also the windes grew so raging and tempestuous, that they made us all to quake, and to pray continually unto God to ayde us. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded us with all speede to cast anker, and in this sorte we passed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no securitie, he caused us foorthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind should drive us. And in this sorte wee spent those eight dayes, turning backe by night the same way that wee had gone by day, and sometimes making good in the night that which we had lost in the day, not without great desire of all the company to have a winde which might set us forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miseries which wee indured by reason of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reason of the toyle which we had in weighing and casting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of these nights, which was very darke and tempestuous with winde and raine, because we thought we should have perished, being very neere the shore, we prayed unto God that he would vouchsafe to ayde and save us without calling our sinnes to remembrance. And straightway wee saw upon the shrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of it selfe shined, and gave a light, whereat all the company greatly rejoyced, in such sort that wee ceased not to give thankes unto God. Whereupon we assured our selves, that of his mercie hee would guide and save us, and would not suffer us to perish, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners sayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the shrowdes, and they saluted it with their songs and prayers. These stormes tooke us betweene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Isle called Isla de perlas lying over against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they discover a pleasant Countrey, and in their judgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coast very deepe. They went to discover or viewe the Isle of perles. And by a current one of their ships is separated from the other, and with great joy after three dayes they had sight again of her, and following their voyage they discover certaine great, greene, and pleasant plaines.

November. WE began to sayle along the coast the seventh or eight of November, the land alwayes shewing very greene with grasse pleasant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the shore, and up within the countrey many [III. 406.] pleasant hils replenished with wood, and certaine valleys, so that wee were delighted above measure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly view of the countrey: & every night we saw fires, which shewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage untill the tenth of the sayd moneth of November, having

From hence forward they saile on the westerne or backside of California.

California.

Isla de perlas.

alwayes the coast of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we sailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightsome and pleasant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as also in that it shewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which rivers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues distant from California little more or lesse, alwayes toward the Southwest, seeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no lesse: and we supposed that there must needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of divers opinions. The sea is so deepe on all this coast that we could scarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greatest part of the coast there are hilles of very white sand, and it seemeth to be a dangerous coast, because of the great and swift tides which goe there, for the sand sheweth so much for the space of ten or twelve leagues, for so the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all covered over with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of November to the fifteenth we sayled not above tenne leagues, because we had contrary winds, and great showres: and besides this we had another mischance which did not a little grieve us: for wee lost company of the ship called The Trinitie, and could never see her for the space of three dayes, whereupon wee suspected that shee was returned home unto New Spaine, or that she was severed from our company: wherefore we were grieved out of measure to see our selves so left alone, and the Captaine of all others was most sad, though he ceased not to encourage us to proceede on our voyage, saying that notwithstanding all this wee ought not to leave off this enterprise which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we should deserve the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all answered him, that wee would not have him thinke that any of us would ever be discouraged, but that we would follow him untill hee should thinke it reasonable that we should not proceede any further in the enterprise, and that we were in danger of perishing, and that untill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perswaded him that after he had seene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he should doe well to returne backe to make relation of our successe to the R. H. lord the Marques de valle. Hereupon he made an Oration unto us wherein he told us, that he could not beleeve, much lesse could imagine, wherefore the shippe called the Trinitie should returne into Newe Spaine, nor why she should willingly depart from us, and goe unto any other place, and that he thought by all reason, that some current had caried her out of our sight, and that through contrary weather and tempests she could not fetch us up, and that notwithstanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an instruction, that if by chance we were separated one from the other, wee were to take this course to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to seeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the sea, and that therefore we should doe well to returne to seeke her up. This sentence pleased us all, and so returning to seeke her, we espied her two leagues distant from us, comming toward us with a fresh gale of winde, whereat we greatly rejoyced.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, because the weather seemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in sayling, because they had in such sort lost our company; and they excused themselves, that they could doe no lesse, because a current had caried them away above three leagues, whereby they could never reach unto us. The next day

A current.

being the sixeteenth of November wee set forward, but sayled very little, for the North and Northwest winds were against us. Here we discovered certaine plaines, in my judgement very great and greene, and right before us we could not discerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marveiled to see so great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the shore whereon the sea did breake, who stayed to beholde us a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted up himselfe to view us the better, & then returned backe along the coast: we used al diligence to see whether he would come out further from the shore, to give him chace, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed us without comming neere unto us, and returned to the shore with his Canoa. Here we saw in the evening but one fire, and wist not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, because they would not have us know that there were people there, or that it was [III. 407.] so indeede. From the said 16 day of November untill the 24 of the same moneth we could not proceede on our way above 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our selves distant from the Xaguges of the Port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 being munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coast we saw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midst like unto halfe plaines, the said plaine still appearing up into the Countrey, with pleasant champions, because the grasse which grew there was very beautifull, short, and greene, and good pasture for cattell. Howbeit because we rode so farre off, we could not perfectly judge what kind of grasse it was, but it shewed very short and greene, and without thornes. These plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which seemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the rest shewed to be al plaines without any thistles or weedes, but full of grasse good for cattel very green and faire, as I have said.

They are 70 leagues from the port of Santa Cruz.

Chap. 8.

One of their ships by tempest was separated from the other, and afterward meeting with her consort she reporteth that the land stretcheth to the West by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of divers judgements touching the state of this coast inhabited by Chichimecas. They enter into an haven to take in fresh water, and are suddenly assayled by two squadrons of Indians. They defend themselves valiantly, and the Captaine with some of his souldiers are grievously wounded.

THe 26 of this moneth being Wednesday at night the North wind tooke us, which still increased more and more so greatly that it put us to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boisterous; and this night againe we lost the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforesaid (and we had sight of her on munday the 24) wherewith we were all of us greatly agrieved, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, because we saw we were left alone, and our ship call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieved us more then the trouble which we had with the boisterousnesse of the Sea, imagining that if we should leese the Trinity, or if any mishap should fall unto us, we should not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne desire. This said 24 day being munday we saw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northwest, and it seemed that the land stretched on still forward, whereat we exceedingly rejoyced, because we judged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee should meete with some speciall good thing. Whereupon we desired that it would please God to send us good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, so that in 26 dayes we sayled not above 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, sometimes riding at anker and sometimes sayling, and seeking

Land running towards the Northwest.

Note.

the remedies and benefite of the shore to avoide perils. In this Countrey which we discovered the 26 day we alwayes saw (as I have said) along the shore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midst wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our judgement) was above 12 leagues in compasse, and the sea-coast reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we saw our ship called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues distant from us, which so soone as she saw us, set saile, and we came together and rejoyced greatly. They brought us great quantity of gray fishes, and of another kinde: for at the point of those mountaines they found a fishing which was very wonderfull, for they suffered themselves to be taken by hand: and they were so great that every one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fish in. They found also on the said point a fountaine of fresh water which descended from those hilles, and they told us that at the same place they had found a narrow passage, whereby the Sea entered into the said lake. They comforted us much with the report of these things, and in telling us that the lande trended to the West; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the same opinion, that we should finde a good Countrey. This night we set saile to goe to that point to take in fresh water which we wanted, and to see this lake, and to put some men on shore: and after midnight the winde came upon us so forcibly at the North that we could not stay there: whereupon wee were constrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the same way backe againe unto the shore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way short of the place from whence we were driven: and there we rode untill Thursday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we most thought it would have ceased, it beganne to increase againe, which grieved us not a little seeing the weather so contrary, hoping alwayes that it would cease, and that some winde would blow from the shore, whereby

A wonderfull fishing place like Newfoundland.

[III. 408.] we might recover the point of land to take in fresh water, and to search whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the saide moneth till the 29, driving up and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little untill we had gotten under the shelter of those mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the sayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from those wooddy mountaines, which we had seene in the Sea. We stayed in this place at our ease all the Sunday, and Juan Castilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on shore with seven in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or five Indians Chichimecas of great stature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chased. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-shore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he saw about fifteene Indians of great stature also, with their bowes and arrowes which called unto him with a loude and strong voice, making signes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their gesture, but rather returned to the shippes, and declared what had passed betweene him and the Indians. The same day the Captaine commaunded that our caske should be made readie against the next morning to take in water, for in both the shippes there were about five and twentie buttes emptie. The first of December, and the second day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on shore with some dozen souldiers, and the greatest part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leaving in the shippes as many as were needefull, and as soone as wee were come on shore at the watering place the Captaine caused the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheads of the shippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two upon the shore for the space of one or two crossebow shoots, and afterwarde we went up to certaine of those mountaines, to view the disposition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our judgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caves, and so stonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come unto the top we found certaine small hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not so craggie, although very troublesome to climbe up; and while we looked from these little hilles, we could not discerne any more mountaines, but rather judged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not suffer us to goe any further, because in those places we had seene certaine Indians which seemed to be spies, and warning us thereof he commanded us to retire unto the shore, where we were to take in water, and to dispatch our businesse quickly, and appointed us to make certaine pits, that our buts might more easily be filled with water. And setting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine souldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he descryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the space of a league, and there is a good fishing place round about: and the lake was so great, that it seemed unto us to be very neere 30 leagues in compasse, for we could not discerne the end thereof. Then we came downe with no lesse trouble then wee had mounted up unto the hill, by reason of the steepenesse of the place, and some tumbled downe with no small laughter of the rest. And being come somewhat late to our watering place (for it was then past noone) we set our selves to dinner, alwayes appointing some of our company in Centinell, untill we were called to dinner, and when some were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the rest suspecting no danger of assalt of Indians, both because the place seemed not to be fit for it, as also for that we had set our Centinels at the passages; two squadrons of Indians

A fishing place and a lake of 30 leagues compasse.

A sudden assalt of the Indians with stones, arrowes, and staves.

came upon us very secretly and covertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had ascended to see the lake, and all of them came so covertly, that our Centinels could neither see nor heare them; and wee had not perceived them, if a souldier by chance lifting up his eyes had not sayde, Arme, Arme, my maisters, for many Indians come upon us. When we heard this the Captaine leapt up in a great rage, because the guards were changed out of their place: and with his sword and target, being followed by a souldier, whose name was Haro, and afterward by the rest, he and the said souldier went toward a little gate of certaine stones, whither the rest of us were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from us, we should have incurred great danger, and the greatest part of us had like to have beene slaine, and none could have escaped but such as by chance could have leapt into the boates, and the tide went so high, that none could be saved but such as were most excellent swimmers. But at length the Captaine bestirred himselfe very nimbly, using all celeritie that was possible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the rest of the souldiers gate up after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themselves to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such [III. 409.] numbers of stones, arrowes, & javelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull unto him. While they thus stood to withstand their assalt, they strooke Haro which was on the other side so forcibly with a stone, that they threw him flat upon the ground: and by and by another stone lighted upon him which shivered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and shot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and strooke a souldier called Graviello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane space Francis Preciado, and certaine other souldiers came up and joyned himselfe with the rest on the left hand of the Captaine, saying unto him, Sir, withdrawe your selfe, for you be wounded, but be you not dismayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt us. In this wise we beganne to rush in among them upon the side of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly incouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a small wooddy hill, where we sheltered our selves, whereas before they shot upon us from aloft, for they were on the higher ground under covert in safetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly upon them with our targets on our armes, and our swords in our hands. On the other side, to approch and seeke to overtake them was a vaine thing, seeing they were as swift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten up on foot, and having clapt a woollen cloth upon his head, which had bled extremely, he joyned himselfe unto us, of whom we received no small aide. In the meane space the Indians fortified themselves on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little molest us, & we likewise fortified our selves upon an hillocke, whereby we descended into their Fort, and there was a small valley betweene them & us, which was not very deepe from the upper part. There we were 6 souldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of us were of opinion that it was not good to passe that place, least ye Indians being many might destroy us all, for the rest of our souldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head against the other squadron of the Indians, kept them from hurting those which tooke in water on the strand and from breaking the buts of water, and being but few, we concluded to stay here, and so we stood still fortifying our selves as well as we could, especially considering that we had no succour on any side; for Berecillo our Mastive-dogge which should have aided us was grievously wounded with 3 arrowes, so that by no meanes we could get him from us: this mastive was wounded in the first assalt when the Indians came upon us, who behaved himselfe very wel, & greatly aided us; for he set upon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leaving many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I have said) he was so wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from us to set any more upon the Indians, & the other two mastives did us more harme then good: for when they went against them, they shot at them with their bowes, and we received hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was so swolne, that we lapped it up in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus stood still, one part of them beganne to dance, sing, and shout, and then they began all to lade themselves with stones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward us verie resolutely to assalt us, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling stones and to shoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and said: Sir, these Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, & in trueth it is a great falt to give them this incouragement, it were better for us resolutely to set upon them with these dogs, & to assalt them on this hill, that they may know us to be no dastards, for they be but Indians and dare not stande us; and if we can get their Fort upon the hill, God will give us victory in all the rest. The Captaine answered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was best so to doe, although for any further pursuit up the hill, he thought we were to take another course. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his sword in his hand, ranne unto the other side of the valley, which on that part was not very steepe, crying S. Iago, upon them my masters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereça, Spinosa, and a Crossebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine,

The Spaniards use mastives in their warres against the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.

though very lame, with a Negro and a souldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we drave them to the place where they had fortified themselves, and from whence they descended, and we tooke another hill over against them within a darts cast of them. And having breathed our selves a little, the Captaine came unto us, and said, Go too my maisters, upon them before they strengthen themselves on this hill, for now we see plainely that they be affeard of us, seeing we chase them continually from their Forts: & suddenly 3 or 4 of us went toward them well covered with targets, unto the foot of their Fort where they were assembled, and the rest of our company followed us: the Indians beganne [III. 410.] to make head against us, and to fling many stones upon us, and shoot many arrowes, and we with our swords in our hands rushed upon them in such sort, that they seeing how furiously we set upon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as swift as Deere, and fled unto another hill over against us, where the other squadron of the Indians stood, of whom they were rescued, and they began to talke among themselves, but in a low voyce, and joyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themselves, and we stood quietly beholding what they did.

[Chap. 9

Chap. 9.

After the skirmish the Captaine being wounded, and the rest of the souldiers seeing the Indians depart, returned unto their ships. The next day taking in fresh water at the saide place he sent mariners to sound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called Baya de Sant Abad, and indured a dangerous storme at sea. And afterward comming neere the shore to take fresh water in the said haven, they see certaine peaceable Indians.

BY this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians seeing this, within a short while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them or the greatest part tooke fire-brandes in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine saw this he commanded us to returne aboord our boats, it being now darke night, thanking us all for the good service we had done him. And being not able to stand upon his legge, he leaned with his arme upon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboord, by reason of the great tide and roughnesse of the sea, so that our boats were filled with every wave. Thus very weary, wet, & some wounded (as is aforesaid) each man returned unto his ship, where our beds which we found, and our refreshing, & the cheere we had at supper did not greatly comfort us in regard of our former travels. We passed that night in this sort, and the next day being Tuesday the Captaine found himselfe greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, because it was greatly swolne with his going upon it. We lacked 12 buts to fill with water, and the barrels in both the ships, and the Captaine would have gone out to cause them to be filled, but we would not suffer him, and therefore we left off the businesse for that day. But he appointed that the crossebowes should be made readie, and two speciall good harquebuzes, & the next day being Wednesday very early, he commanded Juan Castilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the botes and with all the souldiers and mariners that he could make, having the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the shore as she might, & to make ready some of her ordinance, that if the Indians should shew themselves, they might affright them, & doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherfore on the Wednesday al we that were souldiers, saving the wounded persons, went on shore with certaine mariners in the best order that we could, and tooke the first hill, where we had fortified our selves, standing all upon our guard untill the water was filled, and untill we were called, during which time not one Indian shewed himselfe. Thus we went aboord when we thought good our selves, at least without any suspition of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went so high y^t^ it put us to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waves it beat into our boats. This was on the Wednesday the 3 of December. And to avoide losse of time the Captaine commanded Juan Castilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he should thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to see whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ships. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and sounded the mouth, & on the shallowest place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, & up higher 5, alwayes increasing unto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the said lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their sounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went over to the southeast point, & there they saw a great boat or raft which they indevoured to take to carrie unto their ships. In ye meane while they espied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and see, and being come neere they saw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them distant from the cottages one or two cross-bowes shot,

A special good haven.

and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they behelde those cottages, they saw many Indians descending downe a small hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ships, and they were not gone from the sea-shore scarce a stones cast, but the Indians were come upon them to shoot at them with their arrowes, and because they were unarmed, they would not fight with them, having gone on shore for no other purpose, but to sound the mouth and enterance of that lake. On Thursday the 4 of December we set saile with a fresh gale of winde, and sayled some 8 or 10 leagues, and came unto certaine [III. 411.] mouthes or inlets which seemed to all of us as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an haven which we called Baya del Abad all inclosed and compassed with land, being one of the fairest havens that hath beene seene: and about the same, especially on both sides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we discryed certaine rivers on that part which seemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes having contrary wind: yet the Pilots used their best indevour to make way: and we saw before us certaine wooddy hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we saw from the Friday the 5 of the said moneth, untill the Tuesday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to these woods they seemed very pleasant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towardes the sea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we saw these woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we saw many great smokes, whereat we much marvelled, being of diverse opinions among our selves, whether those smokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Over against these woods there fell every night such a dew, that every morning when we rose, the decke of the ship was so wet, that untill the sunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the

Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California.

Many great smokes, of which also Francis Gualle maketh mention.

decke durtie with going upon it. We rode over against these woods from the Tuesday morning when we set saile, untill Thursday about midnight, when a cruell Northwest winde tooke us, which, whither we would or no, inforced us to way our anker; and it was so great, that the ship Santa Agueda began to returne backe, untill her cable broke, and the ship hulled, and suddenly with a great gust the trinket and the mizen were rent asunder, the Northwest winde still growing more and more: within a short while after the maine saile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, so that we were inforced, both souldiers, captaine, and all of us, to doe our best indevor to mend our sailes; and the Trinitie was driven to do the like, for she going round upon her anker, when she came a-head of it, her cable broke, so that there we lost two ankers, each ship one. We went backe to seeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the same, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reason of contrary windes, we rode under the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almost voide of grasse, neere unto a strand full of sandie hilles. Neere unto this road wee found a fishing-place under a point of land, where having let downe our lead to see what ground was there, a fish caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the sounding-lead crying and shewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as soone as he had got it above the water, tooke the fish, and loosed the cord of the sounding-lead, and threw it againe into the sea, to see whither there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of us made a shout for joy; thus drawing the fish the rope of the sounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fish which was very faire. Here we stayed from Friday when we arrived there, untill the Munday, when as it seemed good to our Captaine, that we should repaire to the watering place, from whence

A fishing place.

we were some sixe leagues distant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and spent, because he knew not whither we should from thencefoorth finde any water, or no; and though we should finde water, it was doubtfull whither we should be able to take it by reason of the great tide that goeth upon that coast. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we sawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tuesday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie should come as neere our ship & to the shore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe us with their great ordinance: and having made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the shore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the seaside; who stood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking also how our bwoy floated upon the water; and when our boat returned to the ship, two of them leapt into the sea, and swamme unto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the sayd bwoy a very faire and shining sea-oyster of pearles, and then returned to the shore, neere to the watering place.

Great tides upon this coast.

Chap. 10.

They give unto the Indians many trifles which stand upon the shore to see them, and seeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a Chichimeco, who could not understand their language. They go to take fresh water. Francis Preciado spendeth the time with them with many signes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himselfe wisely with his companions, returning with safety to the ships.

WHen the Captaine and we beheld this, we judged these Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades to truck, and went to speake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of [III. 412.]

the Admirall that he should parley with them. And the Captaine came unto the boy, and laid certaine things upon it for exchange, & made signes unto the Savages to come and take them; and an Indian made signes unto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they understood them not, but signified that they should go aside. Whereupon the Captaine departed a smal distance from that place with his boat. And they made signes againe that he should get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the saide Indians leapt into the water, came unto the boy, and tooke those beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came unto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gave a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and sent him away, running with all haste on the shore, and made signes unto us that they had sent word unto their lord what things we had given them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the said Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make signes unto us, that his Lord was comming. And while we stayed here, we saw on the shore ten or twelve Indians assemble themselves, which came unto the other Indians, and by and by we saw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who assembled themselves all together. And againe they began to make signes unto us, to come foorthwith to our boates, and shewed us many Oysters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making signes that they would give them us. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded us to make readie our boate, and went aboord it with the said mariners, and rowed to a certaine stone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the sea neere unto the shore. And hither came first 2 or 3 Indians and layd downe one of those Oysters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or sparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe also certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we sawe continually Indians assemble to the shore by tenne and tenne, and so by little and little they came in squadrons;

and one of them assoone as hee sawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backeward with so great nimblenesse, that doubtlesse he seemed to all of us a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no small pleasure while we beheld him fetching those gambols: but the rest of the Indians which stood at the mouth of the fresh water ranne toward him, and cryed unto him, forbidding him to use those gestures, because we were come thither in peaceable sort, and by this meanes he came with the rest to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there assembled above a hundred of them all in order, with certaine staves with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter borne in the Ile of California, was come unto us, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to strippe himselfe, and to swimme and laye upon the said rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made signes that he should goe away; and so they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to speake unto them, but they could not understand him, so that we assuredly beleeve, that they understand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tuesday untill night the Indians stayed at this watering place, taking some of our beades, and giving unto us their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wednesday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes should be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians should take the hill, which stood over the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on shore with as many as could goe, saving those that had charge to take in the water, and such as were to stay on ship-boord, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene persons, in as good order as we could devise: for we were foure crossebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the most part of us carryed very good slings, and every one eighteene river stones, which weapon the Captaine invented, because the Indians at the first had handled us very shrewdly with the multitude of stones which they flang at us: we had nothing to defende us saving our targets, and to seeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged us; he therefore thought with these slings, that we might offend them, and we likewise thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther than we thought we could have done: for the slings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the sayd Wednesday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine cragges or rockes hanging over the same, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not past a fadome broad. So standing all in order, other foure or five Indians came thither, who as soone as they sawe us to be come on shore, and to have gotten the toppe of the watering place, [III. 413.] they retired unto a small hill on the other side, for the valley was betweene them and us: neither stayed they long before they beganne to assemble themselves as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themselves on this high hill, where they made signes unto us. And Francis Preciado craved license of the Generall to parley with these Indians, and to give them some trifles; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went unto a plaine place, under the hill where the Indians stood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his sword and target, having onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a skarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fishing-hooks and comfits. And he began to goe up the hill, and

Truck & traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

to shew them diverse of his marchandise. The Indians as soone as he had layd those things on the ground, and gone somewhat aside, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them up, for it seemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried those trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to give unto him in the said place, an oyster of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making signes to Preciado that he should come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a string of belles, and a great fishhooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the same, layd there againe another oyster of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fishhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them up, and approched much neerer unto him, then at other times, and so neere that a man might have touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, unto whom Francis Preciado made signes, that they should come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and having layd them downe came somewhat lower, and there with signes, together with them which came first, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and above all things a red hat pleased them highly, which the said Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it unto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made signes unto him to knowe whether he would have a harlot, signifying with their fingers those villanies and dishonest actions, and among the rest they set before him an Indian of great stature dyed wholly with black, with certaine shels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and speaking by signes to Francis Preciado touching the foresaid act of fornication, thrusting their finger through a hole, they said unto him, that if hee would have a woman, they would bring him one; and he answered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they should bring him one. In the meane space on the other side where the Generall stood with his company, another squadron of Indians shewed themselves, whereupon the Generall and his company made a stirre, and put themselves in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to joyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came last began to make signes that we should lay downe something to truck, and that they would give us some of their shels of mother of pearle, which they brought upon certaine small stickes, and herewithall they came very neere unto us, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado said unto the Captaine, that if it pleased him, hee would cause all the Indians to come together and to stay upon that high hill; and he answered, that it was best to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and stayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made signes unto them to call the rest, and to come all together, because hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the first; and they answered that he should doe so, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would have them, and so they did, for they caused them to come unto them, which they did, and Francis likewise went alone towards them, in which meane space the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming unto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandise of traffique, and afterwards made signes unto them to stay there, because hee would goe to the ships to bring them other things, and so he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, saving the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had given other trifles to Preciado to carry unto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the

Indians stood still, and being come unto him, wee went faire and softly to our boates, and got into them at our ease, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ship.

The Indians seeing us thus gone aboord came downe to the strand where the brooke of water was, and called unto us to come foorth with our boates, and to come on shore, and to bring our beades, and that they would give us of their mother of pearles: but we being now set at [III. 414.] dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to shoote arrowes at the ship, and although they fell neere us, yet they did not reach us. In the meane season certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians seeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in scorne to shew them their buttockes, making signes that they should kisse their bums: and these seemed to be those that came last. The Generall seeing this, commanded a musket to be once or twise shot off, and that they should take their just ayme. They seeing these shot to be made readie, some of them rose and went to shoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance speedily to be shot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were discharged, and we perceived that we had slaine one of them, for we assuredly saw him lye dead upon the shore; and I thinke some of the rest were wounded. They hearing this noyse, and seeing him dead ranne away as fast as ever they could, some along the shore, and some through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, save ten or twelve, which peeped up with their heads among those rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was discharged aloft against the place where they were, after which time we never saw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they spend three dayes in fishing, and in other pastime: after which setting sayle they discover pleasant countries, and mountaines voide of grasse, and an Iland afterward called Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they suffer sharpe colde and raine, and to save themselves they returne thither.

IMmediatly we set saile to joyne with the ship Santa Agueda, which was above halfe a league in the high sea from us, and this was on the Wednesday the seventeenth of December. Being come together because the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee stayed fishing, and solacing our selves two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great store of raine. Afterward we beganne to sayle very slowly, and at night we rode over against those mountaines where we had left our ankers, and upon knowledge of the place we received great contentment seeing we had sailed some five and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any marvell that wee so rejoyced, because that the feare which we had of contrary windes caused us to be so well appayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Nativitie of our Lord, which was on the Thursday the five and twentieth of the said moneth, God of his mercy beganne to shewe us favour in giving us a fresh winde almost in the poope, which carried us beyond those mountaines, for the space of tenne or twelve leagues, finding the coast alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coasted along, and betweene these mountaines, there was a great space of plaine ground, which we might easily discerne with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Christmas day to saile slowly with certaine small land-windes, and sayled from morning to night about seven or eight leagues, which wee esteemed no small matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his favour toward us, and thanking him for his holy Nativitie, and all the dayes of this feast the Frier sayd masse in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached unto us, which gave us no small comfort, by incouraging us in the service of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27 of the said moneth we ankored neere unto a point which seemed to be plaine land all along the shore, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne overthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine small hilles sharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene those mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the same both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuse but be a good countrey, and to have great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and silver; for there was great likelihood that there is store thereof. *Great apparance of gold and silver.* This night we saw a fire farre within the lande towards those mountaines, which made us thinke that the countrey was throughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the said moneth at breake of day we set sayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had sayled three or foure leagues, where we met with a point which stretched towarde the West, the pleasant situation whereof delighted us much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our course untill Thursday being Newyeares day of the yeere 1540, *January 1540.* and we ran some 40 leagues, *Forty leagues.* passing by certaine inlets and bayes, and certaine high mountains covered with grasse in colour like rosemary: but toward the sea-side [III. 415.] very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine cragges somewhat of a red colour, and beyond these appeared certaine white mountaines, and so all the countrey shewed unto a point which appeared beyond those burnt white and red mountaines which have neither any grasse nor tree upon them, whereat we marvelled not a little. This Newyeares day we sawe neere the maine two small Ilands, and rejoyced greatly to see them; for we stood in great feare, that contrary windes would drive us as farre backe in one day, as we had sayled in tenne, which if they had taken us, we could not have withstood them. Wee ranne from the first of January untill Munday which were five dayes, and the land alwayes stretched Northwest from the mountaines aforesaid.

Two small Islets neere the maine.

And on the Sunday we saw a farre off a-head of us a high land somewhat severed from the maine shore, and all of us beganne to dispute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northwest, for that way the Pilots hoped to discover a better countrey: and the said Munday the fift of Januarie we came to this high land beforesaid, and it was two Ilands the one a small one and the other a great one: we coasted these two Ilands some sixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high slender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compasse. We coasted in 6 leagues in length without seeing or discovering any other things, but we saw before us high land which stretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thursday being Newyeares day untill the next Munday we sayled about 35 leagues. And in this course we felt great cold, which grieved us much, especially being assailed by two or three windie showers which pinched us much with colde. We rode over against this land two or three nights, having it neere unto us, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another souldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tuesday being Twelfe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had descryed the day before, seeming to us very pleasant for it shewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bignesse, and we saw

Isle de los Cedros mentioned in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here Northwest 35 leagues.

many vallies, out of which certaine small mists arose, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they rose out of certaine rivers. The same morning, to our great comfort we saw great smokes, though we were above foure leagues distant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approch neere unto them, nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboord the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time, as to give order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and raine seemed to be like that of Castile. We rode al night two or three leagues distance from shore, and toward evening we saw five or sixe fires, whereat we all rejoyced, but did not marvell thereat, because the situation of that countrey shewed to be habitable, being faire, pleasant, and all greene, and likewise because the Iland which we had left behind us being (as I have said) twenty leagues in circuit, made shewe that it was well peopled. On the Wednesday we were 3 or 4 leagues at sea from the land, and began to see two fires more, & therfore we assured our selves that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we sayled, we alwayes found it more civill. And for the space of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found swimming on the sea certaine flotes of weedes of a ships length, and of the bredth of two ships, being round and full of gourds, and under these weedes were many fishes, and on some of them were store of fowles like unto white sea-meawes. We supposed that these floting weeds did grow upon some rocke under the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We sailed from the 7 of January untill the 9 still with contrary windes: and on Fryday about noone there rose a North and Northeastern winde, which forced us to returne under the shelter of that Iland which we left behind us, from whence we had sayled above

Floting weeds for 50 leagues.

Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude.

twentie leagues. And that Friday at night somewhat late wee had sayled backe above twelve leagues of the same, and because it was night wee stayed in the sea, where we and our shippes were not a little troubled, so that all that night none of us slept a winke, but watched every one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate under the shelter of the said Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that side where we ankored, we found high and closed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all ashes and burned, and in other places skorched and as blacke as coales, and like the rust of yron, and in other places whitish, and here and there small blacke hilles, whereat we marvelled exceedingly, considering that when we passed by, it seemed unto us an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we saw not a sticke growing on this side.

Twentie leagues beyond the Ile of Cedars.

All of us supposed that on the other side toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we sawe, although (as I have sayde) wee sayled foure or five leagues distant from the same.

We stayed here under the shelter of these mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes having the Northren winde so strong, that we thinke if it had caught us in the sea, wee should have bene cast away. [III. 416.]

Chap. 12.

They environ and land upon the Iland of Cedars, to discover the same, and to seeke water and wood. They are assailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with stones: but at length getting the upper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther up into the Iland they find diverse things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of January the Captaine commanded us to hoise out our boates, and to goe on shore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the shore for the space of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I said) all this countrey was full of high and bare hils, of such qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other small valleys we found some water which was brackish, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of shrubs like unto broome; likewise we found the footings of Indians both small and great, whereat we much marvelled that in so rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could discerne) there should be people. Here we stayed all day, making foure or five pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in small quantitie we refused not; and so the evening being come, we returned to our boates, and so came unto our ships which rode a good league from the shore. The next day being Wednesday the fourteenth of the said moneth our Generall commanded us to set saile, and we sailed about the said Iland on the same side which we coasted when we came from Nueva Espanna: for when we arrived on the coast we saw five or sixe fires; wherefore he desired to see and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the farthest ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before us a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine small oares, and came very neere us to see what we were: whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were best to send some of us out with our boates to take these Indians or some one of them to give them something that they might thinke us to be good people: but hee would not consent thereto, because he minded not to stay, having then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might saile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take some others to speake with them, and give them what we would to carry on shore; and as we sayled neere the land, we saw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bignesse of the trees and Cypresses of Castile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beasts and conies, and saw a peece of pine tree-wood, whereof we gathered, that there was store

A.D. 1540.

of them in that countrey. Thus sayling neere unto the shore, we sawe another Canoa comming toward us with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere us, and as we looked forward, we sawe toward a point which was very neere before us, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the sea, that they might descry us without comming over neere us. Likewise betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we saw a small troope of some twentie of them together, so that all of us rejoyced greatly to behold them. On this side the land shewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the sea, and likewise all those coasts of hils shewed greene, and were covered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at evening we rode neere the shore hard upon the said point, to see if we could speake with those Indians, and likewise to see if we could get fresh water, which now we wanted, and still as soone as we were come to an anker, we saw the Indians shew themselves on land neere unto their lodgings, comming likewise to descry us in a Canoa, by sixe and seven at a time, whereat we marvelled, because we never thought that one of those Canoas would hold so many men. In this wise we stayed looking still what would be the successe, and in the place where we rode we were two small leagues distant from the shore, where we found these Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee marvelled not a little to see so great an alteration in so small a distance of countrey, as well because we still discovered pleasant land with trees (whereas on the other side of the isle there were none) as also because it was so well peopled with Indians, which had so many Canoas made of wood, as we might discerne, and not raftes or Balsas, for so they call those floats which are made all flat with canes.

A Balsa is a flat raft made of canes.

The next day being Thursday the fifteenth of the said moneth about breake of day foure or five Indians shewed themselves at the head of that point, who as soone as they had spyed us retired behind the point, and hid themselves among the bushes upon certaine small hilles [III. 417.] that were there, from whence they issued forth, and covered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coast; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the commoditie of the water and the defence against ill weather and the benefite of fishing. At sun-rising we saw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going up unto the hilles in small troopes, and from thence they stood and beheld us. Immediatly we saw five or sixe Canoas come out into the sea a good distance from us, and those which were in them stood often on their tip-toes, to view and descry us the better. On the other side we stirred not at all for all these their gestures, but stood still riding at anker; and the Generall seemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Masters mate to conveigh him to our other shippe called The Trinitie. Things passed in this sort, when about ten of the clocke we saw three Canoas lanch farre into the sea to fish very neere unto us, whereat we tooke great pleasure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well souldiers as mariners, and that we should goe on shore to see if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of those Indians to understand their language if it were possible: and so all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ship had a small gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we discovered the lodgings and houses of the Indians, & saw neere the waters side those five or sixe Canoas which at the first came out to view us, drawen on shore, and over against this place the ships cast anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we marvelled much to find so great depth of water so neere the shore. Being gone abord our botes, we made toward the shore over against a village of the Indians, who as soone as they saw us about to come on land, left an hill whereon they stood to behold what we did, & came downe to the shore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came against us they caused their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards us, threatning us with certaine great staves which they carried in their handes some 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wrest: but perceiving that for all this we ceased not to come neere the sea shore to come on land, they began to charge us with stones and to fling cruelly at us, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they smote the Generall with two stones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they saw that they were forced to divide themselves to keepe the rest of our company from comming on land, they began to be discouraged, and did not assaile the Generals boate so fiercely, who began to cause his people to goe on shore with no small trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as soone as they leapt out of the boat they sunke downe, because they could finde no fast footing; and thus swimming or otherwise as they could, first a souldier called Spinosa got on land, and next to him the General, and then some of the rest, and began to make head against the Indians, and they came hastily with those staves in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we saw none, saving bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a short combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinosa. In the meane while those of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reason of the multitude of stones which continually rained downe upon them, and they stroke Terazzo on the head a very shrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of us had beene wounded, and in great distresse,

A village of the Indians.

A skirmish of the Indians fighting with stones.

The great use of targets against arrows and stones.

although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on shore with swimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, some of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after those of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themselves to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had sent their women, children and goods: on the other side we pursued them, & one of those Indians which came to assaile the Generals boat, was slaine upon the strand, & two or three others were wounded, and some said more. While we pursued them in this maner our mastive dogge Berecillo overtooke one of them not farre from us (who because we were so wet could not run very fast) and pulled him downe, having bitten him cruelly, and doubtlesse he had held him till we had come, unlesse it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a staffe which he had in his hands gave the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any staying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leave him for paine, neither had he scarse taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got up, and fled so hastily towarde the mountaine, that within a short while hee overtooke his fellowe which had saved him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him lustily to his heeles, and thus they came unto their fellowes which descended not downe to the shore being about some twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or sixtie.

The use of mastives in the warre against Indians.

[III. 418.] After we had breathed our selves a while, we viewed their houses where they stood, which were certaine cottages covered with shrubs like broome and rosemary, with certaine stakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed us to march all together without dispersing of our selves, a little way up those mountaines, to see if there were any water and wood, because we stood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we saw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as soone as they saw us pursue them overtooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leaving their stuffe in this place. We went unto this booty, and found good store of fresh-fish, and dried fish, and certaine bags containing above 28 pound weight full of dried fish ground to pouder, and many seal-skins, the most part dressed with a faire white graine upon them, and others very badly dressed. There were also their instruments to fish withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine shrubs and trees. Here we tooke the said skins without leaving any one in the place, and then we returned to the sea, because it was now night, or at least very late, and found our botes waiting for us.

Seale-skins well dressed with a white graine.

Chap. 13.

A description of the Canoas of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coasting the same to find fresh water they found some, and desiring to take thereof they went on shore, and were diversly molested with the weapons of the Indians. They christen an old Indian, and returne unto their ships.

THe Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, some of them of the thicknesse of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along and fastened together, they shove them into the sea, neither were they plained to any purpose, for we found no kind of edge-toole, saving that there were certaine sharp stones, which we found upon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we supposed that they did cut & flea those seales. And neere the shore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the skins of those seales, contayning ech of them above a great paile of water. The next day our Generall commanded us to set saile, whereupon sailing with a fresh gale about 2 leagues from the shore of this Iland, trending about the same to see the end thereof, and also to approch neere the firme land, to informe our selves of the state thereof, because we had seene 5 or 6 fires, we compassed the same about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right course, and searched whether any river fell out of the coast of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any store of Indians did shew themselves or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of January at evening, and seeking to double the point of the Iland, so fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountered us, that it drave us backe that night over against the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we stayed all Saturday, what time we lost the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we saw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compasse that Iland, if it pleased God to send us good weather.

Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday (which was the twentieth of the said moneth of Januarie) wee sailed with scarse and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Isla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, because that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie descryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water: for on Sunday night we had newly lost her, and had no sight of her untill Tuesday, whenas we found her riding neere the shore, not farre from those cottages of the Indians. And as soone as we had descryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we espied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboord the said ship called the Trinitie, so that they touched almost the side of the ship, and gave them of their fish, and our people on the other side gave them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had spoken with them, the Indians went backe to the shore, and at the same instant we came up unto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all saluted us, saying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had passed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we received great contentment. They told us moreover, that they had found fresh water, whereby they increased our great joy, because we stood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

While we thus rode at ankor, we saw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the sea from their cottages, and they went unto a fishing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this sea among certaine rockes, the greatest part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fadome depth ; and with great celeritie they caught seven or eight fishes, and returned with them unto the Trinity, and gave them unto them, and they in recompense gave the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians stayed at the sterne of the ship, viewing the same above three houres space, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleasure ; and we which were in the Admirall stirred not a whit all this while, to give them the more assurance, that they should not flie away, but should see, that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As soone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had passed betweene the Indians and those of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the shore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought unto him : and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and so we went aboord the Trinity. The Indians seeing people comming out of the other ship into the Trinitie, sent two Canoas unto the sterne of the ship, and brought us a bottle of water, and we gave unto them certain

These mighty deepe and high weedes are described in the end of this treatise.

[III. 419.]

beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but evening approching the aire grew somewhat cold. The Indians returned on shore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ship. The next day being Wednesday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of us to take the bote and goe ashore, to see if we could find any brooke or well of fresh water in the houses of the Indians, because he thought it unpossible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewise went out in our company, because the day before seeing the Indians came to the sterne of the shippe and parlying with us, he thought he might have spoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like sort many mariners and souldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the shore, somewhat above the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceived that wee would come on land, whereupon they sent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods up into certaine exceeding steepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward us, which were excellently well made, and of a good stature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 bastonadoes much thicker then the wrist of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long staves like javelins with very sharpe points, and approched very neere us being nowe come on shore. And beginning by signes very fiercely to brave us, they came so neere us, that almost they strooke with one of those staves one of our souldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himselfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane season the General and frier Raimund stept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, because they had taken up stones in their hands, fearing that they would do them some mischiefe. Then began both of them to speake unto them by signes & words, to be quiet, signifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier shewed them a drinking-cup; but nothing would serve to make them leave that bragging, and flinging of stones: and the General continuing still in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere unto them, and that by signes they should all shew them, that they meant in no wise to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other side refusing utterly to take knowledge of these things they still insulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counselled the General to give him leave to kill one of them, because all the rest would flee away, wherby at our ease we might take water: but he replied that he would not have it so, but willed them to looze the two mastives Berecillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let loose, and as soone as they saw them, they vanished immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running up those cliffes like goates. Also others which came from the mountains to succour them, betooke themselves to flight. The dogs overtooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they seemed as fierce as wild & untamed beasts, for 3 or 4 of us held either of them, to cherish & pacifie them, and to seeke to give them some thing: but we availed not, for they bit us by the hands, and stooped downe to take up stones for to strike us with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came unto their lodgings, where the Generall gave a charge, that no man should touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to see that this order were observed, in not taking any thing from them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, because the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a cave so extreamly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither see nor go, because he was so lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund sayd, it were good (seeing he was so aged) to make him a Christian; whereupon we christened him. The captaine

The great use of mastives in pursuit of the Indians.

gave the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, suffred them to depart at their pleasure, and in this sort faire and softly they returned to the rest of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter [III. 420.] of that village which was but a small quantity, and then the Generall commanded us to returne to our ship, because we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repast we sayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we saw a very great valley, and those of the Trinitie sayd, that they had seene there good store of water, and sufficient for us; wherefore wee ankered neere unto that valley. And the Generall went on shore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and passing up that valley a crossebow-shot, we found a very small brooke of water which neverthelcs supplied our necessity for we filled two buts thereof that evening, leaving our vessels to take it with on shore untill the next morning: and we rejoyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was fresh, and the water which we had taken up before was somewhat brackish, and did us great hurt both in our bodies and in our taste.

Chap. 14.

They take possession of the Isle of Cedars for the Emperours Majestie, and departing from thence they are greatly tossed with a tempest of the sea, and returne to the Island, as to a safe harbour.

THe next day being the two and twentieth of January very early the General commanded us to go on shore, and that we should have our dinner brought us, and should take in the rest of our water, which we did, and filled 17 buts without seeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 vessels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northwest tooke us, wherupon they made signes to us from the ships, that with all haste wee should come on boord againe, for the wind grew still higher, and higher, and the Masters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open sea. Therefore being come aboord againe not without great trouble, we returned backe over against the village of the Indians,* where we had slaine the Indian, and because the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not cast anker, but hulled under the shelter of this Island, which (as I have said) is called The Isle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan, the greatest & chiefest of them, where the General tooke possession. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a fresh gale of wind from the Southeast, which was very favourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increased: so that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the said moneth we sailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew so contrary and so tempestuous, that to our great griefe we were constrained to coast about with our ships, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our succour the second time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foresayd Indian was slaine, and here we stayed Munday, Tewsday, and Wednesday, during which time the Northwest and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to stirre from thence untill we saw good weather, and well setled for our voyage: for in this climate these winds doe raigne so greatly, that we feared they would stay us longer there then we would; and we were so weary of staying, that every day seemed a moneth unto us. Under this shelter we rode Thursday, Friday, and Saturday untill noone, which was the last of January in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow softly at Southwest, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we should doe well to put over to the maine land, where with some wind off the shore we might by the grace of God saile somewhat farther. Thus we hoised our sailes,

Cap. 12.

Isla de los Cedros is the greatest of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan.

Read cap. 11. about the end.

February.

and sailed until evening three or foure leagues, for the wind scanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there arose a contrary winde, and we were inforced of necessitie to retire the third time to the same shelter of the Isle of Cedars, where we stayed from the first of February until Shrovesunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two buts of water which we had spent. During the space of these eight dayes we sought to make sayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Isle, we found the wind so boystrous and contrary, and the sea so growen, that of force we were constrained to returne under the succour of the Island, and often times wee were in great feare that we should not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our journey, we imployed our selves in catching a few fishes for the Lent. From Shrovesunday being the 8 of February, on which day we set sayle, we sayled with a very scant wind, or rather a calme, untill Shrovetewsday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe these twenty leagues (for in these two dayes and a halfe wee sayled some 20 small leagues) and we lay in sight of the sayd poynt of the firme land. And on the Tewsday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe us with a prosperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

[III. 421.] On Shrovesunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had so great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ships which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Ashwednesday at sun-rising we strooke saile neere a point which we fel somewhat short withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we saw five or sixe fires, and at the rising of the sunne being so neere the shore that we might well descrie and viewe it at our pleasure we sawe it to bee very pleasant, for wee descried as farre as wee could discerne with our eyes, faire valleys and small hilles, with greene shrubs very pleasant to

A great bay in the firme land.

behold, although there grew no trees there. The situation shewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no small griefe: and the father frier Raimund sayd us a drie masse, and gave us ashes, preaching unto us according to the time and state wherein we were: with which sermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which still was our enemie in all our journey, at the least from the point of the port of Santa Cruz. Here we were constrained to anker in five fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleasant it was, and neere unto the sea wee judged that wee saw a valley of white ground. At evening so great a tempest came upon us of winde and raine, that it was so fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expressed; for it had like to have driven us upon the shore, and the chiefe Pilot cast out another great anker into the sea, yet all would not serve, for both these ankers could not stay the ship. Whereupon all of us cryed to God for mercy, attending to see how he would dispose of us; who of his great goodnesse, while we were in this danger, vouchsafed a little to slake the tempest, and with great speede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capsten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the souldiers to helpe to turne the capsten, which they were nothing slow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the sea was so boisterous that it forced the capsten in such sorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the same, and it strooke a Negro of the Generals such a blowe, that it cast him downe along upon the decke, and did the like unto another mariner and one of the barres strooke our fire-furnace so violently, that it cast it overboord into the sea. Yet for all these troubles wee weighed our ankers, and set sayle, and albeit we had great tempests at sea, yet made wee no

The point of Santa Cruz otherwise called Punta de Balenas.

account thereof in respect of the joy which we conceived to see our selves freed of the perill of being cast on that shore with our ships, especially seeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could have escaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

Wee sayled up and downe the sea all Thursday, and untill Friday in the morning being the fourteeneth day of February, and the waves of the sea continually came raking over our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy against the contrary windes, notwithstanding the Generall was very obstinate to have us keepe out at sea, although it were very tempestuous, least we should be driven to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie prevailed: for the windes were so boysterous and so contrary, that they could not be worse, and the sea went still higher, and swelled more and more, and that in such sorte, that we greatly feared wee should all perish. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our best course to returne to the Isle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reason of the selfe same contrary windes, for wee tooke this Island for our father and mother, although we received no other benefite thereby save this onely, namely, to repaire thither in these necessities, and to furnish our selves with water, and with some small quantitie of fish.

Being therefore arrived at this Island, and riding under the shelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very strongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly desired, that the windes would bee more favourable for proceeding on our journey. And though we rode under the shelter of the Isle, yet felt wee the great fury of those windes, and the rage of the sea, and our ships never ceased rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great griefe, we were constrained to set sayle, to fall downe lower the space of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the isle of Cedars, and take divers wilde beasts, and refresh and solace themselves. They are strangely tossed with the Northwest winde, and seeking often to depart they are forced, for the avoiding of many mischiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

THe two and twentieth of February being the second Sonday in Lent, the General went on shore with the greatest part of his people and the friers, neere unto a valley which they sawe before them. And hearing masse on land, certaine souldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the said valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whose haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for she had foure dugs like unto a cowe full of milke, which made us much to marveile. And after we had flayed off her skinne, the flesh seemed more like the flesh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewise a gray conie, in shape like unto those of Nueva Espanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the shelter above, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the said moneth we rode at anker, taking our pleasure and pastime with fishing. And the Northwest winde began to blow, which waxed so great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: so that although we were under the shelter of the Island, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was so furious, and the sea became so raging and boisterous, that it greatly shook our ships, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to say the trueth) we had very much neede: for having spent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and lost two of our best ankers. This furious winde continued untill the next day being Tewsday the 24 when as we went on shore with the friers, who sayd us masse, recommending our selves to God, beseeching him to vouchsafe to succour and help us with some good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the advancement of his service. And still the winds were so high and outragious, that the devill seemed to be loosed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots caused all the masts to be let downe, least they should be shaken with the wind, and tooke off all the shrowds, and likewise caused the cabbens in the sterne to be taken away, that the winds might have more free passage, for the safetie of the ships: yet for al this they ceased not to be in great trouble. On Tewsday the second of March, about midnight or somewhat after, riding under the Island in this distresse, there came a gust of Northwest winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to slip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene cast away, if God of his mercy had not provided for us, together with the diligence which the Pilots used, in hoising the sailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to sea, and rode by another anker untill day, when the men of both the ships went with their boats to seeke the anker untill noone, which at length they found and recovered, not without great paines & diligence which they used in dragging for it, for they were till noone in seeking the same, and had much adoe to recover it. After this we set up our shrowdes, and all things necessary to saile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleased God, and not to stay alwayes in that place, as lost and forlorne. Thus on the Wednesday two or three houres after dinner wee set saile, with a scarce winde at Southeast, which was favourable for our course and very scant; and our Pilots & all the rest of us were in no smal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to set forward, although we seemed to see before our eies, that at the end of the

Island we should meete with contrary winde at North and Northwest. This day about evening when our ships had discovered the point of this Isle of Cedars, wee began to perceive those contrary windes, and the sea to goe so loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increased, so that they put us to great distresse, sayling alwayes with the sheates of our mainesaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we loosed the ties of all the sailes, to save them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it best to returne backe, and that by no means we should runne farre into the sea, because we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counsel, turning backe almost to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieved, because we could not prosecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ships. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded us to set saile, for a small gale of winde blew from the West, which was the wind whereof we had most need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great desire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to set saile, & to passe toward the point of the Island, and to shape our [III. 423.] course toward the coast of the firme land, to view the situation thereof. And as we passed the Island, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northwest being a contrary wind began to blow, which increased so by degrees, that we were constrained to let fall the bonets of our sailes, to save them, striking them very low. And the Trinitie seeing this bad weather returned forthwith unto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral cast about all night in the sea, untill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot considering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we should continue at sea any longer, resolved that wee should retire our selves againe to that shelter, where we rode at anker untill Thursday. And on Friday about noone we set saile againe with a scarce winde, & in comming forth unto the point of the Island, we met againe with contrary winde at Northwest: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of march, we came in sight thereof, in viewing of the which we all rejoyced, and we souldiers would very willingly have gone on shore. This night fel great store of raine like the raine in Castilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleasure in beholding the situation of that firme land, because it was greene, and because we had discovered a pleasant valley and plaines of good largenes, which seemed to bee environed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of misfortunes, seeing the sea so high, we durst not stay here or approch neere the land, & because we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again constrained to put to sea; and being in the same, and finding the said contrary windes, the Pilots judged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our selves to our wonted shelter. And thus we returned, but somewhat above the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the company, considering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; so that this was such a corrasive, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northwest, which was our adversary and capital enemie, and when day was shut in, it still grew greater and greater, so that the ships rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which she had, and seeing her selfe thus forlorne, she turned up and downe in the sea untill day, and came & rode neere us, by one anker which shee had left. This day all of us went to seeke these lost ankers, and for all the diligence which wee used, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day until night, when

The firme land very green and pleasant with goodly valleys and plaines.

the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut asunder: wherupon the General commanded that she should ride no longer at anker, but that shee should turne up and downe, as she had done before in sight of us, which she did al day long, and at night she came to an anker over against a fresh water somewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palmesunday we went on shore with the fathers, which read the passion unto us and said masse, and we went in procession with branches in our hands. And so being comforted, because we had received that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ships.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Isle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ships in evil case, they conclude, that the ship called Santa Agueda or Santa Agatha should returne unto Nueva Espanna. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of California: with the description of a weede, which groweth among the Islands of those seas.

HEre we continued untill the Wednesday before Easter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee consulted together, that because the ships were ill conditioned, and wanted necessary furniture to proceede any further, it were best for us to returne backe to New Spaine, as also because our clothes were consumed: but the Generall seemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was resolved, that seeing both the ships could not proceede forwarde, as well because they had lost their necessary furnitures, as also that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, because she received much water, and was the worst furnished of the twaine, that shee should returne backe to advertize the Marques of our successe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what case wee stoode, and howe wee were bereft of our necessary furniture. And because the Trinitie was the swifter ship, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it should be provided in the best maner that might be, & that the General should proceed on his journey in her with such companie as he should make choise of, and that the rest should returne at their good leisure. Wherefore upon this determination we went under a point of this Island, because it was a fit place to carene the ship: & in recovering the same we spent Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, until Easter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the shore, and in a valley we found very excellent fresh water, wherof we made no smal account, & here stayed all the Easter-holidayes, to set our selves about the furnishing up of the Trinity: and [III. 424.] after the worke was taken in hand by the two Masters which were very sufficient calkers (one of which was Juan Castiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finished the same so well in fives dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceive how any droppe of water could enter into any of the seames. Afterward they mended the other ship from Saturday till Munday, during which time all those were shriven that had not confessed, and received the communion, and it was resolved by charge of the confessors, that all those seale-skins which they had taken from the Indians should bee restored againe; and the Generall gave charge to Francis Preciado to restore them all, charging him on his conscience so to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and delivered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept untill they returned to the place, where they were to restore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaves of the Generall Francis Ulloa, and of the people that stayed with him, who at our departure shed no small number of teares, and we chose for our captaine in the Santa Agueda master Juan Castiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ship, as of us all, and set saile the same day

The Santa Agueda returneth for New-spaine the 5. of April.

being the fift of April, having our boat tied at our sterne, till we came over against the cottages, whence wee had taken the seale-skins. From the countrey of the Christians and the port of Colima we were now distant some three hundreth leagues, which is the first port where wee determined to touch at. And having sailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Juan Castiliano commanded us to salute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and she answered us with other three, and afterward we answered one another with two shot apiece.

The Isle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.

We sailed on Munday & *Tewsday til noon with contrary wind in sight of the Island, and at noone we had a fresh gale in the poupe, which brought us over against the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away those seal skins; & there certain souldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on shore with thē boat, carying the skins with them, & flung them into the sayd cottages out of which they were taken, and so returned to their ship. This day the weather calmed, whereupon we were driven to cast anker, fearing that we should foorthwith be distressed for want of victuals, if we should stay there any long time: but God which is the true helper provided better for us then we deserved or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wednesday following before ten of the clocke wee had a favourable gale of winde from the Southeast, which put us into the sea; whither being driven, wee had the wind at Northwest so good and constant, that in sixe dayes it brought us to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which so great blessing of God we gave unto him infinite thankes. And here we began to allow our selves a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very sparingly for feare lest our victuals would faile us. Before we came to this point of the haven of Santa Cruz by sixe or seven leagues we saw on shore between certaine valleys divers great smokes. And having passed

The sixt of Aprill.

The 7 of April.

They sail from the Isle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz or California in sixe daies.

Punta de Balenas.

the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch foorth into the maine Ocean : yet although we ran a swift course, above 500 whales came athwart of us in 2 or 3 skulles within one houres space, which were so huge, as it was wonderfull, and some of them came so neere unto the ship, that they swam under the same from one side to another, whereupon we were in great feare, lest they should doe us some hurt, but they could not because the ship had a prosperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receive no harme, although they touched and strooke the same.

Read more of these weedes cap. 13.

Among these Islands are such abundance of those weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to sayle over them they hindred the course of our ships. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe under the water, their tops reaching foure or five fadome above the water. They are of the colour of yellow waxe, & their stalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is set foorth, and no marvell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is most excellent.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

Sant Iago de Buena esperanza in 19 *degrees.*

After this ship the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Ulloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, she arrived in the port of Sant Iago de buena esperança the 18 of the said moneth, and after she had stayed there foure or five dayes, she departed for Acapulco : howbeit untill this present seventeenth of May in the yeere 1540, I have heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 *degrees & a halfe.*

Moreover after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueva Espanna, the General Francis Ulloa in the ship called the Trinitie proceeding on his discovery coasted the land untill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

The relation of the navigation and discovery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine, dated in Colima, an haven of New Spaine.

[III. 425.]

Chap. 1.

Fernando Alarchon after he had suffered a storme, arrived with his Fleete at the haven of Saint Iago, and from thence at the haven of Aguaiaval: he was in great perill in seeking to discover a Bay, and getting out of the same he discovered a river on the coast with a great current, entring into the same, and coasting along he discried a great many of Indians with their weapons: with signes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing some great danger returneth to his ships.

ON Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I set saile with two ships, the one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee set forward meaning to goe to the haven of Saint Iago of good hope: but before we arrived there wee had a terrible storme, wherewith they which were in the ship called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, cast over boord nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one cable, and many other things as needfull for the enterprise wherein we went, as the shippe it selfe. Assoone as we were arrived at the haven of Saint Iago I repaired my losse which I had received, provided my selfe of things necessary, and tooke aboord my people which looked for my comming, and directed my course toward the haven of Aguaiavall. And being there arrived I understood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: whereupon taking

The haven of Saint Iago.

The haven of Aguaieval.

the ship called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordships order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from the same, to see if I could find any token or any Indian which could give me knowledge of him: and in sailing so neere the shore I discovered other very good havens, for the ships whereof Captaine Francis de Ullua was Generall for the Marquesse de Valle neither sawe nor found them. And when we were come to the flats and shoalds from whence the foresaid fleete returned, it seemed aswell to me as to the rest, that we had the firme land before us, and that those shoalds were so perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be considered whither with our skiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the rest of the company would have had us done as Captaine Ullua did, and have returned backe againe. But because your Lordship commanded mee, that I should bring you the secret of that gulfe, I resolved, that although I had knowen I should have lost the shippes, I would not have ceased for any thing to have seene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote major, and Dominico del Castello that eche of them should take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among those shoalds, to see if they could find out the chanell whereby the shippes might enter in: to whom it seemed that the ships might saile up higher (although with great travell and danger) and in this sort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a short while after wee found our selves fast on the sands with all our three ships, in such sort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates succour us, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of us to come unto another: whereupon we were in such great jeopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes under water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come & driven our ship right up, and gave her leave as it were to breath a while,

These shoalds are the bottome of mar Bermejo, or the Bay of Californie.

we had there bin drowned: and likewise the other two shippes found themselves in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drewe lesse water, their danger was not so great as ours. Nowe it pleased God upon the returne of the flood that the shippes came on flote, and so wee went forward. And although the company would have returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to pursue our attempted voyage: and we passed forward with much adoe, turning our stemmes now this way, now that way, to seeke to find the chanel. And it pleased God that after this sort we came to the very bottome of the Bay; where wee found a very mightie river, which ranne with so great fury of a streame, that we could hardly saile against it. In this sort I determined as wel as I could to go up this river, and with two boates, leaving the third with the ships, and twenty men, my selfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castilleia comptroller, and with certaine small pieces of artillerie I began to saile up the river, and charged all my company, that none of them should stirre nor use any signe, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The same day, which was Thursday the sixe and twentieth of August, following our voyage with drawing the boats with halsers we went about some 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way upward, I saw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere unto the water, who assoone as they saw us, ten or twelve of them rose up furiously, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haste carried out of their cottages such things as they had, and layd them under certaine shrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great signes unto us that we should goe backe againe, using great threatnings against us, one while running on this side and an other

The bottome of the Bay of California.

[III. 426.]

They goe up the river of Buena guia the 26. of August.

while on that side. I seeing them in such a rage, caused our boates to lanch from the shore into the middes of the river, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and set my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speake, nor make any signe nor motion, nor stirre out of his place, nor should not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor should shewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came every foote neere the rivers side to see us: and I gate by little and little toward them where the river seemed to be deepest. In this meane space there were above two hundred and fiftie Indians assembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike sort in such maner as those of New Spayne doe use: and perceiving that I drewe toward the shore, they came with great cryes toward us with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners displayed. And I went unto the stemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to speake unto them, and when he spake, they neither understood him, nor he them, although because they sawe him to be after their fashion, they stayed themselves: and seeing this I drewe neerer the shore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the shore of the river, making signes that I should not come any farther, putting stakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people still flocked together. Which when I had considered I beganne to make them signes of peace, and taking my sword and target, I cast them downe in the boate and set my feete upon them, giving them to understand with this and other tokens that I desired not to have warre with them, and that they should doe the like. Also I tooke a banner and cast it downe, and I caused my company that were with mee to sit downe likewise, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to give them some of them: yet for

He carried an interpreter with him.

A very good course taken to appease unknowen Savages.

all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themselves: and suddenly one came out from among them with a staffe wherein certayne shelles were set, and entred into the water to give them unto mee, and I tooke them, and made signes unto him that hee should come neere me, which when he had done, I imbraced him, and gave him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them unto his fellowes, began to looke upon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made signes to lay downe their banners, and to leave their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made signes that they should lay them altogether, and should goe aside from them, which likewise they did: and they caused those Indians which newly came thither to leave them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them unto me, and to all them which came I gave some smal trifle, using them gently, and by this time they were so many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them, and I made signes unto them that they should withdraw themselves, and that they should stand al upon the side of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the river, and that they should not presse to me above ten at a time. And immediatly the most ancient among them called unto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do so: and some ten or twelve of them came where I was: whereupon seeing my selfe in some securitie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more securitie, I made signes unto them, to sit downe on the ground which they did: but when they saw that ten or twelve of my companions came a shore after me, they began to be angry, and I made signes unto them that we would be friends, and that they should not feare, & herewithal they were pacified, and sate down as they did before, and I went unto them, & imbraced them, giving them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to speake unto them, for I greatly desired to understand their maner of speech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a signe unto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Mizquiqui, and they made signes unto mee that they desired to see an harquebuse shotte off, which I caused [III. 427.] to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooved at all, but rather cried out upon the rest, because they were afrayd: and through the speach of one of these olde men, they began to rise up from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I sought to appease, I would have given him a silken girdle of divers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gave mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the brest, and turned in a great furie to speake unto his company. After that I saw them advance their banners, I determined to returne my selfe gently to my boates, and with a small gale of wind I set sayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to goe any farther. In the meane space the Indians came following us along the shore of the river, making signes that I should come on land, and that they would give mee food to eate, some of them sucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz, to give me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signes traffique, victuals and many courtesies.

IN this sort we went up two leagues, and I arrived neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made signes unto me, crying that I should go thither, shewing me the same with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed on my voyage, within a while after issued out from thence above a thousand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children shewed themselves, toward whom I would not goe, but because the Sunne was almost set, I rode in the middest of the river. These Indians came decked after sundry fashions, some came with a painting that covered their face all over, some had their faces halfe covered, but all besmouched with cole, and every one as it liked him best. Others carried visards before them of the same colour which had the shape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres skinne two spannes broad set after the maner of a helmet, and upon it certaine small sticks with some sortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three sorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feitured, and without any grossenesse. They have holes bored in their nostrels whereat certaine pendents hang: and others weare shelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shelles. All of them both great and small weare a girdle about their waste made of diverse colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewise on the brawne of their armes they weare a streit string, which they wind so often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones fastened to their armes, wherewith they strike off the sweate, and at the other certaine small pipes of canes. They carry also certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which serve them also in stead of brasers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beverage. They have their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before,

Good forecast.

Indians besmoutched with cole.

Pipes and bagges of Tabacco.

and behind it hangs downe to their wast. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among these Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way up the river, setting on shore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking foorth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both sides of the river with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, aswell to see what they woulde have, as also to try whether our interpreter could understand them. When they came over against us they leapt into the river on both sides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they spake, our interpreter understoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a signe unto them that they should lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come neere me and gave them some things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceived, that they might likewise have their part, they layd away their weapons likewise. I judging my selfe to be in securitie leaped on shore with them, and stoode in the middest of them, who understanding that I came not to fight with them, *Shels and beades.* began to give some of those shels and beades, and some brought me certaine skinnes well dressed, and others Maiz and a roll of the same naughtily grinded, so that none of them came unto me that brought mee not some- [III. 428.] thing, and before they gave it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a signe with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approched to give me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to set I put off from the shore, and rode in the middest of the river. The next morning before breake of day on both sides of the river wee heard greater cryes and of more Indians, which leaped into the river to swimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of those wrethes which I spake of before. I shewed unto them Wheate and Beanes, and other seedes, to see whether they had any of those kindes: but they shewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by signes I came to understand that the thing which they most esteemed and reverenced was the Sunne: and I signified unto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marveiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and shewed me more favour then they did before; and when I asked them for food, they brought me such abundance that I was inforced twise to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang up into the ayre one part unto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to give mee the other part: and so I was alwayes better served and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats up the river, as also in giving me food to eat: and they shewed me so great love, that when I stayed they would have carried us in their armes unto their houses: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandement: and for my suretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight: and they were so carefull to doe so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would goe and meete him to cause him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I shewed them that I tooke great pleasure in their so doing: and to some of the chiefe of them I gave certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I should have given somewhat to every one of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spayne would not have sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great love and good wil which they shewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leave them behind him, if by negligence, or because he understood them not at the first warning, he had not layd them

A notable policie.

Swarmes of people.

away, they would runne unto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my presence. Afterward they tooke the rope so lovingly, and with striving one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the river being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would have beene impossible for us to have gotten up the river so against the streame. When I perceived that they understood mee in all things, and that I likewise understoode them, I thought good to try by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtaine my desire: And I caused certaine crosses to be made of certaine small sticks and paper, and among others when I gave any thing I gave them these as things of most price and kissed them, making signes unto them that they should honour them and make great account of them, and that they should weare them at their necks: giving them to understand that this signe was from heaven, and they tooke them and kissed them, and lifted them up aloft, and seemed greatly to rejoyce thereat when they did so, and sometime I tooke them into my boate, shewing them great good will, and sometime I gave them of those trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to such issue, that I had not paper and stickes ynough to make crosses. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, untill that when night approched I sought to lanch out into the river, and went to ride in the middest of the streame, and they came to aske leave of me to depart, saying that they would returne the next day with victuals to visite me, and so by litle and little they departed, so that there stayed not above fiftie which made fires over against us, and stayed there al night calling us, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swamme unto us asking for the rope, and we gave it them with a good will, thanking God for the good provision which

An exceeding great current of the river.

hee gave us to go up the river: for the Indians were so many, that if they had gone about to let our passage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might have done it.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians understanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many questions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was sent of the Sunne unto them, and they would have received him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they have many informations of that countrey.

IN this maner we sailed until Tuesday at night, going as we were wont, causing mine interpreter to speak unto the people to see if peradventure any of them could understand him, I perceived that one [III. 429.] answered him, whereupon I caused the boates to be stayed, and called him, which hee understoode, charging mine interpreter that hee should not speake nor answere him any thing else, but onely that which I said unto *A wise devise.* him: and I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter understood, that he which came to the boate sayd unto them, that he desired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heaven: And at this speech an infinite number of people came together, which marvailed to see mee speake: and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speake unto them in another language which mine interpreter understood not. Whereas he asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from farre to see them: and answering to the question, who had sent me, I said, I was sent by the Sunne, pointing unto him by signes as at the first, because they should not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aske mee, how the Sunne had sent me, seeing hee went aloft in the skie and never stoode still, and seeing these many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had ever seene such as we were, of whome they ever had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had never sent any other. I answered him that it was true that the Sunne made his course aloft in the skie, and did never stand still, yet neverthelesse that they might well perceive that at his going downe and rising in the morning hee came neere unto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they ever sawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee sent into other partes, and that nowe hee had sent me to visite and view the same river, and the people that dwelt neere the same, that I should speake unto them, and shoulde joyne with them in friendshippe, and should give them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make warre one against another. Whereunto he answered, that I should tell him the cause why the Sunne had not sent mee no sooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene slaine. I tolde him the cause hereof was, because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with us perforce having taken him in the war, or whether he came with us of his own accord. He answered him that he was with us of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none save him onely that understood us, and wherefore wee understood not all other men, seeing we were the children of the Sunne: he answered, that the Sunne also had begotten him, and given him a language to understand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had many other businesses, and because

I was but yong hee sent me no sooner. And he turning unto me sayd suddenly: Comest thou therefore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee should serve thee? I supposing that I should not please him if I should have said yea, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to give them such things as I had. He asked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his sonne: I answered him that I was his sonne. He proceeded to aske me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sunne, I answered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought up. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest us so much good, and wilt not have us to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receive thee for our Lord, and alwayes serve thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leave us: and suddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne, and that therefore they should all chuse me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this, were astonied beyond measure, and came neerer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked mee other questions, which to avoyd tediousnesse I doe not recite: and in this wise we passed the day, and seeing the night approch, I began by all meanes I could devise to get this fellow into our boat with us: and he refusing to goe with us, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other side of the river, and upon this condition hee entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gave him the best entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in securitie, and when I judged him to be out of all suspition, I thought it good to aske him somewhat of that countrey. And among the first things that I asked him this was one, whether hee had ever seene any men like us, or had heard any report of them. Hee answered mee no, saving that hee had sometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like us, and that hee knewe nothing else. I asked him also whether hee knewe a place called Cevola, and a River called Totonteac, and hee answered mee no. Whereupon perceiving that hee coulde not give mee any knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aske him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heaven and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. And hee answered mee no: but that they esteemed and reverenced the Sunne above all other things, because it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they cast a little up into the ayre unto him. I asked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee sayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heaven, and that hee was called Jesus Christ, and I went no farther in divinitie with him. I asked him whether they had any warre, and for what occasion. Hee answered that they had warre and that very great, and upon exceeding small occasions: for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together, and some of them sayd, let us goe to make warre in such a place, and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked them who commanded the armie: he answered the eldest and most valiant, and that when they sayd they should proceede no farther, that suddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men which they killed in battell: he answered me that they tooke out the hearts of some of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they should have bin now at warre: and because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease

Newes of bearded and white men.

[III. 430.]

The Sunne worshipped as God.

from armes, therefore as long as I should not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre against others, & they said among themselves, that seeing I was come unto them, they had given over their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to live in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war upon them, and slew many of them: I answered him, that from henceforward they should not need to feare any more, because I had commanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chasten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them seeing we were so few, and they so many in number. And because it was now late and that I saw by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.

Chap. 4.

Of Naguachato and other chiefe men of those Indians they receive great store of victuals, they cause them to set up a crosse in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worship it. They have newes of many people, of their divers languages, and customes in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subject unto.

THe next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to give me. And because I saw my selfe in securitie I did so without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and using many gestures with his body and armes, came neere unto me, and causing me to turne me unto that people, and hee himselfe also turning unto them sayd unto them, Sagueyca, and all the people answered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offred to the Sunne a little of every thing that he had there, and likewise a little more unto me (although afterward he gave me all the rest) and did the like to all that were with me: & calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gave them thanks, telling them that because my boats were litle I had not brought many things to give them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates unto my ships which I had beneath at the rivers mouth, I would give them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I sought to instruct them what the signe of the crosse meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, wherof I caused a great crosse to be made, and commanded al those that were with mee that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grant his grace that that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that signe, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they should keepe it for me carefully untill I returned, and that every morning at the Sunne rising they should kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without suffring it to touch the ground they carried it to set it up in the middest of their houses, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worshippe it because it would preserve them from evill. They asked me how deep they should set it in the ground, & I shewed them. Great store of people followed the same, and they that stayed behinde inquired of mee, how they should joyne their hands, and how they should kneele to worship the same; and they seemed to have great desire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my journey up the

[III. 431.]

These people are greatly inclined to learne the Christian faith.

River, and all the company on both sides of the shoare accompanied me with great good will, and served me in drawing of our boates, and in halling us off the sands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the river so shoald, that we had no water for our boat. As wee thus went on our way, some of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after us to pray mee that I would throughly instruct them, how they should joyne their hands in the worshipping of the crosse: others shewed me whether they were well set in such & such sort, so that they would not let me be quiet. Neere unto the other side of the river was greater store of people, which called unto me very often, that I would receive the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceived that one envied the other, because I would not leave them discontented, I did so. And here came before me another old man like unto the former with the like ceremonyes & offrings: and I sought to learne something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people, This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancesters told us, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laughed them to scorne. I which am old and the rest which are here, have never seene any such people as these. And if you wil not beleeve me, behold these people which be in this river: let us give them therefore meate, seeing they give us of their victuals: let us willingly serve this lord, which wisheth us so well, and forbiddeth us to make warre, and imbraceth all of us: and they have mouth, handes and eyes as we have, and speake as we doe. I gave these likewise another crosse as I had done to the others beneath, and said unto them the selfe same words: which they listened unto with a better will, & used greater diligence to learne that which I said. Afterward as I passed farther up the river, I found another people, whom mine interpreter understood not a whit: wherefore I shewed them by signes the selfe-

The river in divers places full of shelfes.

Another olde man.

Their ancesters told them that there were bearded and white men in the world.

Another nation.

same ceremonies of worshipping the crosse, which I had taught the rest. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther up the river I should find people which would understand mine interpreter: and being now late, some of those men called me to give me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to shew me pleasure. I desired to know what people lived on the banks of this river: and I understood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and these were bordering upon the river, besides others not farre off, and that there were besides these 23. languages, other people also which hee knewe not, above the river. I asked him whether every people were living in one towne together: and he answered me, No: but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fieldes, and that every people had their Countrey severall and distinguished, and that in every habitation there were great store of people. He shewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre upon them: which being without a governour, and dwelling in that desert place, where small store of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres skinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with rasors, and sewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houses of stone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waste downe to the ground, of a Deeres skin well dressed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the rivers side, dwelt alwayes there, or els sometime went to dwell in some other place: he answered mee, that in the summer season they aboade there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the

People of 23. languages dwelling along this river.

Acuco as Gomara writeth is on a strong mountaine.

Great houses of stone.

river. And hee shewed me by signes that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without, and I understood that they made a round house wherein the men and women lived all together. I asked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to have but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marying: and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and said, I have a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil have her? And if there were any that would have her, he answered that he would have her: and so the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would have her, brought some thing to give the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finished, and that they sang & danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might see them. And I learned that brethren, and sisters, and kinsfolks married not together: and that maydes before they were married conversed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houses and in their possessions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before she were maried, her husband forsooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that those women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were maried, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might have more then one wife, but very secretly. They tolde mee that they burned those which dyed: and such as remayned widowes, stayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sicknesse that this people dye of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they have Physicions which cure them with charmes and blowing

Round houses.

Dancing and singing at mariages of the Savages.

[III. 432.]

They burne their dead.

which they make. The apparell of these people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselves, like as the people of New Spaine use Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any governour, and found that they had none, but that every family had their severall governour. These people have besides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like unto Mill: they have grindstones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle those gourds, and fish of the river, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he said that those which we should find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I sent him backe very well contented. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I stayed to know what they would have; and they told me that they had set up the crosse which I had given them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the river did overflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to give them leave to remove it, and to set it in another place where the river could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

Pipes to drinke Tabacco with.

Maiz, gourds, Mill. Grindestones, earthenpots, good fish.

This river overfloweth his banks at certaine seasons.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they have relation of the state of Cevola, and of the conditions and customes of these people, and of their governour: and likewise of the countreys not farre distant from thence, whereof one was called Quicoma, and the other Coama: of the people of Quicoma, and of the other Indians not farre distant they receive courtesie.

THus sayling I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I caused to come with me in my boat. And because it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we stood thus warming our

Colde and raine.

selves, an Indian came and strooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood out of which I saw two companies of men come w^t their weapons, & he told me that they came to set upon us: & because I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me swam into the water, and saved themselves on the other side of the river. In the meane season I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of ye wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore these others at their approch without saying any word leapt into the water: and did so, because they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, because they brought none with them, because they understood my wil & pleasure, that they should cary none. I inquired the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, because I understood that among some people one man used to have many wives, and among others but one. Now I understood by him, that he had bin at Cevola, and that it was a moneths journey from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that river a man might easily travel thither in xl. daies, and that the occasion that moved him to go thither, was only to see Cevola, because it was a great thing, & had very hie houses of stone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech side; that the houses were compassed about with a wall conteining the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they used the same weapons, that others used, which we had seene, that is to say, bowes & arrowes, maces, staves & bucklers: and that they had one governor, & that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their governour ware a long shirt very fine girded unto him, and over the same divers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were

Cevola 40 dayes journey from thence by the river.

white, and went all covered: and that every day many Indians wayted at the gate of their governor to serve him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew stones, which were digged out of a rocke of stone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were maried, and that when their governors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewise all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and see them eate, and they eate with napkins, and that they have bathes. On thursday morning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the river, and with greater desire to serve us, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done unto me, having understood what I was: & I gave them crosses, with the self same order which I did unto the former. And going farther up the river, I came to a country where I found better government: for the inhabitants are wholy obedient unto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of those of Cevola, he tolde me, that the lord of that countrey had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certaine dishes caried in the first and later service, whereupon he told me that the lord of Cevola had also such as those were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them saving their governour, and that they were 4. which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say. I asked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere unto that place: he tolde me that above the river he knew some, & that among the rest there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great store of people under them. And after he had given me this information, he

Turqueses in Cevola.

[III. 433.]

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza.

Quicoma. Coama.

craved leave of me to returne unto his companions. From hence I began againe to set saile, and within a dayes sayling I found a towne dispeopled: where assoone as I was entred, by chance there arrived there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gave them license to returne to their houses. As I passed further by the desert, I came to certain cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel understood, and he said unto those men: Brethren, you see here that lord; let us give him such as we have, seeing he dooth us pleasure, and hath passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit us. And having thus said, he offred to the Sunne, and then to me in like sort as the rest had done. These had certaine great bags & well made of the skins of fishes called Seabremes. And I understood that this was a towne belonging unto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their harvest in summer; and among them I found one which understood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very easily I gave them the like instruction of the crosse which I had given to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to use the same: because there was none among them that knew the arte of weaving, & to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they should set up their crosse when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were best to make an house about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they should hang any thing upon the armes thereof. I said no; & that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seene of all men, until I returned: and lest peradventure any men of warre should come that way, they offred mee more men to goe with

Conies and yucas.

Cotton.

A mountaine.

me, saying that they were naughty men which I should finde above; but I would have none: neverthelesse 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere unto those which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels set upon their guarde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great squadron of people sitting under an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I saw that they rose not up, I passed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man rose up which said unto me, Sir, why doe you not receive victuals to eate of us, seeing you have taken food of others? I answered, that I tooke nothing but that which was given me, & that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying unto me, that because I entred not into their houses, and stayed all day and all night in the river, and because I was the sonne of the Sunne, all men were to receive me for their lord. I made them signes to sit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter understood, and asked him whose that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof were there, he said, yea: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, shewing him great love: & when I saw that all of them tooke great pleasure at the friendly interteinment which I gave him, I put a shirt upon him, and gave him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to use the like speaches to that lord which he had done to the rest; and that done, I gave him a crosse, which he received with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, untill I was called unto from the other side of the river, where the former old man stood with much people: to whom I gave another crosse, using the like speach to them which I had unto the rest, to wit, how they should use it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very same olde man whom mine interpreter understood; and when I saw their lord which he shewed unto me, I prayed him to come with me into my boat, [III. 434.] which he did very willingly, and so I went still up the river, and the olde man came and shewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I spake unto them alwayes with great courtesie, & all of them shewed that they rejoyced much thereat, & spake very wel of my comming thither. At night I withdrew my selfe into the midst of the river, & asked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing & wel disposed to shew them me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of Cevola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I asked him whether they had silver & gold, and he beholding certaine bels, said they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a river called Totonteac, he answered me no, but of another exceeding mighty river, wherein there were such huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worship the Sunne neither more nor lesse then those which I had passed: and when they offer unto him the fruits of the earth, they say: Receive hereof, for thou hast created them, and that they loved him much, because he warmed them; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein reasoning with him, he began somewhat to complaine, saying unto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne useth these termes with us, because he giveth us not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weave them, nor other things which he giveth to many other, and he complayned that those of that country would not suffer them to come there, and would not give them of their corne. I tolde him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well satisfied.

Cevola a goodly thing.

Gold and silver in a mountaine neere Cevola.

A mighty river.

This river seemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

Chap. 6.

They are advertised by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of Cevola killed the Negro, which went with Frier Marco, and of many other things: And of an old woman called Guatazaca, which liveth in a lake and eateth no food. The description of a beast, of the skinne whereof they make targets. The suspition that they conceive of them, that they are of those Christians which were seene at Cevola, and how they cunningly save themselves.

THE next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were woont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. sorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the rivers side, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other corne in their mouth, and sprinkled me therewith, saying that that was the fashion which they used when they sacrificed unto the Sunne: afterward they gave me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gave me many white peason. I gave them a crosse as I had done to the rest: and in the meane season that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, saying, this is the lord, the sonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to set mine apparell handsomely which I ware upon my backe. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had passed, & did passe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I asked them wherefore they imparted unto me all their secrets, and that old man answered mee: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After these things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the state of Cevola, & whether he knewe that those of this countrey had ever seene people like unto us: he answered me no, saving one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which did ring. Your lordship is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bels, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of divers colours, and that it was not much above a yeere agoe since he came into those parts. I demanded upon what occasion he was killed; and he answered me, That the lord of Cevola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great store of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men consulted together, and resolved to kil him, that he might not give newes unto these his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cause they slew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were divided among all those chiefe lords, that they might know assuredly that he was dead; and also that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewise killed a great while after. I asked him whether they of Cevola had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned unto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like those above mentioned: howbeit he told me that I should find going up the river a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. sorts of trees bearing most excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worshipped of them: and that shee remayned in a litle house which was there, and that she never did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did sound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were given unto her. I asked what her name was, and he tolde me that she was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life & death, used the like orders which they of Cevola did, which had their dwelling in the summer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houses of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had seene all these things, saving the old woman.

The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza slaine.

The cause wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was slaine.

They of Cevola have 14. or 15. lords their enemies.

An olde woman called Guatuzaca in a lake greatly worshipped.

[III. 435.]

Antonio d'Espejo speaketh of such a great lake.

And when againe I began to aske him more questions, he would not answere me, saying that he was wearie of me: and many of those Indians comming about me, they said among themselves: Let us marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth backe againe. The Monday following, the river was beset with people like to them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would soone forget them: and here he reckoned up unto me a great number of lords, and people at the least 200. And discoursing with him of their armour, he said that some of them had certaine very large targets of lether, above two fingers thicke. I asked him of what beasts skinne they made them: and he described unto me a very great beast, like unto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head seven handfulls long, the forehead of three spannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fist, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew sharpe poynts, an handfull long, the forfeete and hinderfeete above seven handfuls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great; and holding up his armes above his head, he said the beast was higher then that. After this hee gave mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the sea side. I spent this day in giving crosses to those people as I had done unto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on shore, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them used many gestures in their speach, mooving their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I sent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere unto them, and listen what they said; and within a while I called him, and asked him whereof they talked, and he sayd, that he which made those gestures said unto the other, that in Cevola there were others like unto us with beards, and that they said they were Christians, and that both of them sayd that we were all of one company,

200. Kindes of people.

This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quivira.

The sea side.

and that it were a good deede to kill us, that those others might have no knowledge of us, lest they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had answered him, this is the sonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth us good, and wil not enter into our houses, although we request him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he wil meddle with none of our women, and that to be short, he had spoken many other things in my commendation and favour: and for all this the other stedfastly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man said, Let us goe unto him, and aske him whether he be a Christian as the other be, or els the sonne of the Sunne: and the old man came unto me, and sayd: In the countrey of Cevola whereof you spake unto me doe other men like unto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men had seene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did shoote fire, and swords as we had. I asked them whether they had seene them with their owne eyes? and they answered no; but that certaine of their companions had seene them. Then he asked mee whether I were the sonne of the Sunne, I answered him yea. They said that those Christians of Cevola said so likewise. And I answered them that it might well be. Then they asked mee if those Christians of Cevola came to joyne themselves with me, whether I would joyne with them: and I answered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the sonnes of the Sunne as they said, they must needes be my brethren, and would use towards all men the like love and courtesie which I used: whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.

The Savages treasons to be taken heede of.

Certaine newes of the Spanyards at Cevola.

[Chap. 7

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes journey distant from Cevola, and that there be Christians there, which make warre against the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which those Indians use with foure yong men appoynted for that service, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not send newes of their being there to them of Cevola, they went backe againe downe the river to their ships.

Cevola tenne dayes distant from this place. A desert of ten dayes journey.

THen I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Cevola, which they spake of, was distant from that river: and that man answered, that there was the space of tenne dayes journey without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found. Upon this advertisement I was desirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind [III. 436.] with my souldiers, among whom I found none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordships name, onely one Negro slave though with an evil wil offred himselfe unto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of those two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way up the river against the streame in such sort as we had done before. Here that olde man shewed me as a strange thing a sonne of his clad in womans apparel, exercising their office: I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first sonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging unto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, saying, that seeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he should weare their apparel: these yong men may not have carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. These men receive no kind of reward for this incestuous act of the people of that countrey, because they have libertie to take whatsoever they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certaine women which lived dishonestly among men: and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me noe, but they were common women, which lived apart from the married women. I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had bin at Cevola, & they told me that they were eight dayes journey distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdome of Cevola, and that they told him that he were not best to goe any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like us, and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Cevola, because they had killed a Negro of their company, saying, Wherefore, have yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and such like speach. And they said moreover, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, & that many of them had oxen like those of Cevola, and other litle blacke beasts with wooll and hornes, & that some of them had beasts which they rode upon, which ran very swiftly; & that one day before their departure, from sunne rising untill sunne setting these Christians were all day in comming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, & whether they had fields sowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gave each of them a litle cap, and they gave them another to cary to their other companions, which they promised to do, & departed quickly. When I understood this, I spoke

Oxen of Cevola.

againe with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them unwilling as at the first, and they layd against me greater inconveniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would give me any people to goe with me, & victuals to travel through *A desert.* that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconveniences & dangers, which I might incurre in that voyage, shewing me the danger that there was in passing by a *Cumana.* lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre upon them, because his people had entred into the others countrey to take a stagge, and that I should not therefore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needes goe to Cevola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leave their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might have their company to Cevola. And upon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would have gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacifie him, seeing that it imported mee much to have him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I shewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he stil remained obstinate. In this meane while I sent a man away unto my ships to give them knowledge of the journey that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no meanes to be able to go to Cevola, & because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discover me, and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to returne againe up the river, carying with me other companions, & leave there some which I had sicke, and telling the olde man and the rest that I would returne, and leaving them satisfied the best I could (although they alwayes said that I went away for feare) I returned downe the river: and that way which I had gone against the streame up the river in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, because the streame was great and very swift. In this wise going downe the river, much people came to the banks, saying, Sir, wherefore doe you leave us? what discourtesie hath bin done unto you? did you not say that you would remayne continually with us, and be our Lord? And turne back againe? if any man above the river hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and such like words ful of love and kindnes.

He returneth in 2. dayes and an halfe to his ships.

[III. 437.]

Chap. 8.

When they came to their shippes the Captaine named that coast La Campanna de la Cruz, and builded a Chapel unto our Lady, and called the river El Rio de Buena Guia, and returned up the same againe: when he came to Quicona and Coama the Lords of those places used him very courteously.

UPon mine arrivall at my ships I found all my people in health, although very heavie for my long stay, and because the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had lost two ankers which were recovered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring them into a good harbour, & to give the carena to the shippe called Sanct Peter, & to mend all things that were needfull. And here assembling all my company together, I opened unto them what knowledge I had received of Francis Vasquez; and how it might be that in those sixteene dayes space which I was in sayling up the river he might peradventure have some knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne up the river once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to joyne my selfe with him: and although some spake against my determination, I caused al my boates to bee made ready, because the ships had no need of

Marke what things the Spaniardes cary with them in newe discoveries.

Rio de buena Guia.

Parrats in these parts.

Two moones to Cevola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, with hennes & cockes of Castile, and departed up the river, leaving order that in that province called Campanna de la Cruz they should build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this river Rio de Buena Guia because that is your Lordships Devise: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on tuesday the fourteenth of September, & on wednesday I came unto the first dwellings of the first Indians, which came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had bene other people, for we caried with us a fifer, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they saw me first of all: and when they knew me they stayed, though I could not grow unto perfect friendship with them, whereupon I gave them some of those seedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they should sow them: and after I had sayled 3 leagues, my first interpretour came even to my boat to seeke me with great joy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, because he should beare me companie againe, considering howe much it did importe me to have him with me. He excused himselfe because he stayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gave me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any Lord: hee answered me, yea; and named three or foure unto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houses painted within, and that they had trafficke with those of Cevola, and that in two moones hee came into the countrey. He told me moreover many other names of Lords, and other people, which I have written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my selfe unto your Lordship. But I thought good to deliver this briefe relation to Augustine Guerriero in this haven of Colima, that he might send it overland to your Lordshippe, to whom I have many other things to imparte.

Quicama. But to returne to my journey, I arrived at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great joy and gladnes to receive me, advertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him five or sixe thousand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with some two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authoritie, and before him and on each side of him were certaine which made the people stande aside, making him way to passe. Hee ware a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very soft and well made, being of the skinnes of certaine delicate fishes called Sea breams. Assoone as he was come to the waters side his servants tooke him up in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and received him with great joy, shewing unto him much kindnesse: upon which intertainment his people standing by and beholding the same seemed not a litle to rejoyce. This Lord turning himselfe to his people willed them to consider my courtesie, and that he being of his owne accord come unto me with a strange people, they might see how good a man I was, and with how great love I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their Lord, and that all of them should become my servants, and doe whatsoever I would [III. 438.] command them. There I caused him to sit downe, and to eat certaine conserves of sugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the favour which he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see mee, recommending unto him the worshipping of the crosse, and all such other things as I had recommended to the rest of the Indians; namely that they should live in peace, and should leave off warres, and should continue alwayes good friendes together: he answered that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they should give food to all strangers that passed through his kingdome, and that they should doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation should come to invade him, he said he would tell them howe I had commanded that they should live in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himselfe, and promised me, that he would never goe to seeke warre, if others came not to invade him. Then I gave him certaine trifles, as well of the seedes which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, wherewith he was not a litle pleased. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendship betweene them and those other people which dwelt above the River: and here the interpreter came unto me, to crave leave to returne home; and I gave him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly satisfied.

Coama. The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, seeing me clad in other aparrel, but the old man which was there as soone as he knew me leapt into the water, saying unto me, Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very joyfull & pleasant declaring unto me the great courtesies which that people had shewed him, saying that they had stroven together who should have him to his house, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the rising of the Sunne to hold up their hands and kneele before the Crosse. I gave them of my seedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainement which they had shewed my man, and they besought me that I would leave him with them, which I granted them untill my return, and he stayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward up the River, taking that olde man in my companie, which told mee, that two

Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Christians, & that he had answered them that he knew none such, but that he knew one which was the sonne of the Sunne, and that they had perswaded him to joyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come unto them, and was desirous of their friendship, but if that they on the contrary would have warre, I would make such a warre with them, that should displease them. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not given them Crosses as well as the rest, and so I gave them some.

Cumana.

Treason of the savages.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and see the people worship the Crosse which they had given them. The Captaine causeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee sendeth a Crosse to the Lord of Cumana, and going down the River with the streame, he arriveth at his ships. Of the error of the Pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of this Coast.

THe next day I went on land to see certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding up their hands and kneeling before a Crosse which I had given them. When I came thither I did the like my self; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Provinces as he knew. And when evening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee answered that hee would not goe with mee because I would wearie him with asking him questions of so many matters: I told him that I would request him nothing else but that he would set me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that River, and what maner of people those were which dwelt upon the banckes thereof on both sides: which he did willingly. And then he requested me that I would describe my countrey unto him, as he had done his unto me. And for to

An Inchanter.

[III. 439.]

This River ran much farther up then he had travelled.

content him, I caused a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this River passeth with a streight chanel, and the boats went up against the streame very hardly for want of men to draw the same. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the same place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the rest an enchanter, who enquired which way we would passe; & they telling him that we meant to passe by the River, he set certaine canes on both sides thereof, through which wee passed, without receiving any kinde of domage which they intended against us. Thus going forward I came unto the house of the olde man which was in my company, and here I caused a very high Crosse to be set up, wherupon I engraved certaine letters to signifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the generall Vasquez de Coronado should come thither, they might have knowledge of my being there. At length seeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I sought for, I determined to returne backe unto my ships. And being ready to depart there arrived two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himselfe, because he was farre from that place, but desired me to signifie unto him what my pleasure was. I told them, that I wished that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to see that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the River I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane season they should give that Crosse unto their Lorde, which they promised me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Crosse with certaine feathers which were on the same. Of these I sought to understand what people dwelt upward upon the bankes of the River, which gave me knowledge of many people, and told me that the River went farre more up into the land then I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Rivers fell into the same.

Having learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the River, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone above 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and when I would returne; to whom I answered, that I would returne shortly. Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying unto us to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept under a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I understood that shee did this, because her husband had taken unto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that she ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife. Thus shee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and so I came into my ships, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to see if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vasquez and his companie; of whom I could have no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaide River. I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast. And by the situation of the River, and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Masters and Pilots of the Marquesse tooke is false, & that they were deceived by 2 degrees, and I have sayled beyond them above 4 degrees. I sayled up the River 85 leagues, where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it shall please God to give mee leave to kisse your Lordships hands, I will deliver you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my selfe to have had

He sayled 85 *leagues up the River.*

The port of Colima.

very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia, and Augustine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came upon mee, which was there with the rest of his fleet, and commanded me to strike sayle, which seeming a strange thing unto me, and not understanding in what state things were in Nueva Espanna, I went about to defend my selfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Castilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the haven where the saide fleete road, and I gave unto him this relation (and to avoyd striffe I determined to sayle away by night) which relation I caryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpose to send the same, as soone as I should touch upon Nueva Espanna, to advertize your Lordship of my proceedings.

An extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueva Espanna in October 1597, touching the discoverie of the rich Isles of California, being distant eight dayes sayling from the maine.

WE have seene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles situate eighteene leagues from Mexico, making mention of the Ilands of California situate two or three hundreth leagues from the maine land of Nueva Espanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither have bene sent before that time some people to conquer them: which with losse of some twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel visited and found those Islands or countreys to be very rich of gold and silver mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie upon one fathome and an halfe passing in beautie the pearles of the Island Margarita: the report thereof caused the Viceroy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer

A.D. 1578.

the same. Therein also was affirmed that within eight dayes they could sayle thither from the mayne.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the haven of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueva Espanna, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly haven, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Majestie, and named it Nova Albion.

[III. 440.]

WEe kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of Nueva Espanna, untill we came to the Haven and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seventeene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this Haven we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there.

Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other jewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

The Portugal Pilote set on land.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set a shore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and having set them a shoare, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustring, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of June.

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America, to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.

The fift day of June being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

38 degrees.

In this Bay wee ankered the sevententh of June, and the people of the Countery, having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

[III. 441.]

A description of the people and Countrey of Nova Albion.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circle clifts of wood set upon them, joyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the middest. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us they restored againe unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadours to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely Majestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merveilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours; the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Guarde about his person, clad with Conie skinnes, and other skinnes: after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

These are like chaines of Esarnoy in Canada and Hochelage.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and every degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and dance, saving onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and divers others made several orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to perswade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

[III. 442.]

The king resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

Great riches in Nova Albion.

The common sort of the people leaving the king and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of every person; and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the living God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gave them lotions, plaisters and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their deseases. Every thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they understoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Great heards of Deere.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traveiled up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

Abundance of strange conies.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Nova Albion.

Our Generall called this countrey, Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Golde and silver in the earth of Nova Albion.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peice of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never bene in this part of the countrey, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, from the Haven of Acapulco in New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, unto the Haven of Manilla, & from thence to the Haven of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.

THe tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the Haven of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towards the Islands of the Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie five leagues, till wee came under sixteene degrees, that so wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran West, and West & by South, for the space of 1800
[III. 443.] leagues, to the Iland called Isla del Enganno, which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of ye Ilands called Des los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rovers, or Islas de las Velas, under 13. degrees and ½. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, upon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth

right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof. From the point aforesayde, wee sailed West for the space of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth scarce under 12. degrees. All the coast that stretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito santo, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the sayde point lyeth a haven of indifferent greatnesse, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of woolves, having a small Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the sayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you passe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you have five and twentie fathom deepe, with browne sand: there we found so great a streame running Westward, that it made the water to cast a skum as if it had beene a sande, whereby it put us in feare, but casting out our lead, wee found five and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforesayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by East about tenne leagues, lyeth the Island of Catanduanes, about a league distant from the lande of Luçon, on the furthest point Eastward, and from the same entrie of the chanell towards the West and Southwest lyeth the Iland Capuli about sixe leagues from thence, stretching Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, being five leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee past by it, it lay Northward from us under twelve degrees and ¾. and somewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforesayd Iland of Capuli Northwestward lie the three Ilands of the haven of Bollon in the

Iland of Luçones, stretching North and South about foure leagues, distant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furthest Southward lieth under thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white sand, and a great streame, running Southeast: we passed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our course Southwest, and Southwest and by West, for the space of twentie leagues, untill wee came to the West ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth East and West thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth under 12. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the same course on the Northside of all the Ilands, at the depth of 22. fathom with white sand.

From the aforesayd West point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is East and West to sayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our course South, and South and by West about three leagues, untill we were out of the chanell at sixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddish sande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth under 12. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and there the streames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas stretcheth Northwest and Southeast, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northwest point is about three leagues from the coast of Luçon, but you cannot passe betweene them with any shippe, but with small foists and barkes of the countrey. This shallowe channell lieth under twelve degrees: and running thorow the aforesaid chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I sayd before, we sayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Masbate, which stretcheth East and West 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth under 12. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. in the middle thereof, and is somewhat high land.

The Isle of Masbate.

From the sayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our course Westnorthwest for thirteene leagues, leaving the Iland Masbate on the Southside, and the Iland Buryas on the North side: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, under twelve degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. when we had sayled the aforesayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South side wee left the Iland called Rebuiam, which stretcheth Northwest and Northwest and by North, and Southeast, and Southeast and by South, for the space of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth under twelve degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and there you finde 35. fathom deepe, with white sand.

From the aforesayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonsilla, which is a small Iland in forme of a sugar loafe: the second Crymara, being somewhat great in length, reaching East and West about two leagues: the third Itaa, or the Ile of Goates, having certaine hovels. By all these Ilands aforesayd you may passe [III. 444.] with all sortes of shippes, whereof the foremost lyeth Southward under twelve degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. From the Iland of Bantonsilla, or small Banton, wee helde our course Northwest for the space of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South side under twelve degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. (which are two small Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North side under twelve degrees, and $\frac{1}{5}$. which is a great Iland, stretching Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, having in length 12. & in bredth 7. leagues. On the North side with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and small chanell, running somewhat crooked, which is altogether full of shallowes and sandes, whereby no shippes can passe through it. The furthest point Westward of the same Iland lyeth under thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. It is high lande, on the East side having the forme of a mine of brimstone or fierie hill, and on the West side the land runneth downeward at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with small blacke sand.

From the aforesayd chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our course Westnorthwest twelve leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full under thirteene degrees: Five leagues forward from the sayde chanell on the South side wee left an Iland called Isla del maestro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying under twelve degrees and ¾. which is a small and flat Iland: In this course we had 45 fathom deep, with white sand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length East and West five and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelve leagues, whereof the furthest point Southward lyeth under thirteene degrees, and the furthest point Northward under thirteene degrees and ⅔. and the furthest point Westward under thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of five leagues broad, and ten or twelve fathom deepe with muddie ground of divers colours, with white sande. Five leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the river of the towne of Anagacu, which is so shallowe, that no shippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being distant from the land about three hundred cubits, and between them and the land you may passe with small shippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether shallowes and sandes, so that where the shippes may passe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leave both the Ilands on the South side, running betweene the third Iland and the river called Rio del Bacco, somewhat more from the middle of the chanel towardes the Iland, which is about a league distant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and shelles upon the ground: the river of

Bacco is so shallowe, that no ships may enter into it. From this Iland with the same course two leagues forward, you passe by the point El Capo de Rescaseo, where wee cast out our lead, and found that a man may passe close by the lande, and there you shall finde great strong streames: and halfe a league forward with the same course, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good haven for shippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the same haven lyeth the Iland called Cafaa, stretching from East and West, being hilly ground.

From the sayde towne of Myndoro, wee helde our course Westnorthwest eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the sandes called Tulen, lying upon the Iland of Luçon, which sande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coast: you must keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and shellie ground: you runne along by those sandes North, and North and by West for the space of two leagues, till you come to the river called Rio de Anasebo: all the rest of the coast called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is sayled with the same course. The Limbones (which are Ilands so called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good havens for small shippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South side, wee leave the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie under 13. degrees and ⅓. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla under 14. degrees and ¼.

The Bay of Manilla in 14 degrees and one quarter.

From thence we ranne Northwest for the space of sixe leagues to the haven of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the West side, where it is shallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The shallowes of the river of Reedes: all along this Bay in the same course, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southwest, southsouthwest, and South, untill we discovered the whole [III. 445.] mouth or entrie of the Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from us.

Chap. 2.

The course and voyage of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the haven or roade of Manilla, to the haven of Macao in China, with all the courses and situations of the places.

SAyling out of the haven of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our course Westwarde for the space of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South side, and sailed about a league from them: the point of Samballes aforesayde lyeth under foureteene degrees, and $\frac{2}{3}$. being low land, at the end of the same coast of Luçon, on the West side.

From the hooke or point aforesayde, wee ranne North, and North and by West, for the space of five and twentie leagues (about a league from the coast of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao: all this coast and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth under sixteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. From this Cape de Bullinao we helde our course North, and North and by East, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furthest lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying under 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being past the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coast runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our course

Westnorthwest an hundred and twentie leagues, untill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coast and Bay of the river Canton under two and twentie degrees, having foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground.

Canton 22. degrees.

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforesayde course of Westnorthwest, for the space of sixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the river of Canton, and it maketh the river to have two mouthes or entries, and it is a small Iland about three leagues great.

The Iland of Macao.

Chap. 3.

The Navigation or course of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the haven of Macao to Newe Spaine, with the situation and stretchings of the same, with other notable and memorable things concerning the same voyage.

WHen we had prepared our selves, and had taken our leaves of our friends in Macao, we set saile upon the foure and twentieth of July, holding our course Southeast, & Southeast and by East, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaseth, it is hard holding the course betweene the Ilands, because as then the water and streames run very strong to the Northwest; wee travailed through many narrowe chanels by night, having the depth of eight or ten fathom, with soft muddie ground, untill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we saw it not, but by the height we knew that we were past it.

Ilha Branca.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eastsoutheast an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get above the sands called Os Baixos dos Pescadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the East side, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermosas, that is to say, The faire Ilands. This I understoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee sayde that they lie under one and twentie degrees and ¾. there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although

As Ilhas fermosas.

wee sawe them not, notwithstanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were past them.

Being past As Ilhas fermosas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our course East, and East and by North, for two hundred and sixtie leagues, untill we were past the length of the Ilands Lequeos, sayling about fiftie leagues from them: the said Chinar tolde me, that those Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that they have many and very good havens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof have their faces and bodies painted like the Bysayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Bysayas, and that there also are mines of gold: Hee sayd likewise that they did often come with small shippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very small pieces, to traffique with them of the coast of China, which hee assured mee to bee most true, saying that hee had bene nine times in the small Ilands, bringing of the same wares with him to China: which I beleeved to bee true, for that afterwarde I enquired thereof in Macao, and upon the coast of China, and found that hee sayde true. The furthest or uttermost of these Ilands stretching Northwarde and Eastwarde, lie under nine and twentie degrees.

Lequeos.

Mines of gold.

[III. 446.]

Being past these Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Japon, whereof the first lying West and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals use to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furthest Eastward lieth under two and thirtie degrees: we ranne still East, and East and by North, untill we were past the sayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

Firando.

All this information I had of the aforesayd Chinar, as also that there I should see some mines of brimstone or fierie hilles, being seventie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I should finde foure Ilands lying together, which I likewise found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Japon, he sayd hee had there seene certaine men of a very small stature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in small pieces, and some white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen so called by the Chinars) as also salte-fish like the Spanish Atun, or Tunney, which hee sayde came out of other Ilandes Eastward from Japon: and by the tokens and markes which hee shewed mee, I gessed whereabout those Ilands should bee, and found them not farre from whence he sayd they lay. Hee sayd likewise that all the Ilands of Japon have good havens and chanels, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fish, and flesh, and that they are an indifferent and reasonable people to traffique with, and that there they have much silver.

Other Ilands Eastward of Japon.

Running thus East, and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Japon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the streame running out of the North and Northwest, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee past: and what winde soever blewe, the Sea continued all in one sort, with the same hollow water and streame, untill wee had passed seven hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to lose the sayd hollow Sea and streame: whereby I most assuredly thinke and beleeve, that there you shall finde a channell or straight passage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Asia and Tartaria. Likewise all this way from the aforesayde seven hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fishes and other fishes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coast of Gibraltar in Spaine, as also Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fishes, which commonly keepe in chanels, straights, and running waters, there to disperse their seede when they breede: which maketh mee more assuredly beleeve, that thereabouts is a chanell or straight to passe through.

Japon 900. leagues distant from the coast of America in 37 degrees and an halfe.

Being by the same course upon the coast of newe

Seven and thirty deg. and an halfe. Read Francis Ulloa chap. 16.

Spaine, under seven and thirtie degrees and ½. wee passed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without snowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaves of trees, reeds, and other leaves like figge leaves, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Japon, which they eate: and some of those that wee found, I caused to bee sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eate like Coleworts: there likewise wee found great store of Seales: whereby it is to bee presumed and certainely to bee beleeved, that there are many rivers, bayes, and havens along by those coastes to the haven of Acapulco.

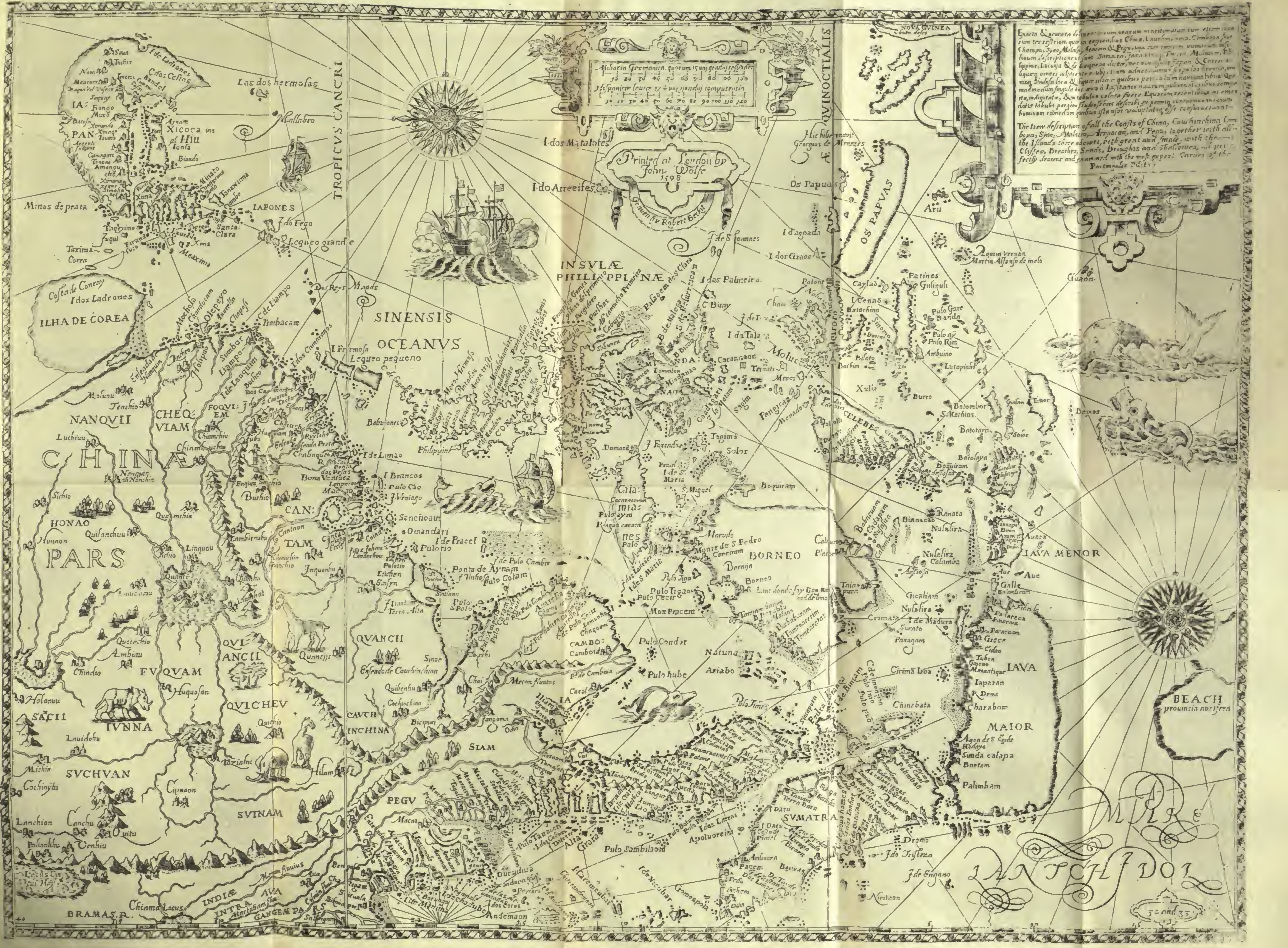
Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.

From thence wee ranne Southeast, Southeast and by South, and Southeast and by East, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northwest side, lying under two and twentie degrees, being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendoçino.

Havens lately found out.

In this way of the aforesayde five hundred leagues along by the coast, are many Ilands: and although they bee but small, yet without doubt there are in them some good havens, as also in the firme land, where you have these havens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Sant Augustine, lying under thirtie degrees and ¾. and the Iland called Isla de Cedros, scarce under eight & twentie deg. and ¼. and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, under three and twentie degrees and ½. All this coast and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and sheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee sawe fire, and by day smoke, which is a most sure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeast side of California, wee helde our course East-southeast, for the space of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the streames lying under 19. degrees and ⅔. And running this course, Northward about a league from us wee sawe


The trew description of all the Coasts of China, Cauchinchina, Cambeya, Syne, Malacca, Arracan and Pegu, together with all the Ilands there abouts, both great and smale, with the Cliffes, Breaches, Sands, Droughts and Shallowes, all perfectly drawne and examined with the most expert Carures of the Portingales Pilots
Printed at London by John Wolfe 1598
Grauen by Robert Beckit
Miliaria Germanica, quorum 15 uni gradui respondet
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120
Hispanicæ leucæ 17½ uni gradui computentur
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120
TROPICVS CANCRI
ÆQVINOCTIALIS
SINENSIS OCEANVS
INSVLÆ PHILIPPINÆ
CHINÆ PARS
NANQVII
CHEQVIAM
FOQVIEM
CANTAM
QVANCII
QVIANCII
QVICHEV
EVQVAM
IVNNA
SVCHVAN
SACII
HONAO
SVINAM
CAVCHINCHINA
CAMBODIA
SIAM
PEGV
BRAMAS R.
INDIÆ INTRA GANGEM PARS
ILHA DE COREA
Costa de Conray
I dos Ladrones
IAPAN
Minas de prata
LAPONES
Lequeo grande
I Formosa
Lequeo pequeno
Las dos hermosas
I dos Matalotes
I do Arrecifes
Philippinas
Mindanao
Os Papuas
OS PAPVAS
NOVA GVINEA
Aru
Moluccæ
CELEBES
BORNEO
Pulo Condor
Pulo Timon
Natuna
SVMATRA
IAVA MENOR
IAVA MAIOR
Bantam
Palimbam
BEACH prouintia aurifera
MARE LANTCHIDOL
Andemaon
Chinchco Lacus
Macao
Pulo Cambir
Ponta de Aynam
Pulo Tingao
Mon Pracem
Timor
Solor
Banda
Ambuino
Enseada de Cauchinchina
Meconfluuius
Gangæ fl.

MAP OF THE COASTS OF CHINA. A.D. 1598

three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to say, The three Maries) running the same course. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other Ilands, reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from [III. 447.] the mouth or gulfe of California aforesayd, for the space of the sayd fourescore leagues, there are great streames that run Westward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, wee ranne Southeast, and sometimes Southeast and by East, for the space of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the haven of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the haven of Natividad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the haven of Saint Iago, or Saint James: and sixe leagues further, the sea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coast from California to the haven of Acapulco is *Acapulco.* inhabited by people that have peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine.

The conclusion of the Author of this last voyage.

ALl this description and navigation have I my selfe seene, prooved, and well noted in my voyage made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the haven and river of Canton, as I will more at large set it downe unto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God shall permit mee time and leysure, whom I beseech to send you long and happie dayes.

And the same was truely translated out of Spanish into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copie, (which was sent unto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by John Huyghen Van Linschoten.

[Divers voyages

Divers voyages made by Englishmen to the famous Citie of Mexico, and to all or most part of the other principall provinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and large kingdom of New Spaine, even as farre as Nicaragua and Panama, & thence to Peru: together with a description of the Spaniards forme of government there: and sundry pleasant relations of the maners and customes of the natural inhabitants, and of the manifold rich commodities & strange rarities found in those partes of the continent: & other matters most worthy the observation.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Nova Hispania in the yeere 1555. with divers observations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.

Robert Tomson borne in the towne of Andover in Hampshire began his travaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arrived at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is under the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went up to the citie of Sivil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one John Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Sivil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time having seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the sayd John Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe over into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie provision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, upon certaine considerations by the kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said John Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Sivil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and [III. 448.] seeing the stay made upon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said John Field and his companie, shipped themselves out of the towne of S. Lucar in a carvel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6.

dayes they arrived at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at us, and shot 6. or 7. shot at us, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done unto us; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rovers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a carvell much like unto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said carvell, & unladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained divers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: upon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said carvel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the evening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said carvel with the Frenchmen in her went aboord the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and drove the Spaniards that were in her under hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceived them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at us as they did. This being past, the next day after our arrivall in the sayd port, wee did unbarke our selves and went on lande up to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants servants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee received great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went up to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there having taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selves in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman maried in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was John Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman maried in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde John Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arrived with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in over the

English factors in the Grand Canaria.

John Sweeting Englishman married in Cadiz, sendeth a ship of his owne into the West Indies under the conduct of his sonne in lawe Leonard Chilton. Ralph Sarre.

barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selves 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassavi, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an unsavorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they have great store: for there are men that have 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and savorie, and so holsome, that they give it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they have good store of poultrie of that sort, [III. 449.] as also of Guinycocks & Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of above 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The country is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie uncovered, & make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which use to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They have no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of silver & gold there are none, but in some rivers there is

Many of our men died of these wormes at the taking of Puerto rico.

found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do use not for that they lacke money of gold and silver to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should have good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and silver, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there staying until the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. John de Ullua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused us to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast upon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selves in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. John de Ullua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saved that could swim, and had meanes to save themselves: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his servants & houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serve. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordinance into the sea saving one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should have sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere unto us, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & understanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards us, and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them for the love of God to helpe to save us, for that we were all like to perish. They willed us to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to save us, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & maste all overboord, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking never to escape alive: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide us with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboord us, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe upon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while under the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose above water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate having still her child under her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall love towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboord the boate she helde her childe so fast under her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arrived at our port of S. John de Ullua in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great and [III. 450.] boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they *Cuerpo Santo.* take to bee the advocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and save them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire unto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceive it, nor gave no credite to it, till it pleased God to send us the remedie & delivered us from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboord our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I have seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are given to beleeve and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call upon the living God, who is the giver of all good things.

His arrival at Vera Cruz.

Florida 300. leagues from San Juan de Ullua.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. John de Ullua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of S. John de Ullua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying upon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, some of them of foure, five, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde us, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues over by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said John Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordova, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came unto him and received him and all his houshold into his house, and kept us there a whole moneth, making us very good cheere, and giving us good intertainement, and also gave us that were in all eight persons of the said John Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shooes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way up to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles, and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount unto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes journey into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried upon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes journey of the Citie of Mexico, the saide John Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arrived at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his houshold people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arrived at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of us of the saide company, there remained but foure alive, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got upon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almightie God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to live, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende us thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie above twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the service of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelve moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seven moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Jailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters

Mexico.

of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to [III. 451.] the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the said seven moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance upon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, upon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least five or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the saide Auto (as they call it) for that there were never none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they never heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, every one with a S. Benito upon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middest, and cast over a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middest of every flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on upon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were given to understand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like devils then men, and thought wee had had the favour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw us come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they never sawe goodlier men in all their lives, and that it was not possible that there could be in us so much evill as was reported of us, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such evill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so used for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set upon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, untill high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put us in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion upon us, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the devill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with divers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, every man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against us. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. John de Ullua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that upon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters every one should looke straitly unto us, and carry us to Spaine, and deliver us unto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, that they should put us in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enjoyned unto us, by his sentence there given. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters upon our feete, and there delivered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would have burned him, to prevent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arrived at the yland of Terçera, one of the ysles of the Açores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Carvel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboord the ship, and came into Spaine, and was delivered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Sivil a casher of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called John de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and silver, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gave all that hee had unto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arrived at the Citie of Sivil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour.

[III. 452.] After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set up in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their use and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of us, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same have bene seene since by one John Chilton, and divers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir John Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had overthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heaven that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answere, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and used there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to have images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure silver & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and every peso is 4.s. 8.d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I have seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship given, but that there was a certaine veneration due unto them after they were set up in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them understand the glory of the saints that were in heaven, & a shape of them to put us in remembrance to cal upon them, to be our intercessors unto God for us, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that using devotion to saints in heaven, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subject hath offended his king upon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and have a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some private man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Majesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obteine the thing which he doeth demand: even so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heaven: for we are wretched sinners: and not worthy to appeare nor present our selves before the Majesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we have need of: therefore thou hast need to be devout, and have devotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heaven, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subjects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say unto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgive thy trespasse, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings privat servants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, then thou art to demand forgivenes at his hands? Even so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out unto us throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come unto me al ye that labour and are over laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make unto us in his holy Scriptures. What then have we need of the saints helpe that are in heaven, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe unto us? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would give to understand, that the invocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. [III. 453.] I answered, that they were not my words but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceived to be prejudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained unthought upon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Provisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any invocation of Saints, upon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was used, as before is written.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall understand, that the port of S. John de Ullua is a very little Island low by the water side, the *Sant Juan de Ullua.*

broadest or longest part thereof not above a bow shoote over, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say Masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and gravel, and is 4. fadome deep downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the Island, that you may come and goe aland upon their beake noses. They use to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes have caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to have 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serve for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go up into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

The way and distance from San Juan de Ullua to Vera Cruz, is five leagues.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne up towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle river hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. housholds, and served but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliver it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receive their goods of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the river, and the other side is environed with much sande blowen from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming upon that coast. This towne also is subject to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not used to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gave themselves to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Venta de Rinconado.

Halfe a dayes journey from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of five or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime and stone, fast by a river side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices unto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subject to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes journey that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. housholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Rivers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not above 1500. housholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt above 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the middest of a lake of standing water, and environed round about with the same, saving in many places, going

Pueblo de los Angeles.

Mexico.

out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is environed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse above thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the middest of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth upon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselves together in this place.

[III. 454.] All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the middest of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote over from side to side: and in the middest of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither every three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the saide place, over against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and travaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart unto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good service.

Don Luis de Velasco.

This is to be understood of his second comming into Spaine.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that every man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great cave or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, even unto the high place, where come every morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of provision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slave can carry away from the Butchers, for five Tomynes, that is, five Royals of plate, which is just two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popinjayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will rejoyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giveth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are divers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were

Mexico conquered Anno 1519. *and* 1520.

dwelling and alive in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

About Mexico there are divers Mines of silver, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northwestward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and silver. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we have none such, as Plantanos, Guyaves, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cheries, and other wholsome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth upon certaine bushes in the wilde fielde, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the saide Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and serviceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

Cochinilla is not a worme nor a flie, but a berry.

Indico.

Robert Tomson.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. John de Ullua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

[III. 455.]

I Roger Bodenham having a long time lived in the city of Sivil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof using trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recover and renew my state; and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ship called The Barke Fox, perteining to London, of the burden of eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, having obteined good favour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Nova Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ship being under the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesayd, arrived with him in Nova Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles,

A new trade begun in the city of Fez by Roger Bodenham.

being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, having many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I having continued in the countrey the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and delivered the merchandise and silver which I had in the ship into the Contractation house, and there received my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I observed many things in the time of my abode in Nova Hispania, aswell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of those observations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there woorth above forty pence the pound.

The place where Cochinilla groweth, and the price thereof.

A notable discourse of M. John Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other provinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his travels, continued in those parts, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of July, I John Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seven yeres, & from thence I sailed into Nova Hispania, and so travelled there, and by the South Sea, unto Peru, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of July, I arrived at the foresayd city of London: where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my travell in those yeeres, I have set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a shippe bound for the Isles of the Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, & set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of June, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Nova Hispania, and came into the port of S. John de Ullua, which is a litle Island standing in the sea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of stones for building, & other uses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes use to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I journeyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a rivers side, where all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receive the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the unwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence sixteene leagues further up within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. There is never any woman delivered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for so soone as they perceive themselves conceived with child, they get them into the countrey, to avoid the perill of the infected aire, although they use every morning to drive thorow the towne above two thousand head of cattell, to take away

1568.

Cadiz.

San Juan de Ullua.

Vera Cruz.

[III. 456.]

Xalapa sixteene leagues.

the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seven leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such travellers as are occasioned to journey that way up into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like unto great mules, having also hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certeine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certaine ranges, and houses, for the uses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, having neere adjoyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hanneges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The governour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who administreth chiefest causes of justice both unto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like, to the judgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen every yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from fourteene yeeres olde

Perota seven leagues.

Fuentes de Ozumba nine leagues.

Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.

upwards, pay unto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of silver, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelve reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of divers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not above twelve Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acassingo, of above fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelve Spanyards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, having goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seven streets in length, and seven in breadth, with rivers running thorow every second street, by which they bring their provision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compasse by estimation above twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spanyards built sixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode five or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell

Tlaxcalla foure leagues northward from los Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cochinilla.

Pueblo de los Angeles 20 leagues from Mexico.

in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that ever was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

His voyage from Mexico to Nueva Biscaia.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the provinces of California, in the which was discovered a certeine countrey, by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of silver, for there were there certaine rich mines discovered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so travelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places unhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which joyneth to the province of New Biscay. In all these places the Indians for the most part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they use to eate up such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another province named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Navidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arrive alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South sea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

[III. 457.]

New Biscay.

The Silver mines of Tamascaltepec.

The valley of S. Bartholomew.

The haven where ye ships of China & the Philippinas arrive.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I undertooke another voyage towards the province of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried divers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50

Guaxaca.

Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this province pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aguatulco, in the which there *Aguatulco.* dwell not above three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arrived in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there above a thousand duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this port they use to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth *Nixapa.* upon certaine very high hilles in the province of Sapotecas, *Sapotecas.* wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace: for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that province. From hence I went to a city called Tecoantepec, which is the farthest *Tecoantepec.* towne to the Eastward in all Nova Hispania, which some time did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, upon a rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culverin, which came out of a ship called the Jesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. John de Ullua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land over mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leaving Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate province of Soconusco, *Soconusco.* in which province there groweth cacao, which the Christians cary from thence into Nova Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giving him four hundred cargas, and every carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this province thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I travelled thorow another province called Suchetepec; and thence to the province of Guasacapan: in both which provinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein having not above two hundred Indians. The chiefest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his governours, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for justice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the province Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Nova Hispania. The chiefest city of this province is called S. Salvador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arrive with the merchandize they bring from Nova Hispania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threescore Spanyards. From Sonsonate I travelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that travell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence to Costa rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there live as warriers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Salvador I bestowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall)

Suchetepec.

Guasacapan.

Guatimala.

Sonsonate.

San Salvador.

Acaxutla.

Nicoia a port where ye ships which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

[III. 458.]

which I caried with me to the port of Cavallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other strength, having in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards use yeerely in the moneth of August to unlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandise, and receive in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of such value as that of Nova Hispania) and silver of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their course by the Island of Jamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the uttermost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Havana lying hard by, which is the chiefest port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Jamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arrive there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarse come in two ships together, although it be above sixe fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth every day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can see on the sea; and as many as he discovereth, so many banners he setteth upon the tower, that the people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may understand thereof. Under this tower there

Puerto de Cavallos a rich place.

The description of Havana at large.

lieth a sandy shore, where men may easily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small store of ordinance subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Havana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelve pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethorow at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Havana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of the Island. The chiefest city of this Island of Cuba (which is above 200 leagues in length) is also called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Havana. All the trade of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into small pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make it provision for the ships which come for Spaine.

The smal force of Havana.

The commodities of Cuba.

Having remained in this Island two moneths, I tooke shipping in a frigat, and went over to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth upon the South sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a river which is called the river of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which river they cary their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conveyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe

Nombre de Dios.

Panama.

imbarke them in certeine small ships in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships I went to Potossi, and from thence by land to Cusco, and from thence to Paita.

Potossi. *Cusco.* *Paita.*

Here I remained the space of seven moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arrived in the province of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I travelled by land to a province called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the province of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are drowned with the raine that falleth above in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which season for that cause they call their Winter. From this province I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a bishop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a province called La Candona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they have townes and forts in a great lake of water above in the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another province called the province of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great store of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and cary into Nova Hispania. The people of this province pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I travelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this province, to

Vera Paz. [III. 459.]

Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high. a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that ever was discovered: for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which travell over it, lie alwayes at the foot of it over night, and begin their journey about midnight, to travell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the first towne of Nova Hispania, are about fifteene leagues. *Tecoantepec.* And so from hence I journeyed to Mexico.

His journey to Panuco. By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this journey, we went together toward the province of Panuco, which lieth upon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes journey we entred a city called Mestitlan, *Mestitlan.* where there dwelt twelve Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth upon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, having plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of divers kindes, and most pleasant. In every towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented us with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, *Clanchinoltepec.* belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Augustine, who have there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, *Guaxutla.* where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelve Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a province called Guastecan, *Guastecan.* which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came unto is called Tan- *Tancuylabo.*

cuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes travell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne upon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilest wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they have in this place: it standeth upon the entrie of the river of Panuco, which is a mighty great river; and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of five hundred tunne might goe up into it above three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times past had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his governour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, conteining in it not above tenne Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, having no other sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent for above sixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a slave, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the unholesomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse, I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The

Salt a principall merchandize.

Tampice a port towne.

Panuco.

next day in the morning we passed over the river in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone: and by reason there met many wayes traled by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so travelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length [III. 460.] fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake unto mee in their language, which I understood not: and so I made signes unto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me under one of their cottages, and layed me upon a mat on the ground: and perceiving that I could not understand them, they brought unto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks: otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed above any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wives and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I would have, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And marvelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde *Shallapa.* me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Christians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monasterie, among other things reserved this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Having now bene conversant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe unto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not above foure or five and twenty, unto which the king of Spaine giveth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subject unto him. Heere the Christians have their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company, which I had lost before, who made no other account of me but that I had beene slaine: and the Christians there likewise marvelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians alive, which was a thing never seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recovered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discover a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leaving the way by Mexico, which is seven or eight weeks travell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and five hundred

Sant Iago de los valles.

Mighty mules.

Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico.

Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this province called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the river de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Nova Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this river the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe over; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, travelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most silver: at which mines there dwelt above three hundred Christians: and there our captaine gave us leave to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo novo; and from that place to the province of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefest city of that place is called: where there dwelles a bishop, and above an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60. leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Rio de las Palmas.

The mines of Sacatecas.

The valley of S. Michael.

Pueblo nuevo.

Mechuacan.

Copper mines.

Afterwards I returned another way to the province of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Alvarado, and from thence to the province of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this province is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this province pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this province for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the river of Tabasco, by which river this city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine

Campeche.

[III. 461.]

Merida.

Rio de Tabasco.

wood called campeche, (wherewith they use to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the province of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They have no force at all in all this coast to defend themselves withall, save only that the land is low, and there is no port to receive any shipping, unlesse they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. John de Ullua, waxe, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

Iucatan.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and silver: for he receiveth of every Indian which is subject unto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gave and granted the government of the cities and townes subdued for three lives) twelve reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (five of them making a quarter of English measure) and of every widow woman he hath sixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian have twenty children in his house, he payeth for every one of them, being above fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the governour of every province and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings governours there every yeere; so that the money received for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and silver, he receiveth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, under paine of death. The marke of silver, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not having

The greatnesse of the king of Spaines tribute out of the West Indies.

The quints.

The marke of silver is 64 reals of plate.

the kings seale upon it, is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set upon it; and so it is raised in value thereby to threescore and foure reals of plate: and so the king hath for his custome of every marke of plate one and twentie reals.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath received both of the Indians which are tributaries unto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of every one being above twelve yeeres of age, foure reals of every bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giving foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliver their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath foureteene reals for every bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serve for pardoning all such faults wherein they have trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other injury; for every hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceived the king or any other, he must give ten for a bull, and so after that rate for every hundred which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The revenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth unto his treasury yeerely above three millions of gold, as I have bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuse to take the buls; for that they perceive he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time every Indian used to take one for every person in his house) and teareth the same

The revenue of the kings buls and pardons came yerely to three millions.

into small pieces, and giveth to every one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had above ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke up in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians & Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed upon them, more then in the yeeres before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would have set up another king of themselves; for which cause the king hath commanded upon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oile there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

Rebellions in Nova Hispania by too great exactions.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in subjection, and to his owne use, hath streightly provided by lawe, upon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselves doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would undoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

[III. 462.]

The reasons which moove the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the West Indies.

About Mexico, and other places in Nova Hispania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke sugar, and of the leaves of it dried they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they use, and tiles for their houses: and at the ende of every leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they use to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Magueis.

Thus to make an end, I have heere set downe the summe of all the chiefest things that I have observed and noted in my seventeene yeres travell in those parts.

A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

S. John de Ullua.

Spirits.

SAint John de Ullua is an Island not high above the water, where as now the Spanyards upon M. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do unlade: for they have none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanels, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on every side of the chanels there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell: they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spanyards did in times past unlade their goods: and for that, they say, there are upon it spirits or devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is given to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

Vera Cruz.

Five leagues from S. John de Ullua is a faire river; it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, silver, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the shippes cary into Spaine unto them. And the goods being in

Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all upon horses, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venimous worme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Musquito.

This towne is situated upon the river aforesayd, and compassed with woods of divers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as orenges and limons, guiaves, and divers others, and birds in them, popinjayes both small and great, and some of them as big as a raven, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small munkeys, marvellous proper.

Popinjays.

Monkeys.

This hote or sicke countrey continueth five and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the five and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with rivers which they turne in upon it. And they gather their Wheat twise a yere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowen, the country is so hote it would burne all.

Wheat twise in a yeere.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it above 16000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings

Tlaxcalla a free city.

of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woonne in so short time, and with so little losse of [III. 463.] men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Mexico. Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or sixe thousand houses of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which live under the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kil people. This city is very well provided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city every weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be invented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faires is upon the Munday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings governour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeale unto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine summe: and if it be under that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the city standeth in: but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

A way to drowne Mexico.

The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within these three yeeres they would have practised the same: but they which should have bene the doers of it were hanged: and ever since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at some time they might be deceived: for the Indians love not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, marvellous faire, where the people have great recreation. The men of this city are marvellous vicious; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

Crocodiles.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many rivers and standing waters which have in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is marvellous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattell. He is woont to sleepe upon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like unto a serpent, saving that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

Navigation to China from Puerto de Acapulco.

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

The North-west-streight.

There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same: and there the Spanyards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland; and they call it the Englishmens streight: which as yet was never fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be marvellous rich.

The more Northward, the richer silver mines.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of silver mines. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is any other parts: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly upon great hilles and stony ground, marvellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth.

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of divers colours, wherewith they paint themselves in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they use.

Golde mines.

In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in rivers, or very neere unto rivers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

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Mesquiquez.

There are many great rivers, and great store of fish in them, not like unto our kindes of fish. And there are marvellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of divers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth upon the sea, okes and pineapples, and another tree which they call Mesquiquez: it beareth a fruit like unto a peascod, marvellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

Seven cities by witchcraft not found of the seekers.

The Spanyards have notice of seven cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They have used and use dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a mist upon them, so that they cannot see them.

Pedro Morales & Nicolas Burgignon write the like of Copalla.

They have understanding of another city which they call Copalla: and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they have used much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they have found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne which to their understanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

The strange oxen of Cibola.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were never brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they have upon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are marvellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola.

Cibola abandoned.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones upon the graves. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake up any part of these graves, saying, he would come another time to do it.

A great river nere Cibola.

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone: and they made answere, they were gone downe a river, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

This captaine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the governour, because he had not gone forwards, and seene the end of that river.

Water congealed to salt. They have in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt: and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings use and profit.

Dogs of India described. Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast: their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

Cacao a fruit currant as money. In certeine provinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like unto an almond: it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

Fruits. There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guiaves, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, orenges, walnuts very small and hard, with little meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very small, quinses, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and calabaças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serveth for many things, as the leaves make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to cover and thatch houses, and for divers other things.

Hot springs. They have in divers places of the countrey many hote springs of water: as above all other, I have seene one in the province of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be over a fire in halfe a day. I have seene halfe a sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath bene sodden, and I have eaten part of it.

Hares and conies. There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quailes.

Sea fish. They have great store of fish in the South sea, and many oisters, and very great. The people do open the oisters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serve, they send them abroad into the countrey to sell, as all other fish. They have no salmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

[III. 465.] *Burning mountaines.* There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and snow upon them: they commonly burne; and twise every day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

Manna. There is among the wilde people much manna. I have gathered of the same, and have eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries send their servants at certeine times, to gather of the same for purgations, and other uses.

Wilde hogs, lions, and tigres. There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that travell in the wildernesse.

In this countrey, not long since, there were two poore men that found a marvellous rich mine; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to the law and custome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were: and violently tooke the sayd mine for the king; and gave no part thereof unto the two poore men. *Mines discovered, not found againe.* And within certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was five yerees, there was a poore shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well *The authour five yeeres in Nueva Espanna.* of quicke-silver; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the shepheard : but when they went to fetch home the quicke-silver, or part thereof, they could never finde it againe. So these things have bene declared unto the king, who hath given commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things have bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great marvels.

Sugar & conserves.

There is great abundance of sugar here, & they make divers conserves, & very good, and send them into Peru, where as they sell them marvellous well, because they make none in those parts.

Description of the Indians person and maners.

The people of the countrey are of a good stature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and given much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and given to much beastlinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse they use and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies onely.

The people of Nueva Espanna great cowards.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They use divers times to talke with the divell, to whom they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they have bene taken with the same, and I have seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blackesmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoomakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that poore yoong men that goe out of Spaine to get their living, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will live all the weeke with lesse then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

The Indians ignorance from whence they came.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they give any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children; and onely beleeved in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They have in these parts great store of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts & smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare upon their bodies: and the Spanyards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure. [III. 466.]

The Sun and Moone honored.

Store of cotton.

The wilde Indians.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing upon them. The women weare the skinne of a deere before their privities, and nothing els upon all their bodies. They have no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they have need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eat. They live very long: for I have seene men that have beene an hundred yeres of age. They have but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in reverence.

The Indians have the friers in great reverence: the occasion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and silver comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske every day, and bring their masters so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

Copper mines.

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the countrey as much as serveth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers will give no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie unlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; so that with it they cover churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they have had need thereof in times past.

The pompe of owners of mines.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is marvellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wives is more to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wives goe out of their houses, as unto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great majesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I have seene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things necessary to mines of silver and golde.

A good owner of mines must have at the least an hundred slaves to cary and to stampe his metals; he must have many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he must have milles to stampe his metals; he must have many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he must have much quicke-silver, and a marvellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-silver, it is a new invention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly: for there is never a hundred of quick-silver but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labour their mines.

The plenty of cattell.

There is in New Spaine a marvellous increase of cattel, which dayly do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may have a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings; and some one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They sell the hides unto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the countrey in shooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeises: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. *Sheepe.* They have great increase of sheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They have much *Wooll.* wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. *Cloth.* They make cloth as much as serveth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I have seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They have *Woad. Alum. Brasill.* woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and brasill, and divers other things to die withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, unlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure shillings every roue, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serve but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

[III. 467.] They make hats, as many as doe serve the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed *Hogs grease in stead of oile.* of oyle, they have hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

Silks of sundry sorts. They have much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Velvets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, saving that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

Horses. Mules. They have many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They have as good

Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

Jennets.

There is raine usually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, every day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their servants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maize, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

Maize graine for man and beast, eaten in cakes.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more unto the King every yeere. This is payd in all Nova Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, saving the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to usurpe upon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes every yeere for the King, which is as beneficial unto him, and as great cost unto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

An Hanega is a bushel and an halfe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried over the necke of a land, unto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They have seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568, there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long upon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was upon it. And for want of victuals, they arrived in Nova Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Navidad, and thence returned backe againe unto Peru, whereas they were evil entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

Salomons Ilands sought, and found in the South sea 1568.

They have in this port of Navidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they have found within these 7. yeres. They have brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that every man that may have a piece of them, will give the weight of silver for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would have given 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards have not many of them as yet :* for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them every day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and silver, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land have certaine traffique with some of these ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such marchan-

China found by the West.

** This is to be understood of the time when this discourse was written, Anno 1572.*

China ships with one saile.

dize as they have need of. And of these things there have bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and silver, and divers maners of silks, and works of gold and silver, marveilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of those ylands, which the Spaniards have, say, that if they would bring their wives and children, that then they should have among them what they would have. So there goe women dayly, and the [III. 468.] king payeth all the charges of the maried men and their wives, that go to those ylands. And there is no doubt but the trade will be marveilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that ever went to that countrey of the Phillippinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswell riches, as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they have not so long hornes as they have here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marveilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like unto a Raven, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the

Chamoice.

Spanish leather.

India Ravens not killed, to devoure carrion.

corrupt and dead flesh which is in the countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marveilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about Cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Wrongs done to the Indians punished.

The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, untill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are: and if they should not have this favour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may cal them dogs, and use other evill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it up, and goe his way.

Justice ye cause of civilitie.

The poore Indians wil go every day two or three leagues to a Faire or market with a childe upon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themselves upon the same. For they live with a marveilous small matter.

They are in such povertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall have an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed upon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall have from one towne to another. Here you are to understand, that all men that traveile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeves, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall have no recompence at their hands.

The apparel of the Indians.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, saving that it is as broad above as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they have another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and over this a white fine sheet upon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made up round with an haire lace about their head. And the men have a small paire of breeches of the same cotton wool, and their shirts which hang over their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers upon their backes, and with a knot upon one shoulder, & an hat upon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey.

The houses of the Indians.

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that you shall not well perceive the joynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely joyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marveilous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores [III. 469.]

very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they have reserved for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marveilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate upon the ground, and sleepe on the ground upon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

Fire rubbed out of two stickes.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

Divers speeches.

In Nova Hispania every 10. or 12. leagues they have a contrary speach, saving onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which have bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedome, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would have him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would have none free, but himselfe. He had as many wives or concubines, as hee would have, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoever he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne upon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set upon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of divers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his body every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Indians wash themselves every day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare upon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride upon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but they have bene overthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

Cannybals.

There remaine some among the wild people, that unto this day eate one another. I have seene the bones of a Spaniard that have bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they never come againe, whether they be men or women.

Island of salt.

They have in the Sea ylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their Mines they occupie great quantitie. They have much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Levant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, & much Salsa Perilla, which is marveilous good for many kind of diseases.

Alume.

Cassia fistula.
Salsa Perilla.

Florida.

There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Nova Hispania send for every yere. The Spaniards have two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

[A discourse

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568. conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to him selfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, until by good and happy meanes he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. 1.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.

This Fleete consisted of 6. ships.

1. The Jesus.

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2. The Mynion.

3. The William and John.

4. The Judith.

5. The Angel.

6. The Swallow.

UPon munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Jesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The William and John, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The Judith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Jesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighteenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obteined by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted unto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The William and John separated and never after met with the fleete.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrivall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have intrapped us.

All things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, upon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, having the

A.D. 1568.

weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, upon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica, upon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, ever making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his governours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainement in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the governour there would not by any meanes permit us to have any trade or [III. 471.] trafique, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the avoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recovering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and upwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Governour was so straight, that wee could not obteine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the avoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of July 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North: and leaving the yland of Cuba upon our right hand, to the Eastward of us, and so sayling toward Florida upon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of

8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. John de Ullua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serveth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recover this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixtenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. John de Ullua. The Spaniards there supposing us to have bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboord our Generall, where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great feare to have bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did use them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound all which being in our Generall his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alva, and the other Don Pedro de Rivera, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arrivall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Soveraigne, was the king of Spaine his loving sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navie, and quietly suffer us to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there

Mexico 60. leagues from S. Juan de Ullua.

might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arrivall there.

The next morning being the sevententh of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall understood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to advertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made unto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboord of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should have done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soveraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least evill, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both

It is put downe 6. millions in Sir John Hawkins his relation.

by Sea and by lande in this province of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and [III. 472.] our Soveraigne, all our requests should bee both favourably granted, and faithfully perfourmed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subjects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articled, and set downe in writing. Viz.

4. Articles concluded upon, betwixt the English & the Spaniards; although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The first was that wee might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to lande in the saide yland, having or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credite bee delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10. hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was given that none of either part should violate or breake the peace upon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, & the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie upon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse upon their parts. For the Viceroy and governour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to describe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same yland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of stones, not past three foote above water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte over any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arive at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and unlesse the shippes bee safely mored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blewe we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

A faire castle and bulwarke builded upon the yland of San Juan de Ullua.

The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their

Ordinance against our men that warded upon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroys faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooved, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and safetie from all villanous treacherie: this was upon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Jesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee unshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conveyed over to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to avoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboord the Jesus, where was a cruell fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out: so the Jesus also got loose, and joyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides: but they having woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us. In this fight there were two great shippes of the

The value of a Spanish viceroy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltie.

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Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled : and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marveilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion : the most of our men that were in the Jesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith : and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends : of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet alive, who by the mercifull providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copstowe one of M. Hawkins men returned from Nueva Espanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the avoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Savage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

After that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. John de

Ullua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, saving the Minion, and the Judith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost us, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoove with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke us with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Savages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these unknowen seas, hunger constrained us to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found some inhabitants, that wee might have had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarse able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselves to the mercie of the Savages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselves at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe & the rest: and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of service and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising us that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch us home. Here againe it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selves, and either

[III. 474.]

They were put on land 25 *leagues northward of Panuco the* 8 *of October* 1568.

to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

In the evening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for wee could scarse get life of them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, having a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of us both feeble, faint and weake.

Capule a kind of stone fruit.

The next morning being Tewsday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to travell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or Savages, we were indifferent, so that we might have wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not having any drie threed about us, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly:) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and upon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede upon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

Chichimici a warlike and cruel people.

These people are called Chichimici, and they use to weare their haire long, even down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they have bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiving us at our first comming on land, supposed us to have bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and having by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, unto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rustic swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to save our selves: which when they perceived, that wee sought not any other then favour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down: and when they had a while surveyed, and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left us without doing us any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiving in what weake case we were, pointed us with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence, using these words: Tampice, Tampice, Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they use are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit

Our men assailed by the Chichemici.

Eight of our men slaine.

[III. 475.]

any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left us stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to devide our selves into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alive, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine over us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, travailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go. The other halfe went under the leading of one John Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, & with the company that went with him, David Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and travelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the savage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they divided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with us againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selves, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with us, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to us, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet alive, and married in the said countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason

Anthony Godard.

David Ingram.

and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were David Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we travelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should travell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarse see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should have of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieve our selves. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarse so big as a gnat; they will sucke ones blood marveilously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venimous that the place will swell extremely, even as one that is stoong with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselves, then they doe you no other hurt, but leave behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we travelled thus for the space of tenne or twelve dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe up into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceive any, and using often the same order to climbe up into high trees, at the length they descried a great river that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage us, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we travelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small joy unto us, and so we came to the North side of the river of Panuco, where the Spaniards have certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot upon our left hand: of this river wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the river side resting our selves, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the river was not past halfe a bowe shoot over: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came over, being rowed by two Indians, and having taken the view of us, did presently rowe over backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarking themselves in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming over after them, and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they sadled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade us to submit and yeelde our selves unto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeied, and upon the yeelding of our selves, they perceived us to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried us over by foure

The river of Panuco.

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and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they understanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaves, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savory and a delicate taste? And having thus parted the bread amongst us, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, having also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke up upon their horses, behind them, and so caried us to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came over.

The Salines of Panuco.

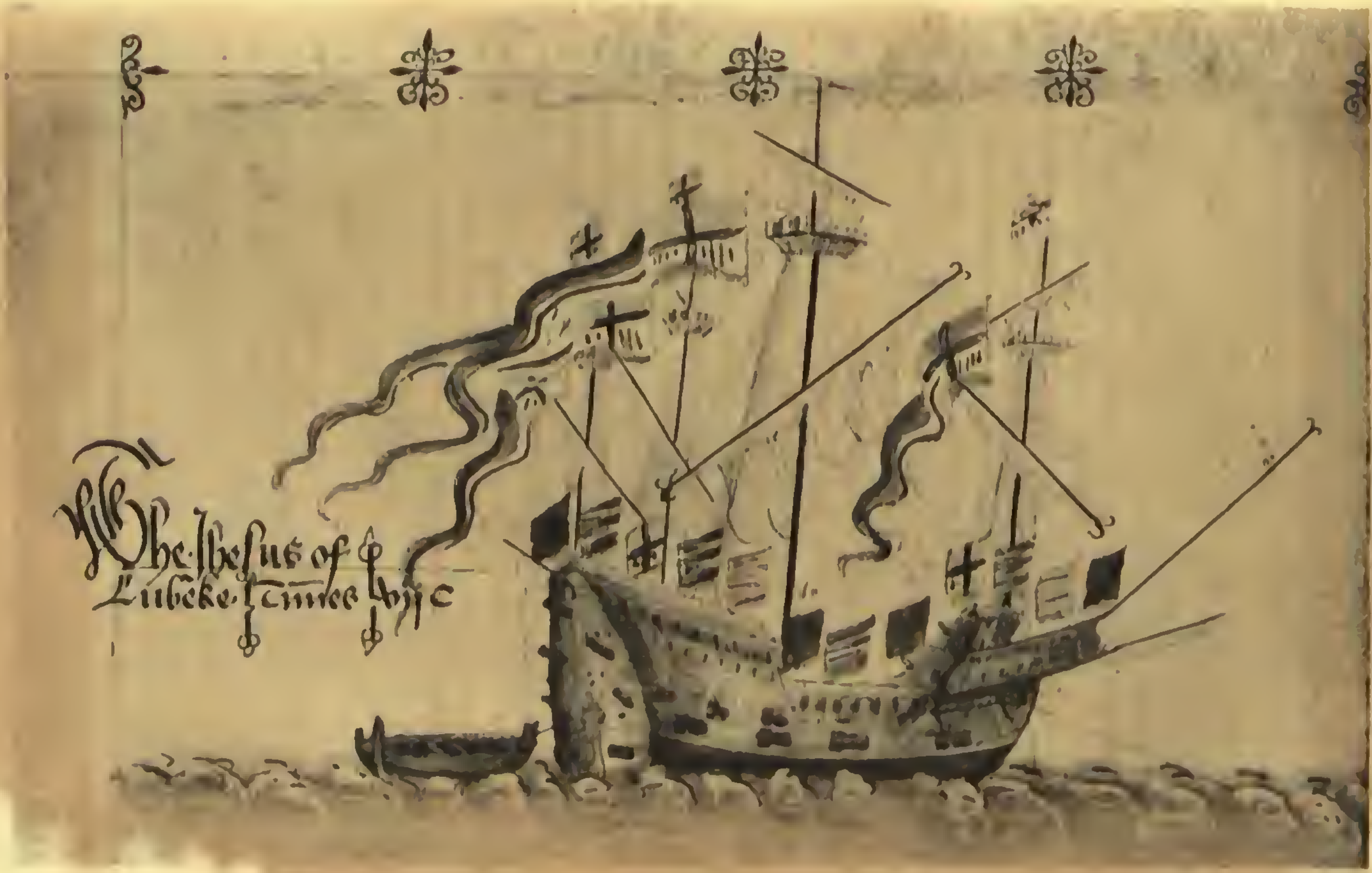
This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie upon the West side of the river, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it up into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. John de Ullua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred havens West and by South above threescore leagues from S. John de Ullua. When we were all come to the towne, the Governour there shewed himselfe very severe unto us, and threatned to hang us all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from us, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought us over, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Governour here had a chaine of gold, which was given unto him at Carthagena, by the Governour there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that wee accounted that amongst us all he had the number of five hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And having thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smoothered: and before we were thus shut up into that little coat, they gave us some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governour, and most of them all answered, that wee should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale us of all our griefes: and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every houre to be bereaved of our lives.

Chap. 4.

Wherin is shewed how we were used in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and crueltics wee received during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation given to serve as slaves to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

UPon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking every houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number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THE JESUS OF LUBECK

of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch us out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgivenesse of our sinnes, we prepared our selves, making us ready to die: yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: [III. 477.] for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind us, and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct us, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And travelling in this order, upon the second day at night we came unto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously use us, and gave us hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to cover our selves withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so travailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children.

The friers sent us meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde us so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelve dayes we could not ease our selves. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate us, and would carefully go before to provide for us both meat and things necessary to the uttermost of his power: the other was a yong man who all the way travelled with us, and never departed from us, who was a very cruell caitive, and he caried a javeline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Governour suffered us to stay two dayes and two nights, having compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our journey, and travelled foure or five dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and ever as wee had neede, the good olde man would still provide us sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine us. At the end of which five dayes wee came to a towne within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very joyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our lives: for seeing our selves thus caried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could wee never joy, nor be merrie till wee might perceive our selves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our journey towards Mexico, and so travelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be dayes in the yeere, which upon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before the image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeve that they shall never prosper: which image they call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seeth: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and every yeere once upon our Lady day the people use to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and

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Nuestra Sennora.

they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own countrey building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called upon to march on; and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were: some also gave us hats, & some gave us money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conveyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. John de Ullua: wee should have gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for us. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously used, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought us divers things to comfort us withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the

Certaine Englishmen taken prisoners at the fight at Sant Juan de Ullua.

space of sixe moneths, untill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried unto the town of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place divers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelve. It was no small griefe unto us when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to bee used as slaves, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good providence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished: and yet all the provision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selves to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to live in that miserable state. And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selves, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selves to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head justices, who threatned to hang us for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent us into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen

Robert Sweeting an Englishman.

English gentlemen hostages.

which were delivered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. John de Ullua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Jesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, having but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice us all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfepeny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they having remooved our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Jesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soever was willing, or would have any English man to serve him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Justices within one moneth after notice given, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which [III. 479.] proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of us.

Almost an hundred Englishmen prisoners in Mexico.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we lived with our masters untill the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the severe judgement and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

THe gentlemen that thus tooke us for their servants or slaves did new apparell us through out, with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was for the most part to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite upon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serve one another, but they are all of them attended and served by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their slaves during their life. In this sort we remained and served in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of us were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of us did profite & gaine greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using & intreating of them, would at times as upon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for us, and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 markes or thereabouts, every marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serve sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. John de Ullua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have bene delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Jesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and served in the said countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves: for never untill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and John de Bovilla his companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and setled, and placed in a very faire house neere unto the white Friers, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made upon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conveied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were never past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, [III. 480.] and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of us could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And having the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, y^t in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of us upon our othes what we did beleeve of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeve that the host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of us what we did remember of our selves, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our lives were constrained to say, that we never did beleeve, nor had bene taught otherwise then has before we had sayd. Then would they charge us that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therfore we should cal our selves to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name unto us, so that we could never be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise us, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we have favour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speeches were but means to entrap us, to the hazard and losse of our lives: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for us by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer, & would stil say that we had told the trueth unto them, and knew no more by our selves nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sory for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, and therfore they would have mercy upon us. Yet all this would not serve; for stil from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their judgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then solemnely proclaimed, that whosoever would upon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the

Our men are cruelly rackt.

English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red crosses upon them, both before & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to goe upon either side of every one of us: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went up by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for us to sit downe on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came up another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Justices with them. When they were set downe and placed under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came up also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a [III. 481.]

solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their severe and cruell judgement.

The cruell judgements of the Spanish inquisitors upon our poore countreymen.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres.

After him were called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adjudged to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called John Keyes, and was adjudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serve in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were severally called the number of 53 one after another, and every man had his severall judgement, some to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adjudged to serve in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Storie, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: the sixe were condemned to serve in monasteries without stripes, some for 3 yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount up on horsebacke naked from the middle upward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receive the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serve an apprentiship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

[Chap. 6

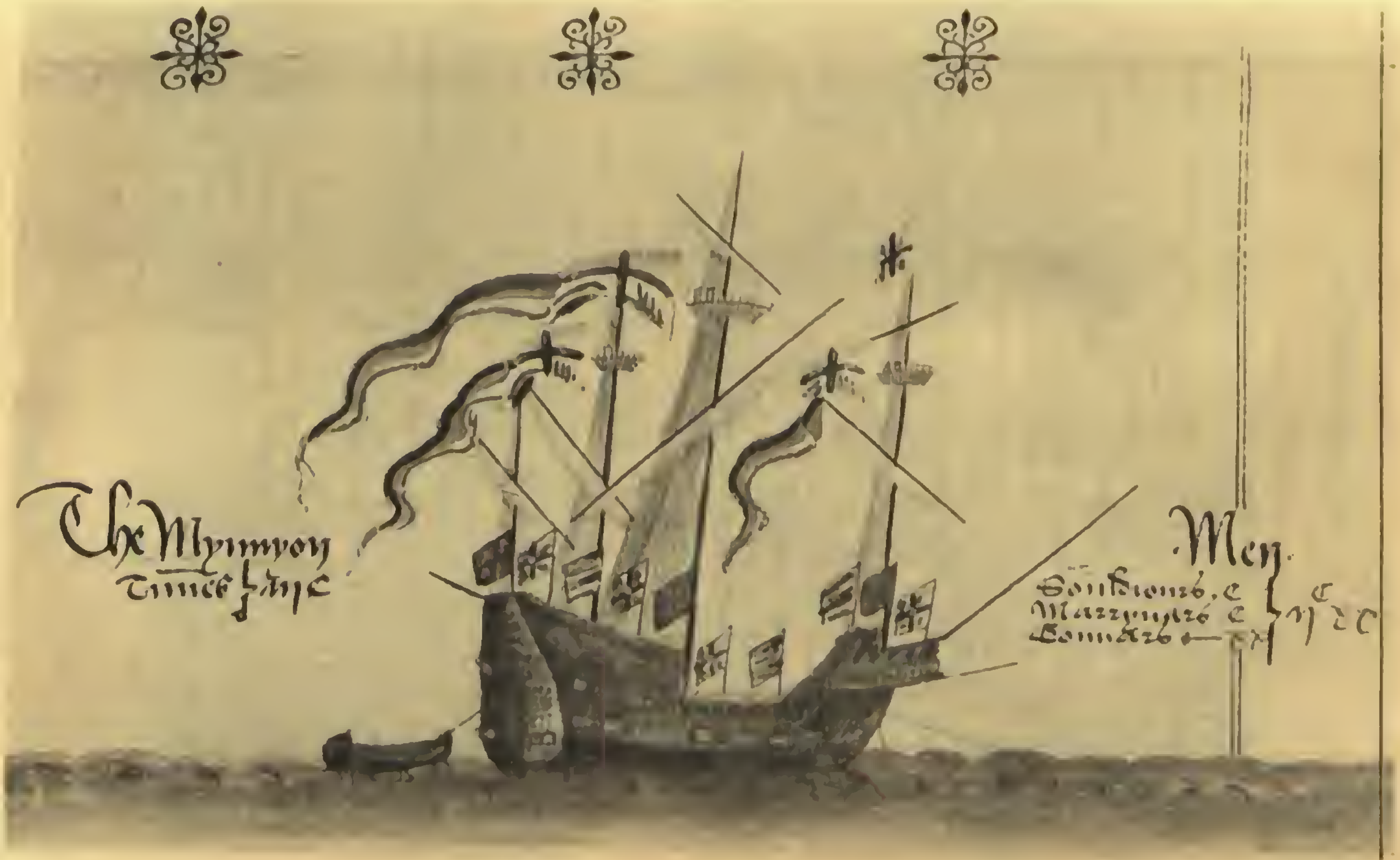
Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were used in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adjudged to serve in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subjection and servitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliverance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in. William [III. 482.] Lowe he was appointed to serve the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, John Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horsewel the Secretary tooke to be his servant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we served out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the use of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friers did use us very courteously: for every one of us had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselves do utterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort us the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that divelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serve in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged up in the head church, called Ecclesia Major, and every mans name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged up, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and judgements, and underneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe up and downe the countrey, and to place our selves as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending us and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. David Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serve the Inquisitor, who shortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is maried to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath maried, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: John Storie is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leave and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could never throughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made unto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could have no liking to live in that place, where I must every where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore

I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my native countrey: and, to returne and serve againe in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that divelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weave Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weaver, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not have taught mee under seven yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I lived the more quiet, and free from suspition. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that divelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here upon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. John de Ullua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall have the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, upon the South sea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle therof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wives & children: upon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of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THE MINION

all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde housholders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men unmaried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel & I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother [III. 483.] but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now governour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out under the leading of several Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. John de Ullua, upon the North Sea under the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine John Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, over whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, having also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily have taken us all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leaving the land upon our left hand, and having coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainely informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the while that I was at Sea, with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have beene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I lived, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, ye next morow after, we began our journey towardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatepec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, having bene foorth about the space of seven weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had travelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in

Tuatepec, Washaca, Tepiaca, Pueblo de los Angeles, Stapelapa.

The Spanish Viceroy prophecied, but falsely.

these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soever I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master having leave of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my journey with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies journey from the port of S. John de Ullua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. John de Ullua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one evening late, the moone shining faire, I conveyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. John de Ullua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied,

Vera Cruz distant 5 leagues from S. Juan de Ullua.

[III. 484.]

affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeve me, but urged stil upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Justices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to convey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceived that I could not denie, and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to convey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in

Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he understood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I shold be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. John de Ullua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison-fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often unto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serve & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a joyfull man, and conveied the same into the foote of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towardes Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing up of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conveyed my selfe into the woods there adjoyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then covered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all saving the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Miles Philips his last wonderfull escape.

[III. 485.]

Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, upon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cavallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arrivall at Havana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to have bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.

THe next morning (day light being come) I perceived by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods upon the left hand: and having left that way that went to Mexico upon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to convey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and travailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: rejoycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towardes the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so travailing South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to overtake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie used against us by the Inquisitors, and truely hee used me very courteously: and I having confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to adventure to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and advise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to travaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and ever as we came to the Indians houses (who used and intertained us well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gave unto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I travailed still South and by East seven dayes journey, passing by certaine Indian townes, untill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cavallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in travailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes journey: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serve us so long time, and tooke with us things to kindle fire every night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selves, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And travailing thus for the space of twelve dayes,

Guatimala on the South sea.

wee came at last to the port of Cavallos upon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I having dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Haven, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger: for said he, it may be that you have killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serve me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and never stayed untill we came to Havana, which is distant from puerto de Cavallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serve in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himselfe went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently provided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. John Ullua. As for ordinance there they have sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Jesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The

Puerto de Cavallos.

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sending of those souldiers to every of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giving him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, advertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully observe and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in every of them there was as good as 30. pipes of silver one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the uttermost of his power, and commanded upon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboord without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and ever as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboord from one ship to another, to see that every man had his ful provision according to the commandement given. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, saving only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe over and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to have held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had

Don Pedro de Guzman.

a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selves to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were upon our voyage from the 4. of June, untill the 10. of September, and never saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare untill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came unto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Sivil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of us. Wel, I perceiving all this, tooke upon me not to suspect any thing, but was still jocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conveyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then never stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Sivil: so that the next morning I came to Sivil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weaving of taffataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walke abroad: and after understanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboord one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leave of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Majorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready fraighted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and

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He commeth home in an English ship from Majorca.

miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my native countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole.

The travailes of Job Hortop, which Sir John Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Haven of S. John de Ullua in Nueva Espanna, the 8. of October 1568.

NOt untruely nor without cause said Job the faithfull servant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell us, to have dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, living a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not unknowen unto many, that I Job Hortop pouder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelve yeeres brought up in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Majesties powder-maker, whom I served, until I was prest to go on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir John Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Majesties ship called the Jesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. having with him another ship of her Majesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Judith, and the William and John. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the space of seven dayes and seven nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men: comming to the Isle of

Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and John were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal caravel, laden with fish called Mullets: from thence we sailed to cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal caravel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master & captaine of the Caravel, and so we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selves. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a clove of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will devoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two Pinnesses into the river called Calousa, to seeke two Caravels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

A remedie against poysoned arrowes.

The river of Calousa.

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In this river in ye night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the river, were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse. This monster hath the just proportion of a horse, saving that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee useth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at unawares to devoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie prevent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree overthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe over it: then the Negroes set upon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the river called the Casserroes, where there were other Caravels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the river and the maine, trees grow with Oisters upon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaves thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be.

From thence with the Angel, the Judith, and the two pinnesses, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went up into the river called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found five Portugals which yeelded themselves to his mercy, and hee saved their lives: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings drove 7000. Negroes into ye sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to save themselves. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnesses to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Judith, and the 2 pinnesses,

The river of Taggarin.

500. *Negroes taken.*

Rio grande.

and found there seven Portugal Carvels, which made great fight with us. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and drove them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the carvels from the shore into the river. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his carvel, the Swallow, and the William and John came into the river, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seven thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take them in a net, & put them in a cage, & nourish them very daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoone.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we escryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we ancored, & tooke in fresh water and wood for our provision: which done, we sayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the sea, wherein doe breede many fowles like unto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their egs aboord with us: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and speckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

Dominica.

Margarita.

Burboroata.

From thence wee sayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, mored our ships, and taried two moneths trimming and dressing our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spanyards of that countrey. There our Generall sent us unto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to have intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for his favour & friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke ye town.

In our way up the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Placencia in the maine.

Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts, which by subtiltie devoure and destroy many men: they use the traded wayes, & wil shew themselves twise or thrise to the travellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly & at unawares they leape upon them and devoure them: they had so used two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships unto the Iland called Coraçao, to make provision for the rest, where they remayned untill his comming. Hee sent from thence the Angel and the Judith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at us from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Governours house: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid five dayes in despite of the Spanyards and their shot. In the mean space there came a Carvel of advise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Judith wee chased and drove to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we drove the Spaniards up into the country above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros.

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Rio de la Hacha taken.

In this river we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seven of us went in the pinnesse up into the River, carying with us a dogge, unto whom with ropeyarne we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put under the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming over his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him over boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed up the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete have long nailes like unto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to have brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and devoure both man and horse.

Santa Martha. From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his cave with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seven foote long: upon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, every one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe shew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

Cartagena. From thence wee sayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would have traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought up the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a cave we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with us, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint John de Ullua. In our way thwart of Campeche *Campeche.*

we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueva, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with us into the Port of S. John de Ullua. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed us. When wee had mored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who sayd, they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselves, yeelded to our Generals demaund, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spanyards to have done the like, delivered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from [III. 490.]

Don Martin de Henriquez the trecherous Vice-roy.

them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be given, whereby any quarel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and mored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards us, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboord, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboord the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa nova sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynado which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleeve. Our General hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, God and Saint George, upon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were

Augustine de villa nueva a most thankelesse traytour.

The Spanish vice-admirall fiered.

spoyled, and blowen over boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, saving three, which by swimming got aboord the Jesus of Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Jesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder under the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was unpossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the Jesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.

One of those three was Job Hortop the reporter hereof.

Foure Spanish ships sunke.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall couragiously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a silver cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culverin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stoode by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage us, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to have turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboord the Jesus of Lubek to our Generall, who said unto him, that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to have run away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboord, and fired his ship in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought under the Jesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboord, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers under the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every houre to be driven with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we [III. 491.] waied anker, and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driven to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, then to sterve on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of us were willing to depart. Our Generall gave unto every one of us sixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us, where friendly imbracing every one of

About an hundred Englishmen landed.

us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him, he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorowful farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England, & so he did.

Since my returne into England I have heard that many misliked that he left us so behind him, and brought away Negroes: but the reason is this, for them he might have had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driven upon the Islands, which for gold nor silver he could not have had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about us, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, untill that we came into a fielde under a grove, where the Indians came upon us, asking us what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard and John Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said wee were Englishmen, that never came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set us on shore: they asked us whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed us to give unto them some of our clothes & shirts, which we did: then he bad us give them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon John Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stoode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore he stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him, who brought us into a great fielde, where we found fresh water: hee bad us sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill five or sixe Deere, and bring them

John Cornish slaine.

us. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whose name was John Cooke, with foure other departed from us into a grove to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as ever they were borne, and so returned to us.

Anthony Goddard. Then we divided our selves into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to James Collier, and thus severally we sought for Panuco. *A river.* Anthony Goddard with his company, bid us farewell, they passed a river, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where *James Collier.* they stayed. James Collier with his company that day passed the same river, and were also robbed, and one of them slaine by chance: wee came that night unto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groves, where the Indians robbed us of all our clothes, and left *8. Englishmen slaine.* us naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of us. Three *Another river.* dayes after we came to another river, there the Indians shewed us the way to Panuco, and so left us: we passed the river into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe us from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. *Seven dayes travell to Panuco.* We travelled there seven dayes, and seven nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiavos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the river of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came over unto us in a Canowe: they asked us how long we had bene in the wildernesse, and where our generall was, for they knewe us to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them seven dayes and seven nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set us on shore, & he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Governour, who sent them with five Canowes to bring us all over, which done, they set us in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances, came forceably upon us, but did not hurt us, they carried us prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the river of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians use for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land, and eateth grasse. I have eaten of it, and it eateth not much unlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running up & downe the sands, I have eaten of them, and they be very good [III. 492.] meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Avocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, having a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serveth them to many uses, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twise every day a certaine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, & that it wax thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they have taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & use it as we use our hempe here in England, which done, they convert it to many uses: of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horses: of the rest they make tyles to cover their houses, and they put it to many other purposes.

A manifold use of Magueis.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seven or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, invironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, & to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times: when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like unto a flannell petticote. The kings pallace was the first place wee were brought unto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about us, many lamented our misery, & some of their clergy asked us if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they: they asked how they might know that, we said, by our confessions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two priests came thither to us, and willed us to blesse our selves, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might understand us, many of our company did so, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked us well, and then they brought us much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where upon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought us: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought us great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang us, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set up, to have executed us, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay until the ship of advise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with us, for they said they could not find any thing by us, whereby they might lawfully put us to death.

The viceroy then commanded us to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico, who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse us, who said, that the viceroy would burne us, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with us. Then the viceroy sent for our master, R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, untill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The rest of us he sent to a towne seven leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaves, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for us, for they would not keepe us any longer, they said that we were devils and no men.

The viceroy sent for us, and imprisoned us in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anthony Goddard, & some other of our company with him into Spaine, with Luçon, the General that tooke us: the rest of us staied in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spanish fleet, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appere by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his neckebones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the shanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle up to his wast, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chestes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of Spaine. [III. 493.] *A description of ginger.* The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like unto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut every fifteene dayes, they use to water them twise a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and use them in their other meates, whose excellent savour and tast is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.

1570. When we were shipped in the Port of S. John de Ullua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and us with him into his cabbin, & asked us if wee would fight against Englishmen if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise he would not have beleeved us, and for that we should be the better used, and have allowance as other men had: and he gave a charge to every one of us, according unto our knowledge, Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, John Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider, & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. John de Ullua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Havana: *Havana.* wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the fleetes joyned in one, and Don Juan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to have cast away all the fleet upon the Cape called Cannaveral, which was prevented by me John Hortop, & our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke over boord, for I saw land under the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boatswaine, & bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm upon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seven fathome water: we shot off a piece, giving advice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloved o the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twise before he had almost cast away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ship came up to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

A sea-monster in the shape of a man.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto us from the middle upwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of sixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God sent us a faire wind, untill such time as we discovered the Iland called Faial.

On S. James day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with us, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selves from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinnesse asterne then but our ship, which gave great courage to our enterprise: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would have served us nine dayes, and provided our selves to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall privy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the rest of us to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and hee sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters and pilots of both fleetes to come aboord of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on every yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selves, for he swore by the king that he would hang us.

When the other Admiral, and the rest were come aboord, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determined to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fireworke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will have you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands unto that, for I sweare by the king that I will hang them, [III. 494.] Diego Flores de Valdes answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would have done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe us fast in prison, till he came into Spaine, & then send us to the Contratation house in Sivil, where, if we had deserved death the law would passe on us, for hee would not have it said that in such a fleet as that was, sixe men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to us, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks til we came into Spaine: within

16 dayes after we came over the bar of S. Lucar, and came up to the Hurcados, then he put us into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent us prisoners to the Contratation house in Sivill. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Stevens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, I Job Hortop, John Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and John Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation house, where we remained in the stocks till twelfe tide was past. Then our keeper put up a petition to the Judge of the contratation house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Sivill, for that we broke prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought us out in procession, every one of us having a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought us up on an high scaffold, that was set up in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Sivill: there they set us downe upon benches, every one in his degree, and against us on another scaffold sate all the Judges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on us, some pittying our cases, other said, burne those heretikes. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to us: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went up into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and John Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Judges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret and John Gilbert burned.

Then I Job Hortop, and John Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to have the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and

Job Hortop his condemnation.

from thence to goe to the everlasting prison remedilesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serve in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and John Emery to serve five yeeres, & so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to us, and delivered to every one of us his sentence in writing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: every mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canvas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shaven every month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our several times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I served two yeeres above my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition house in Sivill, and there having put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the everlasting prison remedilesse, where I wore the coat 4. yeres, & then upon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I served for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and until the moneth
1590. of October last, 1590, and then I came from Sivill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flieboat, that was laden with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subjects, dwelling in Sivil, maried to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last, departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southermost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Ports-

mouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas even I took my leave of his honor, and came to Redriffe. 1590.

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation house in Sivill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere. [III. 495.]

I was in the Gallies twelve yeeres.

In the everlasting prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I served as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, untill this time of my returne, I was five times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. John de Ullua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine saving I, and two other that by swimming got aboord the Jesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would have hanged us.

Fourthly, because he could not have his mind to hang us, he would have burnt us.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought us into Spaine, would have hanged us at sea.

Thus having truely set downe unto you my travels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

[A relation

A relation of the Haven of Tecuanapa, a most convenient place for building of ships, situate upon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent unto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: wherein are described the rivers of Ometepec, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Haven, with the townes, people, and mountaines adjoyning to the said rivers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

The Port of Tecuanapa.

The Bishopricks of Guaxacan, & Tlarcali.

Cuahintla.

Tulaningo a small lake.

THe Port and small harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet upon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they have done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea & certaine great and large woods of orenge trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines have many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be travelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of sandy way.

And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth unto Quacapotla a mansion of Intla.

Quacapotla.

The river of Ometepec.

The river of Ometepec being the principal river which commeth to this haven hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues from this haven, from divers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks joyne together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which runneth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec unto Yanguitle a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconveniences being past (which in my judgement may be about one league) the river is more navigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same river it hath great quantitie of woods which use to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber-trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may bee caried downe the river, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the river, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the service and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout.

Nicaragua.

Xicaian.

At the head of these brooks where the river beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude speech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, little more or lesse.

The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

[III. 496.] *Aioanapa.* A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heires of Perez Gomez, having in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speach and qualitie. The countrey is more subject to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the sea 20. leagues.

Suchistlahuaca. Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said river, and the inhabitants are of the same speach and qualities. The countrey is more subject to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzalvo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.

Ometepec. From this towne unto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hot, and in the same government, and is situate betweene certaine hils one league from the river: he and his followers have under them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.

Ihualapa. From this towne unto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the government of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the foresaid temperature, and the people use the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the river, and from the sea ten leagues.

These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are upon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the province is resident for the most part of the yeere. *Niciecan.*

Pio a frontier towne against the Mexicans. More lowe beneath the river of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Graviel de Chiavez a citizen of Mexico hath the governement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea.

Huehuatlan.

A little below this is the towne of Huehuatlan in the selfe same governement standing one league from the river on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues.

Cuahuacpotla.

And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahucapotla a mansion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the river, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

Cacatepec.

At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the government of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants have under them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues.

The river of Tlacamama.

The river which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed river, so big, that it is navigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is navigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink up the water in such wise, that there remaineth so little, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this river one league from the place where it is cut, unto the place that I have spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh unto that place other brooks and running waters doe joyne and meet, which make it a maine river. It hath nigh unto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere unto the rivers there is much timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the river of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe unto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.

Atoiaque. This river hath likewise townes adjoyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoiaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

Xicaian. One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Justice; it is from the river a league and a halfe.

Pinotespan. A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of Pinotespan subject to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subject unto it 500. Indians.

The towne of Tlacamama. Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the river is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

[III. 497.] *A lake having hard salt growing under the water.* More toward the South 5. leagues from the river, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne called Pinotespan del Rey: They are handsome people, but of slow speach: this towne conteineth about 100. Indians like unto the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they have a lake in which salte groweth under the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserved together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones upon the ground under the water.

It hath also the towne of Amusgos, which is in the government of Fernando de Avila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amusgan tongue. The countrey is hotte: it standeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this river.

Neere upon this river are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Bravo, and the other to him that maketh this relation unto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala situate upon the river, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath beene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

Quesala.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a large mountainous and waste countrey, which aboundeth with cattell being 3. leagues from the river; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alonso Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king, a towne of 19 housholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that countrey. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league.

Cuahintlan del Rey.

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is a garden of Cacao in the landes of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this river of Tlacamama unto the sea: and this foresaid river entreth into the river of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The river of Tlacolula.

The river of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chilsiztlahuaca subject to Comastlahuaca a towne of Suchistlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This river is navigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the river of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the sea.

Azoyoque.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abovenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilsiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this haven must bee the building of ships, the provinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the province of Tututepec being neighbour to the river of Tlacamama, and the province of Tlapa to the river of Tlacolula. For they may, as I have sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the rivers, and may use the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell, and draw the same out of the cold mountaines; for in the warm countreyes the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought unto the place where it should be imbarqued.

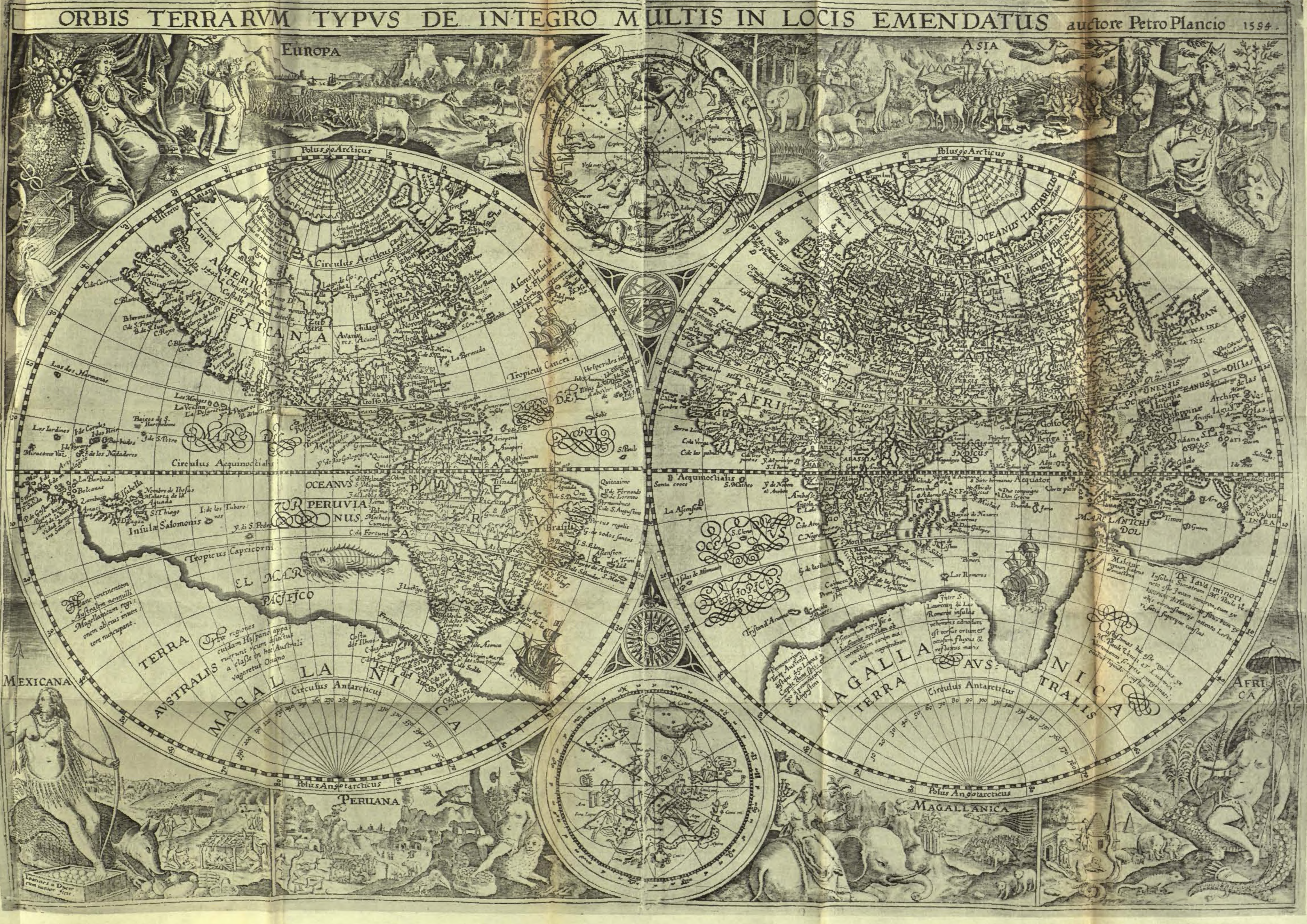
The provinces of Tututepec and Tlapa.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas unto the townes thereabout, and lade themselves with victuals: For they have already come by that river to the rode of Ometepec, & made there provision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Majestie did people the plaines which are betweene these rivers, conteining a large and voyde countrey sufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furnished with water and pasture without any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being seene and viewed, seemeth very commodious for to build shippes in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpose, with the commodities of rivers, and with the service and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coast townes.

Tecuanepa a most fit harborough to build ships for the South sea.

The desire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to serve your excellencie; who therewithall desireth the Lord God to give the successe.


ORBIS TERRARVM TYPVS DE INTEGRO MVLTIS IN LOCIS EMENDATVS auctore Petro Plancio 1594.
EUROPA
ASIA
MEXICANA
AFRICA
PERUANA
MAGALLANICA
Polus Arcticus
Circulus Arcticus
Tropicus Cancri
Circulus Aequinoctialis
Aequinoctialis
Tropicus Capricorni
Circulus Antarcticus
Polus Antarcticus
AMERICA
MEXICANA
NOVA FRANCIA
OCEANVS PERUVIANUS
MAR DEL NORT
EL MAR PACIFICO
Insula Salomonis
TERRA AVSTRALIS MAGALLANICA
OCEANUS TARTARICUS
ASIA
AFRICA
IAPAN
OCEANUS AETHIOPICUS
MAGALLANICA TERRA AVSTRALIS
Ioannes a Doetecum iunior fecit

MAP OF THE WORLD BY PETER PLANCIUS. A.D. 1594

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INDIA

The Principal Voyages of the English Nation [III. 498.] to the Isles of Trinidad, Margarita, Dominica, Deseada, Monserrate, Guadalupe, Martinino, and all the rest of the Antilles; As likewise to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, to Hispaniola, Jamaica and Cuba: and also to Tierra Firma, and all along the coast and Islands therof, even from Cumana and the Caracos to the neckland of Dariene, and over it to the Gulfe of S. Michael and the Isle of Perles in the South sea: and further to Cabeça Cativa, Nombre de dios, and Venta de cruzes, to Puerto Belo, Rio de Chagre, and the Isle of Escudo, along the maine of Beragua, to the Cape and Gulfe of the Honduras, to Truxillo, Puerto de Cavallos, and all other the principall Townes, Islands and harbours of accompt within the said Gulfe, and up Rio dolce falling into this Gulfe, above 30. leagues: As also to the Isle of Coçumel, and to Cape Cotoche, the towne of Campeche, and other places upon the land of Iucatan; and lower downe to S. Juan de Ullua, Vera Cruz, Rio de Panuco, Rio de Palmas, &c. within the Bay of Mexico: and from thence to the Isles of the Tortugas, the port of Havana, the Cape of Florida, and the Gulfe of Bahama homewards. With the taking, sacking, ransoming, or burning

of most of the principall Cities and townes upon
the coasts of Tierra firma, Nueva Espanna, and
all the foresaid Islands; since the most traiterous
burning of her Majesties ship the Jesus of Lubec
and murthering of her Subjects in the port of S.
Juan de Ullua, and the last generall arrest of her
Highnesse people, with their ships and goods
throughout all the dominions of the King
of Spaine in the moneth of June 1585.
Besides the manifold and tyrannicall
oppressions of the Inquisition
inflicted on our nation upon
most light and frivolous
occasions.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Juan de Puerto rico.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discoverie undertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the overthrow thereof unto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath bene seene & proved in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soveraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes under the governance of Sebastian Cabot yet living and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee have spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily have come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Sivill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since have beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discovered the North parts, the which it seemeth unto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you have taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace have made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas

This sir Tho. Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Popler at Blackwall.

[III. 499.]

Note.

in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would have the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonsalvo de Oviedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth unto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. Nel 1517. Un Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire á discoprire se ne venne con una gran nave alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, & indi attraverso á questa isola Spagnuola, & giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, & chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello instante il castellano Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla nave un tiro d'artiglieria da questo castello, perche ella se ne veniva diritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi viddero questo si ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in nave. Et nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse nave entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare à terra senza volontà & della città & del castello. La nave adunque veggendo come vi era ricevuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San Giovanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la nave, & si lamentarono di quelli di questa città, dicendo che essi non venivano per fare dispiacere, ma per contrattare,

An English great shippe at Brasill 1517.

San Juan de puerto Rico.

& negotiare con suoi danari & mercantie. Hora quivi hebbero alcune vettovaglie, & in compensa essi diedero & pagarono in certi stagni lavorati & altre cose. Et poi si partirono alla volta d'Europa, dove si crede, che non gungessero, perche non se ne seppe piu nuova mai. This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an English Rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great shippe unto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed over unto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived neere unto the mouth of the haven of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leave to enter into this haven, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the governour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the haven. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselves with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an oversight: for if the shippe had entred into the haven the men thereof could not have come on lande without leave both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were received, sayled toward the Iland of S. John, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gave and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arrived not: for wee never heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsalvo de Oviedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rover, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. John de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee prejudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie.

[III. 500.] A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which under hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, unto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his servant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: unto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can conjecture) may seeme to have bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre us from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster John Haukins having made divers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and upright dealing being growen in love and favour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisments and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that devise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly provided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall: The second the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Jonas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines *M. Thomas Hampton.*

roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not above 100. men for feare of sicknesse and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where hee received friendly intertainement. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled over the Ocean sea unto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies upon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he received in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine. And thus leaving the Iland, he returned and disemboqued, passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the moneth of September 1563.

The Iles of Caycos.

The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Jesus of Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

[III. 501.]

MAster John Hawkins with the Jesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Majestie, whereof was Captaine David Carlet, and also her consort the John Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort.

October 18.

The Minion, the John Baptist, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde untill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the John Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small rejoycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he having put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained five dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the Jesus, and to speake twise a day with the Jesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee over the poope of the Jesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Jesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Jesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where hee was, for the rejoycing whereof hee gave them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins upon the coast of England they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigan-

A dreadfull mischance by fire.

dine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunke before their eyes.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, having nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, having a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to have beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues ahead of us, kept on her course to Teneriffe, having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, upon which course having sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge upon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer untill the morning, being the seventh of November, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the [III. 502.] space of two houres, to perceive some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arrivall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to have sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the governours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to have landed, suddenly there appeared upon the two points of the roade, men levelling of bases

The Ile of Palmes.

Gomera and Teneriffe.

and harguebuzes to them, with divers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to avoyde it without some mischiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiving, desired to put his men aside, and hee himselfe would leape a shoare and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to have certaine necessaries provided for him. In the meane space, while these things were providing, hee trimmed the maine mast of the Jesus which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he sojourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gave him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnesse of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I have heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they have grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine & raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they have many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people

Santa Cruz.

A briefe description of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

for victuals, and being olde, they are used for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and unlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, saving the great toe, a backe bearing up like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath given him in his breast to leane upon. This beast liveth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water have they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible unto a man to beleeve such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a divine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to marvell, seeing he did by his providence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heaven, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaves are narrower, and are like the leaves of a peare tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which have beene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in heigth by their reports twentie leagues, having both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this Pike

Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I have heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I have seene many, and in my judgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

[III. 503.] The 15. of November at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Caravels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would have spoken, but they fearing us, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was overthrowen by the oversight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driven half a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recoverie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who having wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recovered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting upon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is upon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of November especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals have no holde for their defence, but have rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fishing upon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, having long haire without any apparell, saving before their privie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

The 26 we departed from S. Avis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selves with fish, and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, saving before their privities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heads like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a jolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares have warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary five or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more civill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a sea brake out upon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to save themselves in their boats: but by Gods providence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shore, to the Isle Brava, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman having forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

in our ship, by their perswasions came away with us: but his entertainement amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to have taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gave them there to understand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoyde the snares we had layd for them.

Alcatrarses or Ganets. The 8 of December wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gave the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being used to the sight of men, flew so about us, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with *The Sapies.* their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not passe over, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but used a marveilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to [III. 504.] beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

Rio grande.

The Idols.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Jesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Island we stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space have so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so aboundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other. These inhabitants have diverse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaves, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses have white teeth as we have, farre unlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a braverie, to set out themselves, and doe jagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Jerkinmaker with us pinketh a jerkin. These Sapies be more civill then the Samboses: for

The Island called Sambula.

The Samboses.

Sapies.

whereas the Samboses live most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, unlesse in the warre they be driven by necessitie thereunto, which they have not used but by the example of the Samboses, but live onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they have great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be therunto provoked by the invasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, untill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that provoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies which is for covetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies have an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge up the ground, to have the same treasure: for the Samboses have not the like store of golde, that the Sapies have. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, having a beakhead and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artifically carved, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and upward. In these canoas they rowe standing upright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The Samboses man-eaters.

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

The Canoas of Affrica.

Their Townes are pretily divided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another overthwart street, which maketh their townes

The forme of their townes.

crosse wayes: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a dovecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaves, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heigth, & thatched with Palmito leaves very close, other some with reede, and over the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contrived like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals: a place they reserve at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is devided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedsteades are of small staves layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, upon which is layde a matte, and another upon them when they list: for other covering they have none. In the middle of the towne there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adjoyning unto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe over it, the grounde also raised round with claye a foote high, upon the which floore were strawed many fine mats: this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the Elders upon the floore by him: (for they give reverence to their Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slave. They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this

The Consultation house or towne-howse.

[III. 505.]

Palmito is a wilde date.

devided part and portion-like to every man, by the judgement of the Captaine and Elders, every man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I judge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, every man would have the same, which might breed great strife: but of such things, as every man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne use, so that nothing is common, but that which is unset by mans hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Evats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with us of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also use in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the juyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they have target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flie level, rather then for any other purpose as I can judge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answere Heygre, and with that every man placeth himselfe in order, for about every target man three bowemen will cover themselves, and shoote as they see advantage: and when they give the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like unto devils. In this Island aforesayde wee sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might have laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure divers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions,

A venemous Cucumber.

Idoles like devils.

which having prooved, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes having fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe up to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went up without weapon, and as he went up alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were upon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceaving him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, overthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the River, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Johns Pinnesse, and the Salomons boate, leaving at anker in the Rivers mouth the two shippes, the River being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Caravels, loaden with Negros.

The river Calowsa.

The 27. the Captaine was advertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not above fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would give the adventure upon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaves: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the

The Towne of Bimba.

Portugals not to be trusted. Want of circumspection in our men.

number of fortie men well appointed, having to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came [III. 506.] upon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to 40 of them, and being driven downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boates; othersome not able to recover the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus wee returned backe some what discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seven of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine

M. Field Captaine of the Salomon slaine.

of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marveilous miracle to them in the shippes, who road ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Jesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Jesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift having twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

The 28 they came to their ships, the Jesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin.

The first of January the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a river called the Casserroes, and the 6 having dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to have filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set upon them in the boates, and hurt divers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelve buts, which lost us 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: sojourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went up the river about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they understood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to invade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would have seene, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made us to make hast away.

The river of Casserroes.

A new assault by the Negros.

Great townes.

Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Januarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came downe to us, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee understood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of us, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the evening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

Tangomangos.

[III. 507.] The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, having nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados, amongst the same calme, which happened to us very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such feare that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Island, and also others adjacent are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are never able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driven to water there in any of those Islands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Caravel being driven to water, was in the night sette upon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driven a shore, and so taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driven to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted upon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not have missed, but should have bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them devils in respect of me.

Dominica Island.

Canybals exceeding cruell, and to be avoyded.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeves and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men: but the Governour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to trafficke: and to displease us the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to have gone with us, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with us, but also sent word by a Caravel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arrivall in those partes, which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Governour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selves, by some of the Indians comming to see us who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by us, went unto the Indians, having every one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conversant with us.

The Testigos Island.
Margarita Island.

Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but

Cumana.

souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marveilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to us, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, having thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to us Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

Santa Fe.

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious then any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Olive, having every one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men covering no part of their body but their yard, upon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leaving the other parts of their members uncovered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are uncovered, saving with a cloth which they weare a hand-breath, wherewith they cover their privities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for travelling they cary but two

[III. 508.]

The description of the Indians of Terra firma.

small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the juice of Sorrell whereof they have great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary every man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselves and their horses with quilted canvas of two ynches thicke, and leave no place of their body open to their enemies, saving their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poyson is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my judgement it is like there can be no stronger poyson as they make it, using thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poyson, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The use of Sorrell.

Armour of quilted canvas two ynches thicke.

The making of their poison.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them have hanging breastes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and upon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreover, when they are delivered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselves, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they have are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of divers colours, which they cary about with them when they travell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people

The maners of the yong women.

be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to live peaceably, or els had it bene unpossible for the Spaniards to have conquered them as they did, and the more to live now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

The Isle of Tortuga.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land, and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred sixty five aforesaide, and sayled along the coast untill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Jesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens unto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gave such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to have them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not have denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would have it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would have bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more devilish a thousand partes and are eaters and devourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared unto us at Burboroata, by a Caravel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoore with sundry tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being mooved, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner ashore, but with foure or five more was taken, the rest of his company being invaded by them, saved themselves by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their lives, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countreymen if they can conveniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is marveilous: for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may over-runne 100. of them, they have a devise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselves politique warriers. They have more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards have, and live upon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards have much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

[III. 509.]

Thus having escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, upon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subjects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do:

Burboroata.

A.D. 1565.

for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and having many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, not yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spain and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governour to whom the government of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their governour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiving all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receive no good answere from the governour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them, they would bee recovered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to have made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answere because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marveiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as ever they sawe the shippes, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet asked two dayes to seeke their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marveiled much, and asked him what cause mooved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to have his licence.

[III. 510.] To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to countervaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted unto. And the next day did sell some of them, who having bought and payed for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gave it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done untill the Governours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Majesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, unto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great service, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being upon every slave 30. duckets, which would not be granted unto.

An hundreth Englishmen in armour.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceived by the Governour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward untill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should have. So our Captaine declaring how unreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Governour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made trafique in the harborough untill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort having imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eager, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened unto the Minion: besides the Captaine Davie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for us to understand.

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

Thus having ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leaving the Frenchman behinde us, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I have made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to have burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiving them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready sadled, in the night set upon them, & tooke one,

[III. 511.]

May.

Horses kept ready sadled.

but the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that divers times they had made invasion upon them, had for his traveile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

The sixt of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to have anckered, but could not find ground, and having let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe: and the seventh sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that saving the skinnes, we had the flesh given us for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate unrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattle in Curazao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marveilous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the governour, in 25. yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, & of other cattel was able to kill without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saveth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaveth to the foule to devoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely upon the Governours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth unto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, saving the skinne and tongue taken away. And it is not so marveilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, having delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede upon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeve, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase therof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to asswage the number of them, but they are devoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marveile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet have they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing. *Great numbers of wilde dogs.*

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the rejoycing of our Captaine and us, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to have anker-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned up and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards use to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not overshoot, he ankered that night *Aruba.* *La Rancheria.* *Rio de la Hacha.*

againe, & the 19. came thither; where having talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, & shewed a certificate of the same, made by the governour thereof, & therefore he desired to have the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and councill of S. Domingo, who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist us, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with us in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the [III. 512.] Queenes Majesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driven besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that having the force he hath, to be driven from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So upon this it was determined hee should have licence to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale have the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to

M. Hawkins his letter to the Treasurer of Rio de la Hacha.

his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culvering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a shore, having in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceived by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weaving us a shore, whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us in deed. But our Captaine perceiving them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At every shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere unto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselves so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as brave a shew as might be, coursing up and downe with their horses, their brave white leather Targets in the one hand, and their javelings in the other, as though they would have received us at our landing. But when wee landed, they gave ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would have landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to have encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marveiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The having got in other places, they had secretly conveyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a convenient place to do such a feat, and time also serving thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely unarmed and unprovided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to provoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that *I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards us, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marveiled, and revoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the unreadinesse of our men, of whom advantage might have bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to give knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere us, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay us least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing us so neere our men they stayed their horses, comming together, and suffring us to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would have departed, whereby they should have bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing us gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspition might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all injuries conceived of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leaving pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, saving for the governers debt, which the one

The auther of this storie.

by no meanes would answere, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it untill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go under saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behaviour there, could not have the same untill hee were under saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, & received it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leave and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conveyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Jamaica, marveiling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driven so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Jamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Jamaica, having [III. 514.] occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiving the land, made as though he knew every place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selves at the West end of Jamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting up againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would have done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by overshooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might have gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for joy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out ever by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not beleeve him, but thought it unpossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not ever thinking to have seene his owne Countrey, did see the same, went upon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

June.

Thus having sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seventh of June, being made to beleeve by the Spaniard that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeve he was so farre driven to leeward, and therfore setting his course to

The deceitfull force of the current.

Jamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the same, perceived then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Jamaica, and that the cloudes did deceive him, whereof he marvelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the overshooting of Jamaica: for by this did he also overpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: & thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to have raised great profite by his trafique, and also to have found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obteine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes overpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water untill hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should have bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very convenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow: and therfore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not unneedfull: for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in

Two hundred ylands for the most part not inhabited.

the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to save her selfe.

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Thus the 17. of June, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking us, which is the Northeast winde, put us the 24. from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to have the helpe of the current, which was judged to have set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selves in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selves the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelve fadome water, having all the while no sight of land.

Florida.

[III. 515.]

The Isles of Tortugas.

Great store of birds.

The fift of July we had sight of certeine Islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might have done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to live both in the water and upon land also, but breed onely upon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which have both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proved, eating much like veale; and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: here we lay

A hill called the Table.

The port of Havana.

off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to have watered in the morning, if we could have done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to have plied to wind-ward to Havana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to have one the company of another. This hill we thinking to have beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Havana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeve he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Havana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Havana. To which persuasion credit being given by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was persuaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seventh and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiving his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would have bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelve dayes worke, & what it would have bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not above a dayes water and therfore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not live with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might have such accesse with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer us to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards have very wel proved the same) sent us the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but every man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoever had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, unawares overshot Havana; at which place wee thought to have watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had overshot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleventh day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we understood that we had overshot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no convenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water upon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set upon them, and therefore durst not approch them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands upon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driven backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water upon the Islands aforesaid; who spent a great part of the day in rowing

The state of the current of Florida.

thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but [III. 516.] they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And having lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not prevaile against the same, but were driven backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barkes ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would have it, now time being come, and they having tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, having sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly rejoyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then ever they were: for by this they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to have found them. Truly God wrought marvellously for them, for they themselves having no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to have made provision for victuals, and with such things as they could have gotten, either to have gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would have bene very hard for them to have done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to have remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receive victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, untill which time God might have provided for them. But how contrary this would have fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to judge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest; which the Spanyards well prooved, who being five hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking upon him to persuade the people to subjection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled over his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, aswel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them newes of the recovery of the men, which was not a little to the rejoycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day come to an anker, and so from sixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering every night, because we would overshoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed along the shore, went into every creeke, speaking with divers of the Floridians, because hee would understand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twenty degrees, as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat, and never left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a river, by them called the river of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was marvellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came upon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with palmito-leaves, having no place divided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe upon certeine pieces of wood

M. Hawkins ranged all the coast of Florida.

The river of May.

Florida found to be cut into Islands.

Sorell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houses of Florida.

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hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make provision for victuals, which they provide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be marvelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely use deere skinnes, wherewith some onely cover their privy members, othersome use the same as garments to cover them before and behind; which skinnes are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke & russet, and every man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as every man in his owne fancy deviseth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they use with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may have better hold. In their warres they use a sleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they use bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives, which they having gotten of the French men, broke the same, & put the points of them in their arrowes head: some of them

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

have their heads of silver, othersome that have want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they use a marvellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this policy they used with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet have the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the captaines owne report, a counseller with us could not give a more profound reason.

The French fort.

Monsieur Laudonniere.

The women also for their apparell use painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire downe to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this river of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesses of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues up, which they had built, in which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certeine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to understand of a watering-place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have licence for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared unto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driven certeine of them to serve a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals: which having gotten, could not serve them, being so many, so long a time: but want came upon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitternesse of them, they did use for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holesome, and such as serve rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the river before their doores, but would have all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a roving, where they spoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and having taken two caravels laden with wine and casavi, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Jamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such evill doers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of five and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were

Bread made of akorns.

[III. 518.]

put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged upon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly craving of maiz, having no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; wherby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen: and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such times as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set upon by eighteene kings, having seven or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & drove them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be marvelled at: for having shot at divers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiving that their arrowes did not prevaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, having not above forty souldiers left unhurt, whereby they might ill make any more invasions upon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must have beene driven unto, had not God sent us thither for their succour; for they had not above ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieved by M. Hawkins.

Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

Labourers necessary to inhabit new countreys.

we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would have taken paines to get the same; but they being souldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere marvellous store, with divers other beasts, and fowle, serviceable to the use of man. These be things wherewith a man may live, having corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good savory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beverage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen did use to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therfore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to have labourers to till and sowe the ground: for they having victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may live not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall have abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of us, when we see another man ever taking away from us, although we have enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selves: for surely we have heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz rosted, will travell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they give them nothing but sodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they travell, have a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therwith they live foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and silver they want not: for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they received for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giving them nothing for it: the which they perceiving, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigorously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that saving at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and silver the

Tobacco & the great vertue thereof.

[III. 519.]

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and silver.

French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who having travelled to the Southwest of the cape, having found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also have found the same: and there finding masts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, judged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that divers wracks have beene made of Spanyards, having much treasure: for the Frenchmen having travelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a caravel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelve yeeres; of whose fellowes some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde & silver, for it is wrought flat and graven, which they weare about their neckes; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulster up their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to have great breasts. As for mines either of gold or silver, the Frenchmen can heare of none they have upon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they have not made the proofe, because they were but few men: but it is not unlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver aswell as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of rosting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards use to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be divers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should use dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oisters which have the smallest

Two Spanyards lived long among ye Floridians.

Pieces of Gold graven among ye Floridians.

Florida esteemed an Island.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Savages, Sycroa phyra.

Pearles.

sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleven or twelve fadome.

Unicornes hornes, which ye inhabitants call Souanamma.

The Floridians have pieces of unicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of those unicornes they have many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the river to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this unicornes horne there are of our company, that having gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to shew. It is therfore to be presupposed that there are more commodities aswell as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reveale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certeinly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as unicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the unicornes: for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I have made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, upon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her tail about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of us, and affirmed the

Beasts.

Faulcons in Florida.

same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the [III. 520.] Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they have in the river, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and divers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, having a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof have foure wings, but the other have but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt-heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to avoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serve them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further they fall into the water, and having wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes above the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fisgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500. leagues. There is a sea-fowle also that chaseth this flying fish aswell as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies,

Serpents.

Flying fishes.

and yet by flying do avoid the unsatiablenesse of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put upon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leap thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceived. We tooke also dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no lesse delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both upon land and upon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh rivers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, having all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the upper neb hangeth an inch over the nether; and an egript, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearnshaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle above all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which is fained to be the lovingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this lovingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I have seene of them as white as a swan, having legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether jaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receive a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ougly.

Dolphins.

Flemingo.

The egript.

The pellicane.

Here I have declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme unto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and silver, is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed upon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I have seene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelve head of beasts in five & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattel onely would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with us: which surely is not to be marvelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they have a shower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more fervent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subject.

Meanes to reape a sufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

From thence wee departed the 28 of July, upon our [III. 521.] voyage homewards, having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose: and tooke leave of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with us, so that we were divers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of ever comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better provided for us, then our deserving. In which state of great miserie, wee were provoked to call upon him by fervent prayer, which mooved him to heare us, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set us so farre shot, as to be upon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eve, and we sounded therupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieved us: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or five dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such good intertainement at sea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, silver, pearles and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

Their arrivall in Padstow in the moneth of September, 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. John Hawkins.
M. John Chester, {sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, {with divers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoved by me John Sparke the younger, who went upon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Jesus of Lubeck, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. John Hawkins.

A storme.

Gomera.

Envenomed Arrowes.

THe ships departed from Plimmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather untill the seventh day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the Jesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serve the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to give over the voyage: but the eleventh day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of November, towards the coast of Guinea, and arrived at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of November: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine some Negros, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thankes be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time upon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the rivers from Rio Grande, unto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Januarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded us away: and thus having nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to have obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to have defraied our charge. But even in that present instant, there came to us a Negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, aswell of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to give aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies adversaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men prevailed not, but lost sixe men and fortie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with dry Palme leaves) obtained the towne, put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or never found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooved his campe and prisoners, so that we were

[III. 522.]

A towne of 8000 negros taken.

No trueth in Negros.

faine to content us with those few which we had gotten our selves.

Now had we obtained between foure and five hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervaile our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainement, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water, he had fortified his towne with divers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to have inforced us to have put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his favour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly.

Cartagena.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to have seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the governour was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of July, hoping to have escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to us the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather upon the point to leave her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Haven for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast: thus being in greater dispaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serveth the citie of Mexico called Saint John de Ullua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to us the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the Port of Saint John de Ullua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking us to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord us, which

Furicanos.

Storme.

[III. 523.]

Saint John de Ullua a Port.

The Spaniards deceived. being deceived of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port twelve ships which had in them by report two hundred thousand pound in gold & silver, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from us, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arrivall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our *Our requests.* shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Councell there should with all convenient speede take order, that at the arrivall of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene us and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arrivall, in the next morning which was the seventeenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Haven thirteene great shippes, *The fleete of Spaine.* and understanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to advertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to *The maner of the Port S. John de Ullua.* be understood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that unlesse the shippes be very safely mored with their ankers fastened upon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Haven was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleete from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never faile to execute, where they may have opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Majesties indignation in so waightie a matter. Thus with my selfe revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Jutt of the uncertainty, then the certaintie. The uncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be prevented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arrivall of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Province of Mexico (otherwise called Nueva Espanna) and in the sea, who sent us word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had understood of our honest behaviour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and

North windes perilous.

1800 *thousand pound.*

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requests.

licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelve gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleven peeces of brasse: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore: but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelve hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were received, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace upon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. [III. 524.] Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded & the fleete entered the Port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, thursday we entred the Port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2. daies placing the English ships by themselves & the Spanish ships by themselves, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which even as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set upon us on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending

The peace concluded.

of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, & many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to have a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to unplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answere, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was mored next unto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Jesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discovered, foorthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set upon us: our men which warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour of the ships; the Spaniardes being before provided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men a shore without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboord the Jesus. The great ship which had by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboord the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to avoide, and so leesing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sternefastes she was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being past out, they came aboord the Jesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the Jesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes and gotten out by the sterne-fastes. Nowe when the

A Viceroy false of his faith.

The treason brake foorth.

The Minion escaped hardly.

The Jesus escaped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. ships of the Spaniards consumed.

Jesus and the Minion were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Viceadmirall burned and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy us.

A hard case.

Then it is to be understood, that all the Ordinance upon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the Jesus, in such sort that there was no hope to carrie her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon we determined to place the Jesus on that side of the Minion, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessaries from the Jesus, as the time would suffer us, and to leave her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with us, and having no meanes to avoide the fire, it bredde among our men a marvellous feare, so that some sayd, let us depart with the Minion, other said, let us see whither the winde will carrie the fire from us. But to be short, the Minions men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was received into the Minion.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A storme.

The most part of the men that were left alive in the Jesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receive, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and the Judith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsooke us in our great miserie: we were now remooved with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bow-shootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recovered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke us a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes upon death which ever was present, but God preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and having a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might give themselves to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorowful hearts we wandred in an unknowen Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced us to seek the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they served the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor haven of reliefe, but a place where having faire weather with some perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

[III. 525.]

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Miseries.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.

An hundred men set on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

The next day having a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboord, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ship: the ship also was in such perill that every houre we looked for shipwracke.

The greatest miserie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on us, and sent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of November, which day God be praysed we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for us to recover England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieve our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arrived the last day of December in a place neere unto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable disseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray us, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelve fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of January 1568 arrived in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deathes of the Martyrs. JOHN HAWKINS.

The first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572, Written and recorded by one Lopez Vaz a Portugall borne in the citie of Elvas, in maner follow: which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the river of Plate by the ships set foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

THere was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who having intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueva Espanna, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men, & leaving 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and [III. 526.] there discharged his calivers, & sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that uprore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them joyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discover the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their calivers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answere them, and hearing the calivers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had received there, came to the sound of Dariene, and having conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and silver from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of these Negros went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their drivers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the silver through the mountaines.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seven marchants, but found no golde nor silver but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt above 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-boord, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The voyage of John Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the west India, and over the straight of Dariene into the South sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

THere was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done upon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of his good adventure and safe returne home, was thereby provoked to undertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and silver which came upon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with souldiers, he determined to do that which never any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man covered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leaving any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his calivers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelve leagues into the maine land, to a river that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was five and fortie foote by the keele, and having made this Pinnesse, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is five & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to

The Iland of pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of silver in barres, with the [III. 527.] which hee thought to have gone, & entred the river, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnesse againe, & so sailing to the river from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd river, hee sent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnesse he went up the river. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Governour within two dayes sent foure barkes 100 men, 25 in every one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine John de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone up the river, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the river, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the river to goe up in, and being determined to goe up the greatest of the three rivers, he saw comming downe a lesser river many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went up that river where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that river foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnesse upon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other five escaped away, and in the pinnesse he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leaving twenty men in his pinnesses, hee with 80 shot went up the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and silver also, and carying it backe to their pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

A skirmish between the English men, and the Spaniards.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the river with all his men, and above 200 Negros, and set upon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards having the advantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily prevaile, and killed eleven Englishmen, and five Negros, and tooke other seven Englishmen alive, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and five sore hurt.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and silver which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure journeys of it, for hee promised to give them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would have it by and by, and so their Captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would have killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not have them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the five English men that hee had left in his pinnesse which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, having buried the dead bodies, and having gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the English men and their pinnesse with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would have done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they sent advise also to Nombre de dios, and they of Nombre de dios sent also from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fifty shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Justice of Panama asked the English captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, saving the Captaine, the Master, the Pilot, and five boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet living.

The English betrayed to the Spaniards.

The death of John Oxnam.

[III. 528.]

The King of Spaine having intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaves unto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd, fled from their masters unto those mountaines, and so joyned themselves to the Englishmen, to the ende they might the better revenge themselves on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great justice upon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that country marveiled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there have bene many Frenchmen, that have come to those Countreys, but never saw English men there but onely those two of whom I have spoken. And although there have many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet never durst they put foote upon land, only those two English men adventured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

The English mens comming to the Indies, caused the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he provided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seven French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst adventure to approch the coast, untill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleete of 24 ships arrived there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine live, he will in time provide sufficient remedy, to keepe his countreys and subjects from the invasion of other nations.

[The voyage

The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships, the one called the Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which mooved him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt.

FIrst of all Andrew Barker having abode in one of the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Chester (the sonne of Dominic Chester merchant of Bristol) to learn the language. Now the sayd Andrew Barker forthwith upon his arrivall in England, in November, 1574, fraighted a small ship (named the Speedwell of Bristol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandise of a great value. He sent also one John Drue of Bastable as his Factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arrived at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater advantage in providing wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which Andrew Barker had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose the said Andrew in March following sent a ship called the Christopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Bristol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleaging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisition by Charles

Chester, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor John Drue was attached, and he also (the said captaine Roberts) being as they supposed Barkers partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said Andrew and his brother M. John Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and upwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were utterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was delivered out of prison (which cost him all the marchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead fraight to the summe of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker discharged. In recompense of which injurie (for that no suite prevaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) & also to recover his losse of the Spaniards themselves, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged staffe, himselfe being captaine, & Philip Roche Master thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouse for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmoth on Whitsonday in the beginning of June, we set forward, & in our course we met with a ship of London, & afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing from either of them. Our first arrival was at one of the Island of Cape Verde, named Del sal, vz. the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called Tortoises: and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for knives and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was trecherously slaine by those Portugals, in revenge of which murther we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island

Isla del sal.

[III. 529.]

The Isle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

wee shaped our course over the maine Ocean toward the West Indies, and arrived happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gave us very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we set up a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent sixe dayes in this place we departed, and arrived next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship having in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserved 4 or 5 tunnes to our selves, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence (having remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curazao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, & the most part Indians) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieved. From thence we arrived at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, upon comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Navigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occasion of further mischiefe. Hence we sailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treasure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of silver, and some quantity of corriento or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emerauds, whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here having stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the Frigat behind us, all

The Isle of Trinidad.

The Isle of Margarita.

The Isle of Curazao.

Cape de la Vela.

Tulu.

which treasure at that instant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we passed to Nombre de dios, and so foorth to the mouth of the river of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de dios towards the Northwest. There wee landed 10 of our men, who travelled up into the woods three or foure daies to seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to joyne with the English and French against them) but in their search they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell sicke, and divers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement fever. And passing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and some quantity of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with us: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish calivers, and a booke of Navigation: and in this Frigat some of our company came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Master, fought upon the foresayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish Frigat, which immediately before we had surprised. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherin were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scrivano or

Nombre de dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

The Isle of S. Francisco.

A conspiracie against the Captaine.

[III. 530.]

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other slaine by the Spaniards.

The towne of Truxillo sacked by the English.

secretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ransome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by divers Islands, we arrived at an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arrivall there, William Coxe and divers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboord the ship wherein the captaine then was, and disposessed him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on boord, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about breake of the day, on a certaine morning, sixtie Spaniards arriving secretly in the Island, surprised our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surprise they slew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Jackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboord the barke) perceived that the captaine, & some others were slain, he received them that were living into the ship, having before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe devided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinesse (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a skyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they surprised, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and divers other good things, but no gold nor silver, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, those that were in the barkes were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were inforced every man to shift for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigat wherein was the treasure for the adventurers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being overset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was overthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saved, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arrived in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new upon the shore of the Honduras, having in her at our landing ten botisios of oyle, and the foure cast Peeces that were in John Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine calivers, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne devided the treasure amongst their company, delivering to some five pound, to some sixe pound, to some seven pound, to some more, as every man was thought to have deserved. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the use of Andrew Browne. Divers of our company, upon our arrivall at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of M. John Barker of Bristol, brother unto our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him unto the enemie.

The death of Philip Roche master of the Ragged staffe.

Their arrival in the Isle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of John Oxnam recovered from the Spaniards.

And after straight examination of many of us, by letters of direction from her Majesties privie Counsell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserved to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not avoide the heavy judgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselves faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and governours.

Parescer de Don Alvaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, estilo de Espanna de 1585.

LO que paresce, que podra hazer el Armada Inglese, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naves y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parescio que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Levera su derotta al Rio de Jenero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos navios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene agua, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en un lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las islas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra saquear estas islas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

San Vincente. Islas de Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde.

Desde Vaiona a la isla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee,

que aora reynan, por estar la costa de Espanna llovida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuviere en saquear las islas.

Rio de Jenero.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Jenero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Jenero en fin de Deziembre.

[III. 531.]

Lugar por hazer un fuerte.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Jenero ay una baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara un fuerte, en que pueden estar mas que quinientos hombres: y ponendole su artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, que por la una parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los navios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le paresciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de a quel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ser gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y yr se apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los navios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Estrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del sur.

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Y es de creer que se preverra a tomar a Panama.

Panama.

La segunda viaje.

No queriendo hazer este viaje, repartira su armada en dos vandas, y saqueare la isla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

San Domingo.

Cartagena.

Rio de Chagre.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a saquear.

La Havana.

Y tambien corre peligro la Havana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

Tomar las flotas.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este discorso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la navigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Lo que Convernia hazer para reparar estos dannos.

DEspachar caravelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y governadores de las Indias, avertiendo les de la Nueva de la Armada Inglese, para que esten prevenidos, y se ponganen orden. Aunque, segun el numero de las Naves que han salido de Inglatierra, tengo por sin duda, havran passado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, hasta Tierra nueva. Porque la Reyna a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao: Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Quarenta naos gruesas.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de Inglatierra, han solido mas de ochenta navios con los de Armada: Convernia que su Magestad mandasse juntar otra para buscar la Inglese, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de Sevilla se aderescan de yr opposito, dandoles carena, para che estubiessen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse: y que assi mismo se embaraçe un galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante ara Cadiz, y complimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallaran en Viscaia y Guiposcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas, y puestas en orden, como conviene, se avituallen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se levanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naves, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que assi mismo se levanten seys mil soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de servicio.

Tambien convernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Jornada de la Terçera.

Que se porvea el artilleria, polvera, y cuerda, y plomo necessario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Converne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Aviendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los navios de mercantes que navegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, convernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleva la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que llevassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota: y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas prevenciones, me paresce, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglese, y otros navios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quisiese intentar lo d'este Reyno, seran menester las prevenciones siguientes. [III. 532.]

QUe se apercibiesen el conde de Benavente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira, conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Cavalleros, a quien se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercibiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Sevilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se avituallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y provean de polvere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de março deste anno 1585. Que se provean las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras seys de Espanna a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que le armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se ocupen en lo deste Reyno, porque havre navios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo uno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos soldados.

Todo esto, me paresce, conviene al servicio de su Majestad, se prevega y apercibiese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proveiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo uno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin deserirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor parescer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admirall of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

THat which it seemeth unto me, that the English army may doe, if they seeke to passe unto the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnesses and shalops with oares, which they have with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayona thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by passing by the river of Jenero into the South sea.

They may take their course to the river of Jenero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the

South of the Equinoctial line. It is an haven capable of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh: and likewise Drake may have corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd haven, which is called S. Vincente.

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time serving him for that purpose.

Madera.

Canaries.

The Isles of Cape Verde.

From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serve him to sacke the Islands in.

The river of Jenero.

He may saile from Cape Verde to the river of Jenero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount unto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the river of Jenero in the end of December.

A fort may bee builded on an Island in the mouth of the river of Jenero.

At the entry of the bay of the river of Jenero there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein above 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the haven, & the fort wil be able to hold out all assault, because that on the Southwest and Northeast sides are two chanels whereby the ships come into the haven: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leave there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good unto him to enter into the South sea, & go on upon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foresaid haven, and standeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, & so may to goe to the citie of Lima, otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast

The streight of Magelan.

The citie of Lima easie to bee taken, though it have 2000 inhabitants.

having two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse & artillery, he may take and sacke it, and make himself master on the land, & afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can have no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by the streight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

The ships in the South sea may be burnt.

Panama may be taken.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

The second course which indeede Drake tooke.

If he seeke not to take this course he may divide his army into two parts, & sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma unto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

[III. 533.]

And from the river of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalops with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods up and downe the river, whereof there are above fiftie there, and passe up to the lodging of the Crosses, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, which is five leagues from Panama, which because it is an unwalled towne may easily be taken.

Panama being an open place is easie to be taken.

Havana easie to be taken.

And Havana also will bee in great danger, which albeit it have a fortresse, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on shore hee may take the same with great facilitie.

The Indian fleete may be taken.

And besides these domages which he may do, according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the navigation of the Indies, to take the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

What course is to be taken to prevent these mischiefes.

TO dispatch Caravels with all possible diligence to the viceroyes and governours of the Indias, advertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be provided, and make themselves ready for them. Albeit, considering the number of ships which have bene set foorth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts unto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewise to be thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Barnard Drake tooke 17. sailes of the Spanish and Portugall fishers returning from Newfoundland, 1585.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, above fourescore shippes, and the army of Drake have bene set foorth from thence, it is meete that his majestie should prepare another army to seeke the English fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and those of his majestie which lye in the river of Sivill bee prepared to send against them, and to give them the Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soever it bee: And likewise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordinance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make up the number of fortie great shippes, which are to be had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and set in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee levied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee divided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that sixe thousande souldiers bee levied, giving commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for service.

His intelligence was too true, as since I found in the office of the Admiralty.

Fortie great ships to be provided.

1583. *Terzera was woon by the Marques of Santa Cruz.*

Moreover it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient provision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikes for the keeping of the coast.

It is also meete to provide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes apiece, and other foure of 200. tunnes,

Another army of ten sailes.

and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

The Indian fleete to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.

Having seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that traverse these seas have made such havocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should have two more at the least in eche Fleete: and neverthelesse they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

In mine opinion all these provisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which have bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to invade this kingdome, these provisions following would be needefull.

What provision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army.

THat warning be given to the Conde de Beneventa, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and to the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to have order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come unto this kingdome.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the countrey betweene the rivers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Estremadura and Sivilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the same. [III. 534.]

Also that the castles of this citie, river and territorie be victualled and provided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things else belonging to the artillerie, as I have requested in the relations which I sent unto his majestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An armie of 14. gallies to be provided.

That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: and that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this river of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be devided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie themselves upon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one and the other) we shal be enforced to make another armie, besides that for the Indies, of twelve ships, foure pataches, and a thousand five hundred souldiers.

Another army of 12. great ships, 4 pataches, and 1500 souldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his majesties service to be foreseene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to provide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser judgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida; Published by M. Thomas Cates.

THis worthy knight for the service of his Prince and countrey having prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Devonshire, to the number of five and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and having assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Major.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine John Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement over the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.
Captaine Edward Winter.
Captaine John Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.
Captaine John Merchant.
Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine John Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobisher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure under the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.
Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.
George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.
James Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
John Rivers Captaine of the Vantage.
John Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.

John Varney Captaine of the George.
John Martin Captaine of the Benjamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow. [III. 535.]

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arrived neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie divers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who upon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere unto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto ye general, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being upon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland: whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discried another tall ship of twelve score tunnes or thereaboutes, upon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, undertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar having caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboord untill the Admirall was come up: who forthwith sending for the Master, and divers others of their principall men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. John de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with us Poore John, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of favourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnesses with the shipboats to be manned, and every man to be furnished with such armes as were needfull for that present service; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty to surprise it, before we had advanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Governour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Governour of the citie, to resolve him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the governour & people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Isles of Bayone.

The Generall with the advise and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready upon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Governour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene received in that place some sevennight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged: for the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting up of the day, & having quartered our selves to our most advantage, with sufficient gard upon every strait, we thought to rest our selves for that night there. The Governour sent us some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recover the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to drive from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was [III. 536.] onely driven into England, the others recovered us againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to asswage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others: as also with the gallie and with divers pinnesses, to see what he might doe above Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and some caravels, diversly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with houshold stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of silver, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all over, having cost them a great masse of money. They complained to have lost in all kind of goods above thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from up the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour above Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Governour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats upon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges delivered on both sides: which done, the Governor of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same having bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where it was by them agreed, we should furnish our selves with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such severall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that under the favour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the overthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of November, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the evening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and

S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, under the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, untill wee had gotten up to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together upon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attempt til daylight: because there was not one that could serve for guid or giving knowledge at al of ye place. And therfore after having wel rested, even halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be divided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by several companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

[III. 537.] Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight began to appeare, and being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainely bee viewed all over from that place where the whole Army was now arrived: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross florish in the enemies fortresse. Order was given that all the ordinance throughout the towne and upon all the platformes, which were above fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Majesties coronation day, being the seventeenth of November, after the yeerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which now was come neere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noyse last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie: which being done every captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the evening was placed such a sufficient gard upon every part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enemie.

The citie of Iago taken and possessed for 14 dayes.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, olives, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, having on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging over it, upon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserve the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth: the said valley & towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be above 10. or 12. score over.

In the middest of the valley commeth downe a riveret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat above the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly converted into gardens and orchards well replenished with divers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlicke, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske over it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in silver as I have often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much even as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I have heard some hold opinion, that it is very restorative.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Westerne fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolve him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Governor. Then they told him, if his Governor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe unto our noble and mercifull Governour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find favour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes wee should march over the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such living soules as wee shoulde chance upon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, [III. 538.] hee promised to returne the next day, but we never heard more of him.

Upon the foure and twentieth of November, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelve miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Governour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stand a while to ease our selves, and partly to see if any would come to speake to us.

After we had well rested our selves, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie shewed themselves, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter us: and so in passing sometime at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recover home to S. Iago.

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of November, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates, to use all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as every man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, untill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboord the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, under the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, having bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and having placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himselfe ashore, willing us to burne the towne and make all haste aboord, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selves imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

A wise course to be imitated in all great actions.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better government of the Army, every man mustered to his captaine, and othes were ministred to acknowledge her Majestie supreme Governour, as also every man to doe his uttermost endevour to advance the service of the action, and to yeeld due obedience unto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this provident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Governour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island ever came at us (which we expected they should have done) to intreate us to leave them some part of their needfull provisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men, whereof I judge you have understood, & therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment & scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude maner of killing, & savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

The treason of the Portugals against M. William Hawkins.

In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, aswell in the countrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stroken, untill we were departed thence, and then seazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainely shewed the small spots, which are often found upon those that [III. 539.] be infected with the plague: wee were not above eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with savage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conversation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they used us very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassavi, very white and savourie, made of the rootes of Cassavi. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, aswell for that we knewe our selves then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and having duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were advertised, the Haven to be a barren Haven, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified, having a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the Evening to embarke themselves in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this service. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile untill our arrivall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that brave Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowen to us any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall having seene us all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie brave horses or rather more, began to present themselves; but our small shot played upon them, which were so susteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado upon the hie way side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall having openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good favour he would not rest untill our meeting in the market place.

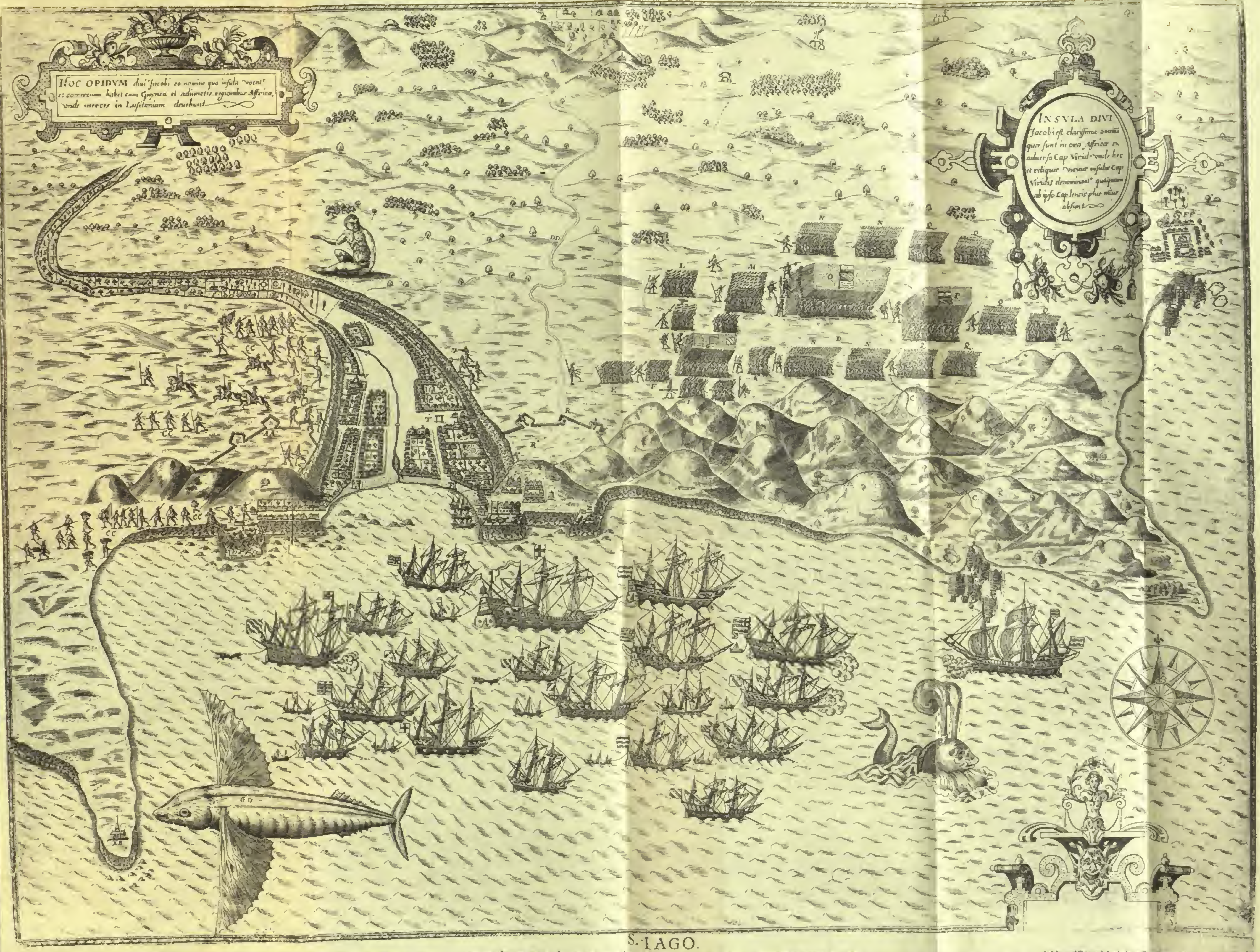
Their ordinance had no sooner discharged upon our neere approch, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching: the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere unto himselfe: and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truely understood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place with some part next unto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most convenient place assured our selves, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to undertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing us busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Haven, and so into the countrey.

The citie of S. Domingo taken.

[III. 540.]

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembred for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message


HOC OPIDVM diui Jacobi eo nomine quo insula vocat' et comercium habet cum Guynea et adiunctis regionibus Affricæ, vnde merces in Lusitaniam deuehunt
INSVLA DIVI Jacobi est clarissima omniũ quæ sunt in ora Affricæ et aduerso Cap. Virid. vnde hec et reliquæ vicinæ insulæ Cap. Viridis denominant' quæ quidem ab ipso Cap. leucis plus minus absunt

S. IAGO.

A Locus vbi Anglica classis primùm in anchoris substitit.

B Locus vbi post ad quartum milliare, vbi Angliæ milites ex Myoparonibus & nauiculis terram conscenderunt.

C Via qua Angli montes superarunt.

D Planities magna vbi acies instructa, vnde ad oppidum perrexerunt.

E Bombardariorum cohors ante primam aciem ad explorandum emissa.

F Altera tormentariorum cohors, quæ ad primam aciem pertinuit, & hastatorum agmen modico interuallo præcessit.

G Hastatorum agmen, quod primam aciem instituit, & ex tribus vexillationibus vnà cum alis constabat.

H Binæ tormentariorum cohortes, quæ quasi dextra erant ala primæ aciei.

I Aliæ binæ tormentariorum cohortes, quæ eiusdem aciei ala fuit sinistra.

K Tormentariorum cohors, quæ eandem primam aciem a tergo subsequuta.

L Prima Bombardariorum cohors, quæ minor est, & mediam aciem ad explorandum præcessit.

M Altera & maior bombardariorum cohors, quæ mediam aciem proximè præcessit.

N Tormentariorum cohortes quæ ad mediam aciem spectarunt.

O Magnum hastatorum agmen, siue acies media quæ vnà cum suis cohortibus ex quatuor vexillationibus, quarum vnaquæque centum quinquaginta milites habuit, constabat.

P Hastatorum agmen, siue postrema acies quæ cum suis cohortibus è tribus constabat vexillationibus.

Q Tormentariorum cohortes quæ ad postremam aciem pertinebant.

R Monumentum extra S. Iacobi oppidum, per quod Angli ingressi sunt, in editiori colle situm, vnde in oppidum prospectus patet, & à quo in collis præcipitio qua ad mare vergit via in ipsum oppidum ducit. Oppidum autem in conualle inter duo præcipitia [illegible] subsidet. Vallis autem longius procurrit, longèque vndiquaque montibus cincta, quam perennis fluuius ex interiori regione profusus irrigat, & fœcundat.

S Vallis ipsa, in qua plurimæ herbæ sunt salutares, variæque fructuum species odoris iucundi & saporis optimi, scilicet dactyli, nuces cochiæ, Platani mala medica, Sacchari cannæ, Mala aurea, &c.

T Forum.

V Templum.

X Propugnaculum medium ad mare maioribus tormentis instructum.

Y Propugnaculum ad occidentem suis etiam tormentis munitum.

Z Propugnaculum ad orientem eodem modo communitum.

A A Locus in edito montis ad occiduam vallis partem eadem ratione armatus qua ille alter, per quem Angli ingressi erant.

B B Aedicula sacra in promontoriolo ad occidentalem oppidi plagam.

C C Oppidani qui Lusitani erant ex oppido fugientes.

D D Via, qua Angli in interiorem regionem perrexerunt, ad viculum Sancto Domingo dictum, vbi Episcopus & insulæ primores latitarunt qui adueniente Anglo, se fuga subduxerant.

E E Viculus Sancti Dominici, siue Sancto Domingo in ipso insulæ vmbilico qui duodecim mille pass. à Sancti Iacobi oppido abest.

F F Oppidum maritimum Prayo dictum, quod Angli discedentes vnà cum oppido S. Iacobi incenderunt.

G G Pisces volans, siue volucris ad viuum expressa. Harum in mare Atlantico infinita est multitudo plurimæque subinde in naues volantes cadebant. Cùm enim passus plùs minus ducentos volauerint in mare decidunt, & subinde emergentes gregatim conuolant ne præda sint Delphini, aut pisci illi bonito, qui eos insectantur. Maximi huius generis pisces ipsam picturam non duplo longitudine excedunt.

to the Spanyards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to speake to us: which boy unhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, & contrary to that good usage wherewith wee had intertained their messengers, furiously strooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horsemens staves: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died foorthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Provost Martiall, to cause a couple of Friers then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, & with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were delivered into our hands, to receive condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes end, offring to deliver him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselves: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed justice upon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and us, for ransome of their Citie; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gave us no small travell to ruine them. And albeit for divers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burne the said houses without our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of five and twentie thousand Ducats of five shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Most unsatiable Spanish ambition.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe governour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend up by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like unto a gallery: wherein upon one of the wals, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth wherupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commission to treate upon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England [III. 541.] would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and unreasonable reaching vaine of his: for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceive well inough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was ye cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and silver Mines of this Island are wholy given over, and thereby they are faine in this Island to use Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde up to a very large grouth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, olives, and other such like provisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed up in winepipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which provisions are brought out of Spaine, and served us for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessell of Silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: & for their drinking, they use glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although unto us they were of small importance.

Cartagena. From Saint Domingo we put over to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing upon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approched within the reach of their Culverin shot, which they had planted upon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the Evening we put our selves on land towards the harbour mouth, under the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested us to march forwarde about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded us to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best & surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met us, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe upon the first volley of our shot that was given them: for the place where wee encountred being wooddy and bushy even to the water side was unmeete for their service.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with divers small shot towards the harbour, which gave us to understand, according to the order set downe in the Evening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with divers Pinnesses and boates should give some attempt unto the litle Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Haven, neere adjoyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained over: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giving of them an alarme on that other side of the Haven being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme received elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not above fiftie paces over, having the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainely shewed. This streight was fortified cleane over with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in every part, as can be set downe. There was onely so much of this streight unwalled, as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this unwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of wine- [III. 542.] buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing even within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with sixe great peeces, Demi-culverins, and Sakers, which shotte directly in front upon us as wee approched. Now without this wall upon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shore, having planted in them eleven peeces of ordinance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the advantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbeare shooting untill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by us : downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed ; for very few of them were armed : with which advantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slew with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his lives end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giving them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seazed and assured of that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their towne, and themselves to goe to their wives, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At every streetes end they had raised very fine Barricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any worke done: at the entring whereof was some litle resistance, but soone overcome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had joyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great marvell: some they slew of our people with their arrowes: some they likewise mischieved to death with certaine pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast up, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way: but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entring, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne; as also of the taking of Alonso Bravo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword: unto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vantguard.

Alonso Bravo the governour of Cartagena taken.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serve by land, having now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge upon the companies of the Rereward.

Every man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among us, though not with the same furie as at the first: and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie judgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the [III. 543.] Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Evening or first night ayre, which they tearme La serena, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus subjected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so overland to Panama, where we should have strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious travailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our first resolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe under the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Given at Cartagena the xxvij. of Februarie 1585.

WHereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now undertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselves together, and having advised hereupon, doe in three points deliver the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus.

WE holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we have presently with us in land-service, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to answere present service, we have not above 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether unable to stand us in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to give their resolution, how they will undertake the safetie and service of the Shippes upon the arrivall of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in undertaking such like enterprises as we have done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our travailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of England: wherein we answere.

THat it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Majestie or any body els:

and forasmuch as we have hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and favour of our good God there have bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would have bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next unto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise; and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods & prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceived: And being further advised of the slendernesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme convenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow upon us, the same may promise to yeeld us any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious [III. 544.] Soveraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Majestie to set us foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the uttermost of our strength and indevour shall be able to reach unto; but therewithal wee doe advise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by us from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviij. thousand pounds sterling.

THus much we utter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still upon our demaunds of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to give it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we have taken our full pleasure both in the uttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by us, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who have willingly adventured their lives and travailes, and divers amongst them having spent their apparell and such other little provisions as their small meanes might have given them leave to prepare, which being done upon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enemie: so surely wee cannot but have an inward regarde so farre as may lye in us, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the private benefite of our selves, and are thereby the rather mooved to incline our selves to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selves of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soever it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come unto us, wee doe freely give and bestowe the same wholy upon the poore men, who have remayned with us in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indevour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we have thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine Christopher Carliell Lieutenant Generall.
Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson.
Captaine Powell &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, upon the Churchsteeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with John Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Seamen, embarked themselves in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyardes from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could use: for the Spanish Boates, upon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towardes them, ranne themselves ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselves in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man of the Spanyards to shew themselves, aboorded the Spanish Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captaine Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or five others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to have taken the Barkes well enough at sea, [III. 545.] which they might full easily have done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed divers courtesies betweene us and the Spaniards, as feasting, and using them with all kindnesse and favour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Governour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and divers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last was concluded between us, should be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at five shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, gives as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serve the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and brave Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine land coast next unto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this towne received of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arrivall here, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conveyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred & ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, upon the payment of the sayd ransome, we left the said towne, and drewe some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne upon the harbour waterside, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but specially for the sayde house, as also the Blockehouse or Castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to give a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the Blockehouse, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by us undermined, and so with gunne powder blowen up in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of fresh water aboord the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth: which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

The Island of Ceres.

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened unto her, as in very deede it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last having found her & the Bark Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the saving of them. And so the Generall being fully advertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where having staied eight or ten dayes more, about the unlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where wee arrived the seven and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recover the Matanças, a place to the Eastward of Havana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of favourable wind: but then our scarcity was growen such, as neede made us looke a litle better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I judge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered [III. 546.]

up by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

A most commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboord the ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest; as also at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, having alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is sayde, with such wonderfull travell of body, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour: and no lesse happy doe we account him, for being associated with Master Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance he atchieved so many and happy enterprises of the warre, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee never touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold upon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched up alongst the river side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in person, the Lieutenant generall having the Vantguard; and going a mile up or somewhat more by the river side, we might discerne on the other side of the river over against us, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and some mile or thereabout above the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houses, as the Plot doeth plainely shew. Wee forthwith prepared to have ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards understood by a French man, which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the river this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted untill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemie kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the enemie taking ye Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned unto us againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song; and being called unto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Nicholas Borgoignon.

Upon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently over towards the Fort, giving order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approch, some of the enemie bolder then the rest, having stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at us: but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set up right and close together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with some more time; for they had not as yet finished al their worke, having begunne the same some three or foure moneths before: so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subject both to fire, and easie assault.

[III. 547.] The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Brasse ordinance, and a chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling by estimation of the kings treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Johns Fort, and the day opened, wee assayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reason of some rivers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnesses, wee went thither upon the great maine river, which is called as also the Towne, by the name of S. Augustin.

At our approching to land, there were some that began to shew themselves, and to bestow some few shot upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Major finding one of their horses ready sadled and brideled, tooke the same to follow the chase; and so overgoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we understood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, serving there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the governement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had overthrowen Master John Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seventeen or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Governour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Heere it was resolved in full assembly of Captaines, to undertake the enterprise of S. Helena, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countreymen in Virginia, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northward.

Santa Helena.

When wee came thwart of S. Helena, the sholds appearing dangerous, and we having no Pilot to undertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admirall had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the shore: and yet wee understood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We passed thus alongst the coast hard aboord the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is lowe and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of June upon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countreymen (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the General wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being governour of those English in Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an Island which they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of, by those he had first talked withall.

Roanoac.

The morrow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming unto him, with the consent of his captaines he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leave a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall, to stay and make farther discovery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discoverie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would give them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankefully and with great gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and received into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had received from the rest of the Fleete the provision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driven from their anchoring upon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors: and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the [III. 548.] ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoyding the coast, and could never see us againe untill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some provision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might have bene spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to give them passage into England, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might have done before.

But Master Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request unto the General under their hands, that they might have passage for England: the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arrived at Portesmouth the 28. of July 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selves.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which have travelled in the voyage were to have twentie thousand pounds, the adventurers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can judge) will redound some sixe pounds to the single share.

We lost some seven hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: above three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powel.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Fortescue.
Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.
Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Master Escot a Lieutenant.
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.
Master George Candish.
Master Nicholas Winter.
Master Alexander Carliell.
Master Robert Alexander.
Master Scroope.
Master James Dier.
Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culverins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the west Indies which have bene surveied, edified, finished, made and mended, with those which have bene builded, in a certaine survey by the king of Spaine his direction and commandement: Written by Baptista Antonio, surveyour in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

First Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and ½, the city being situated upon a sandy bay adjoyning unto the sea side, conteineth in it about 30. housholds; all the houses being made of canes, and covered over with Palmito trees, and some of them be covered with tyle.

They have traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said country, which doe bring unto the Citie for to [III. 549.] sell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Coverlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Jarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, invironed with mighty hils & great rocks, which reach even unto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Ilands which lie about ¾ of a league on the North side: so that although they be subject to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I have certified your Majestie thereof. And also because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing every day so many as it doeth, by reason that it is every day robbed and spoyled by the enemie. But if your Majestie would command that the fleete of Nova Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselves, all the Pilots doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct course to Nova Hispania; and by this meanes the Fleete should have no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Huricanos or stormy windes which many times do come upon them, when they are upon the coast of Hispaniola: and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Majestie doeth well know.

A new course to Nova Hispania, by the way of Santa Marta lesse subject to danger then the ordinary course.

And as concerning this course according as I have certified your Majestie, they shall come into no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Nova Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe unto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Majestie may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will bee a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serve.

Cartagena.

CArtagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is situated upon a sandy banke or bay like unto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe unto the said Frierie, you must goe upon a Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adjoyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey.

Cartagena situate in 11 degrees scant.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receive great store of Ships: this said Harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the sayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lieth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midst of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15. fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour you must go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the sayde Harbour, after you have past this Channell, you must beare up to the shoareward neere unto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is overplus more than the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, covered with two or three foote water upon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships [III. 550.] which must enter in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skilfull: yet all this will not serve, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither yet danger at all of sinking.

Francis Dreke. There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the Enemie may give an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the other side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yardes broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giveth the assault in this place must bee constrayned to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemie lying open these 500. yardes, which reach untill you doe come to the trench: And on the backside other 500. yardes, till you doe come unto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twise. Wherefore heere wee have driven in a great many of woodden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee have done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we have builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewise wee have made a deepe ditch, which doeth answere to both parts of the sea; so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy

Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is overflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching over land a good way upon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a grove or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is overflowen with water, but not all covered. So in this place wee have made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging therunto. And I have caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is overflowen. And in this order we have stopt this passage, so that the Citie standeth in maner like unto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes distance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the sayd Causey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth: and the water is on both the sides of the saide Causey: so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and upon the top of the said bridge to build a platforme, and plant ordinance upon it: and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we have made a Fort of timber fouresquare of 300. foote every way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall, sand: so this Fort will bee of great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in: and when any ship of warre or Pirate will give any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order given that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselves behinde the Fort with their prows to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemie being in the Harbour all unrigged, they must of necessitie be constrained to lye hovering within the Harbour, or els they must drive upon the rockes called the Ismo, or els upon those rocks which are covered with the sea at the Iland of Cares.

The gallies of Cartagena.

And put case that in this place we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinnesses through this narrow mouth; then we are to have in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, & to row with oares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I have certified your Majestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie: for they have beene and are in such feare of the enemie, and pirates, that if wee had not made these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would have fledde, and forsaken this citie: for all the perswasions made to them by the governour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee have much to doe to make them to stay here: so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie have taken

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heart of grasse: so I have tolde them that your majestie will command that this citie and the harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I have caused to be builded, is with that money which I have borowed of the citizens.

The poynt of Ycacos.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your majestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the side where the citie is builded, because all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close abord this shore, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so overtake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shore, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoalds and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arrive are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must give a good birth off, otherwise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shore: And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or five pieces of ordinance, and this will serve for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnesse in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour: so the fort beeing on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shore, as I have already certified your majestie, there may another castle be made, and there foure or five pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward: this being done, your majestie shall have this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the service of your majestie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies: for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Over against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water: so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee have already made triall thereof, for there was never building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practise to build a fort, it is needefull that your majestie should send hither and to many other places, where any fort shall bee made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Havana are not to bee imployed there, nor those which are in Sant Juan de Ullua, it may please your majestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, bricklayers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occupations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOmbre de Dios is builded upon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie housholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and some places of the land are overflowen with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall upon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is subject to Northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow upon this coast: many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe unlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ship hath [III. 552.] unladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere unto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northwest, and that it overblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force more themselves with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and yet neverthelesse sometimes they are driven ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not vier cable ynough, because of so many shelves and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are unhanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth upon the Eastside upon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safegard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad haven and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your majestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselves from danger of 3. or 4. ships.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the silver is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your majesties treasure as other marchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the river of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought up by this river within five leagues of Panama unto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama upon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remoove this way and to stop it quite up, and so to make it againe upon the side of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your majestie will give order that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountains of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and so shut up, and the channell of this harbour may bee stopt with the timber of those old ships which are laid up here every yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme up the harbour: and here is great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and this is a thing very needefull for this Countrey, as by experience I have seene.

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

Puerto Bello.

PUerto Bello lieth five leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receive great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the middest of the same harbour you shall find twelve fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelve small rivers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together:

so that the fleete may at all times provide themselves of fresh water so much as shall serve their turnes. And like wise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes, and stones to ballast shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome seene upon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe upon this coast are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about five hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring further in, sixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft oaze; also it doth ebbe and flow according as I have certified your majestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good; and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind: and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is invironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is overflowen with water: it may bee easily dryed up and walled round about, so this land will serve very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefest thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama: so towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may bee newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little rivers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to [III. 553.]

sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needes proove very good as I doe thinke, but we never had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your majestie may have your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at an anker in safetie without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthful countrey, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt unto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receive in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as more at large your majestie may see by my platforme.

If it would please your majestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable unto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselves with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your majestie that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make up this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre de Dios, and the Contractation house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and unlade their goods in this sayd Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiving of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de

Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe use to unlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water up to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning fever. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, every man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build upon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort fouresquare that will hold foure or five pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt sixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee shall have no occasion to make any more defence, by reason the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and five and twentie souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: so this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coast along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chance to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the citizens, and twenty musketters being planted upon a mount which lieth over the fort, will bee sufficient to defende us from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault us, because all the countrey is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to joyne with that way which shall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serve wee may stop up the way which doth goe [III. 554.] to Capira, and the rest of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer is all dryed up, and where these waters are, there we may builde a causey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very serviceable: so this way may bee made with that treasure which your majestie doeth receive of the averages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount unto twelve or foureteene thousand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serve for the building and reparing of these wayes.

Panama.

PAnama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Augustines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: also there is a College of Jesuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay: the one side of this citie is environed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth up into the land 1000. yards.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are imployed in your majesties service, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie upon a great rivers side, which is a league from the sea right over against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

Panama hath 350 houses.

Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spanyards.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault us. The one is at the bridge which is builded upon the river: and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke: so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe upon it. And right over against it there lyeth a river which is in maner like unto a ditch or moate; and on the other side of the River there lyeth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000 yardes from this citie there lyeth a river called Lavanderas, where the women doe use to wash their linnen: and this river doth goe into the creeke, according as I have certified your majestie: and being once past this river, there is a causey which goeth directly unto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying upon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all plaine ground and medowes.

The best way to take Panama.

Perico.

Upon the East side of this citie there are your majesties royall houses builded upon a rocke joyning hard to the Sea side, and they doe aswell leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your majesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your majesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Judges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your majesties officers: which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adjoyning together one by another along upon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serve so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towardes the sea, and that there lye certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discovered and drie, and some of them are seene at a high water. Right over these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth an Island about five hundred yardes from these houses, and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all alongst very neere the maine land: so over against these houses there lyeth the harbour where all the shippes doe use to ride at an anker, after that they have discharged and unladen their marchandize. For when they have their lading aboord, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie yardes from those houses. Right over against them standeth the citie.

An Island in the harbour of Panama.

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When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come upon this coast, the Lord President and Judges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enemie, and to keepe your majesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise

Places good to land in.

Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this countrey.

There are three sundry places where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and spoyled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Aele to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre have entred into those seas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe travell upon those waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going up of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small store of souldiers wee can defend our selves from the fury of the enemie, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

1. *Place.*

2. *Place. This was Oxenham.*

The other entrance is up the river of Chagre, which rivers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come up this river to Venta de Cruzes, and so from thence march to this citie, which is but five leagues off. So up this river there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come up this river as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march unto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may

3. *Place.*

The place of most advantage for the English.

afterwards set them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath used it once before when he came that voyage; and so he may attempt us both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetie, and save their goods; as it hath bene sene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

So if it will please your majesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place if any sudden alarms shoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themselves to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy: and so this will be a good securitie for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which have robbed in these parts, have gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your majesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooveth your majestie to fortifie these places very strongly.

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

These places being fortified in this maner, your majesty shal have al your gold and silver brought home in safetie which commeth from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if perchance any rebels should rise in these parts, which would rebel against your majesty, which God forbid, & if they should chance to joyn with any of these pirats, having this place so wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in ye North parts, & so to send some garrison your majestie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places shalbe intercepted, then your majestie hath no other place fitter then this to land your majesties souldiers, for then they have but 18. leagues to march by land, & presently they may be shipped to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I have certified your majestie, thorow the streits of Magellane, & arrive at that instant, when those barks, do come from Peru with your majesties gold & silver, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, & not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your majesties houses which are builded of timber: the President and Judges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats comming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained until such time as your majesties pleasure is to the contrary, & in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench; so there is order given to build a platforme upon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most convenient.

5. or 6. millions of gold & silver.

[III. 556.]

If it wil please your majestie, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, & so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept: as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe & flow twise a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be all ozy & muddy ground and rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade over the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward: this is

The harbour of Perico.

a very sure harbour by reason of 3. Islands which do joyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbour is a very high land, & the Ilands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water: also there hath never any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships, they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, silver or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they have a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks & ships which do navigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinnesse should happen to arrive there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your majestie here might some fort or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your majestie may have both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

A new way into the south-sea.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the river of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Cativa, and this river doth come into another river which is called Caracol, and is five leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The river of Chagre.

THe river of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this river is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed up this river certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are unladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this river to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes unlade their commodities, they are carried upon mules to Panama, which is but five leagues off from this place.

These five leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

This river hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this river are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barkes have much to doe to get up this river: and in many places these barks are constrained to unlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens strength and force a good way up the river, and therefore if it would please your majestie to command that all those goods may bee first unladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said river, and at the foote of the castle to build a storehouse to unlade and keepe all the sayd goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen: then these would serve for Sommer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your majestie, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the river, and so they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing upon the sayd river great store of timber and trees which doe lie overthwart [III. 557.] the said River; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance unto the said boates, aswell those that go up the said River, as also that doe come downe the said River.

And therefore if it might please your majestie to command, that Puerto Bello might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Rivers side, every thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caryed up the River: for it is a great danger to cary them up by land, for it is daily seene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading upon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your majestie might be at this charges and spend your revenewes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which do yerely yield 12 or 14 thousand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and trafficke, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods over-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

THe aforesaide ship called the Dogge, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with divers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her lapse and were forced to yeeld unto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three severall fightes, upon three divers dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the English. Where after conference about those matters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they received reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, invited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselves of good meaning in the Spanish, went aboord: but honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Roger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were served with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master & others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept overboord into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arrived at Plimouth the tenth day of September, 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arrivall of the rest of his consorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I have as yet learned, and received touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemie, and never to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoever shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie.

Spanish treason.

[Certaine Spanish

Certaine Spanish Letters intercepted by shippes of the worshipfull Master John Wattes written from diverse places of the islandes and of the maine land as well of Nueva Espanna, as of Tierra Firma and Peru, containing many secrets touching the aforesaid countreys, and the state of the South Sea, and the trade to the Philippinas.

A letter sent from Havana in Cuba from the general of the fleete John de Orimo to the king of Spaine the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

IT may please your majestie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready against the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners. And having good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend us. For wee shall both leave and take at all [III. 558.] times when we list. But it behooveth your majestie to send both souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we have great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, calivers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money: and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so unprovided, that they have almost none to defend themselves. Also we shall be constrained to give the carena againe unto al the ships; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage: and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long travelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your majestie to command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with all kinde of other furniture might be sent us, then the fleete may set forward and so proceede on their voyage. God preserve your Catholike royal majestie. From Havana the 20 of October 1590.

Your majesties servant, whose royall feet I kisse.
John de Orimo General of your Fleete.

A Letter sent from the Governour of Havana John de Trexeda, to the King of Spaine, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

BY three shippes which departed from this Harbour since the Fleetes arrivall here, I have given your majestie at large to understand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your majestie must provide. And now once againe I will returne to put your majestie in minde thereof. I beseech your majestie to command to be provided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will have this fortification to goe forwardes: because your majestie is here at great charges with the master workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare not meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your majestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I have sent to your majestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

The newe fortification in Havana.

Likewise it is needeful that your majestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of souldiers which were

Souldiers sent to Havana.

sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooveth your majestie not to have them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building upon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros and yron tooles.

A fort upon an hill.

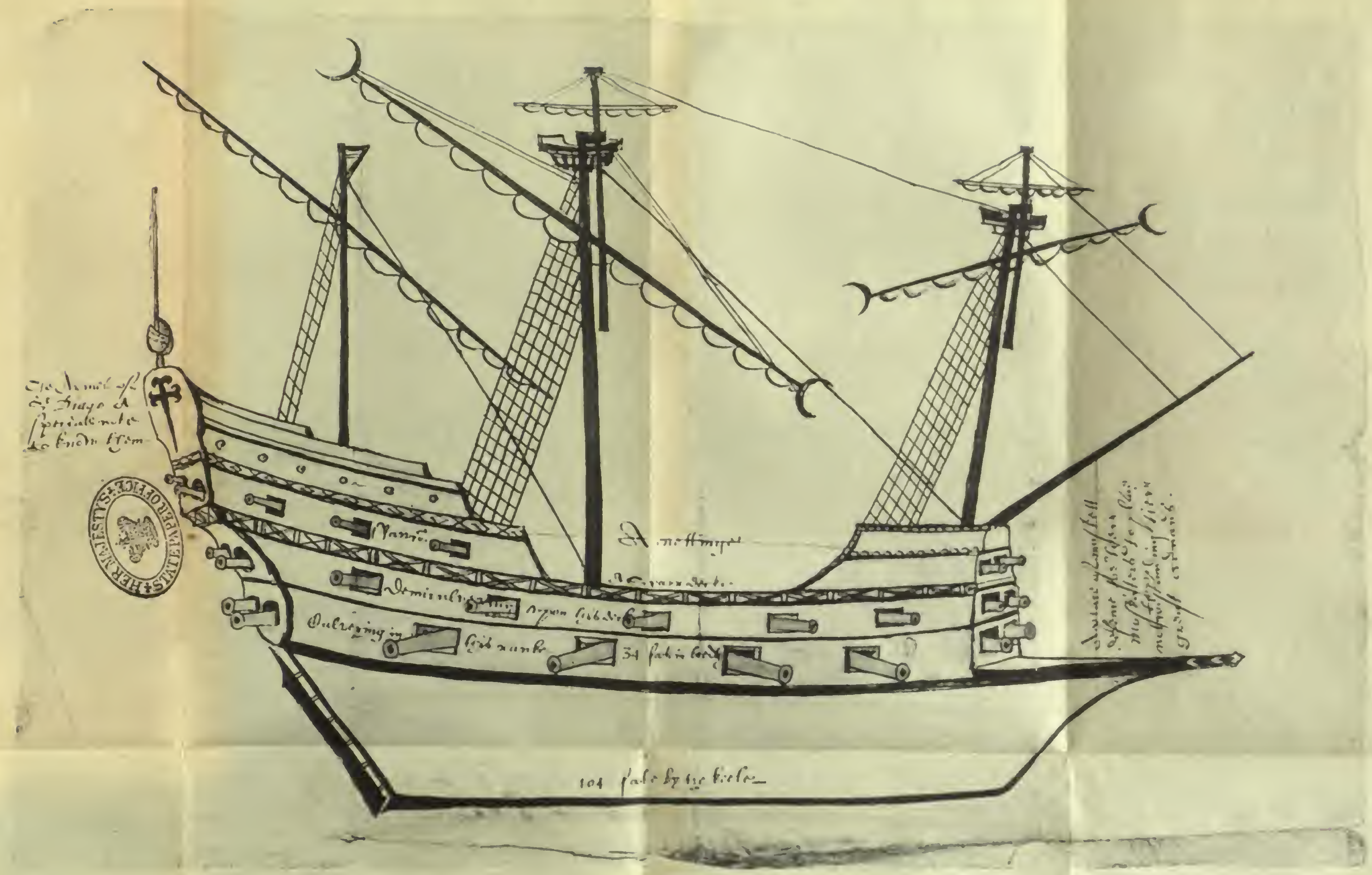
Five Frigats made at Havana, John de Orimo General of the fleete.

Likewise I have certified your majestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the five Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also John de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to have them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantly, untill such time as your majestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Majestie shall more at large perceive, what hath bene spent. These Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arrived: but I doe stay the comming thereof every day, according as the Duke of Medina and John de Ibarra have written unto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behooveth your Majestie to send in time: for I can assure your Majestie that you shall not have upon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the other ships of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not convenient to venture the silver in them. This counsell your Majestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and have but small skill in navigation. But every day it is tolde me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters and mariners.

The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

As touching the copper, I have put it in practise twise more, and have made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more spent, then I was willing there should have bene, because I have gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those that have the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Majestie to send me that same founder which I wrote to


The name of St Diago a speciall note to knowe them
Slanne
a nettinge
a grate decke
Demiculveringe
agayn this side
Culveringe in this ranke
34 peces in borde
104 foote by the keele
HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

A SPANISH TREASURE-FRIGATE

your Majestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Majestie many yeeres. From Havana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Majesties servant, whose royall feete I kisse,
JOHN DE TREXEDA governour of Havana.

[III. 559.]

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Majesties privie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Governour of S. Juan de Puerto Rico the 20 of November 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island.

I Received your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I received great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieve me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieveth me very much: I pray God to send good justice. The M. of the fielde Juan de Texela, and the M. workeman Juan Baptista Antonio arrived here in safetie, and have viewed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the situation as I have informed his majestie thereof. They have marked a place to build a strong Fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a convenient place on a high mount which doeth lye upon the entering in of the Harbour, & so cutteth over to a point of land, leaving in the Fort as much space as wil containe 3000 persons, without joyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Citadella. He left me great store of yron worke, tooles eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His majestie hath sent me a

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

John Baptista Antonio the generall Ingenour of the West Indies.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Juan de puerto Rico.

warrant to spend the provision of the Island, & to take those rents which his majesty hath here, & to certifie his majestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may have all things necessary. So I have sent to Nueva Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I have written to the M. of the field, which is gone to Havana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enemie should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his majestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be needful, I trust in God I shal in short time build up the fort, to defend us from the enemie. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shal be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-canon, and Colverine. The M. of the field, hath promised to send me some from Havana. For that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Havana: for here we have as yet but small store of ordinance to defend us. I looke for 5 Canons which his majestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His majestie hath sent the whole number of 200 souldiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twise in a moneth I muster all the men in the Iland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his majestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard us to the havens mouth. God keep your honour, and

This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found neere Havana.

200 souldiers sent to S. Juan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Juan de puerto Rico Island.

The boldnes of the English.

send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of November 1590.

The Governour Diego Mendez de Valdes.

A letter to John Lopez Canavate, Alderman in the towne of Canavate in Spaine written from his servant Juan de Porva Canavates, from Havana the seventeenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.

This is to give you to understand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I have written unto you twise of my arrivall here, and what successe I have had. And nowe you shall understand that I am determined to goe for Nueva Espanna. For I stay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neverthelesse I hope in God, to finde some friend to convey mee away from hence. This countrey is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliver shot, and from that place the river openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garison. And likewise here are two galies to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are

The souldiers run away from Havana.

[III. 560.]

The boldnes of the English.

18 ships builded in Cuba against England.

not afraid to come and dare us at our owne doores. Our journey to goe for England is most certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest, from this Island of S. Christopher in Havana this present day on S. Lukes even; the 17 of October 1590.

Your Worships servant,
JOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his Father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish. Written the 20 of June 1590.

Acapulco the harbour where the ships lie that goe for China.

HAving written to your worship by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will bee somewhat short. And this is onely to give you to understand, that foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spanish commodities downe to this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the best harbours in all Nueva Espanna; and where the ships may ride most safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth under a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely serve to cary our commodities to China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is above two thousand leagues, farther than from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with souldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I caryed with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, coming in a ship from China to Nueva Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which robbed us and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

From Acapulco, to China above 2000 leagues.

Flemish wares good in China. A wonderfull gaine.

M. Thomas Candish.

If I should write to you of the state of this countrey of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quier of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodliest countrey, and the richest, and most plentifull in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, silver mynes, and pearle, great store of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing else but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great store of silkes, & they are good cheape. All kinde of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great store of fresh rivers. The people are very loving. Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And

Gold mynes, silver mynes, and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly esteemed in China.

the countrey people go very richly apparelled both in silkes and gold. But here we have order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, above 3 yeres, and afterwards they must returne againe into Nueva Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The countrey is very unwholesome for us Spaniardes. For within these 20 yeres of 14000, which have gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead, and not past 1000 of them left alive. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath given to the Spaniards freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great river which goeth up into the maine land, unto divers townes and cities, which are neere to this river. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of June 1590.

Not above one thousand Spaniards in the Philippinas.

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

[III. 561.] A Letter of Bartholomew Cano to Peter de Tapia in Sivill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of Nueva Espanna, and the Fleet of that yeere.

Because I have answered your letters which I have received in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I have no more to say. The occasion of my writing unto you at this time, is to give you to understand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a caravel of Advise from Havana; which brought us newes, how the armie that his majestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that

A.D. 1590.

all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589. Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesoes. And since that newes came from Spaine in a caravel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arovas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arovas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these provinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his majestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, & therefore they have sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke silver is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke silver wee cannot refine our gold. And no man upon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

Bartholomew Cano.

[A letter

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Haven in Peru.

The people of the River of Plate.

100 men wanting.

UPon Christmas even the yere 1589, I received your majesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your majesties long health, for the great benefits which your majestie hath bestowed upon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great travell and paines may be recompenced, which I have taken with that ungrateful and desperate people of the river of Plate, which they have bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which have counselled them, that they should have a great care to serve God, and be dutifull to your majestie, according as every good and true subject ought to do. Now for this gift which your majestie hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your majesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your majestie hath commanded me. So I arrived at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an haven towne, where they imbarke all the barres of silver. And there I have seene what is done, & what they have provided against the Englishmen in that haven: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enemie, if occasion should serve that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to have souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march up into the countrey. And likewise the people of this countrey have told me, that if upon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the havens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Urtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great favour with al those of these realmes: for that he is a great solliciter both by [III. 562.] sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your service, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serve that church and your majesty: and there I will remaine according to your majesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your majesty many yeres in his holy service. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

Good watch continually kept.

Frier Alonso bishop of Mechuacan.

A letter of Don John de Miramontes Suasola to Don John Garcias de Penalosa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.

AFter my long travell and badde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a souldier: a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beasts: and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there have bene in these seas, and yet are certeine English rovers: and in seeking of them I have travelled these three yeres: the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeeres I have gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arrived Don Garcias Urtado de Mendoça viceroy of these realmes: who hath

English men in the South sea sought 3 yeres.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, whereof the Delight was in the streights of Magelan in January and Feb. 1589.

chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we have newes of the enemy, which is comming upon the coast: for wee have stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a haven called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I have 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I have 1800 pezos every yere of pay: for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I have alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God send us quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serve the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

I kisse your worships hands, and am at your commandement
Don John de Miramontes Suasola.

This was M. John Chidleys fleet.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe this haven: for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Englishmen of war comming thither. This haven of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea: for all the silver which commeth from the mines of Potossi, is shipt in this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quicksilver, is unladen in this harbour, and so caried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of silver are.

A letter of the Licentiate Christopher Uslano to Gonsalvo de Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the city of Potossi in Peru the 20. of July 1590, touching a great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage from the river of Plate into Potossi in Peru.

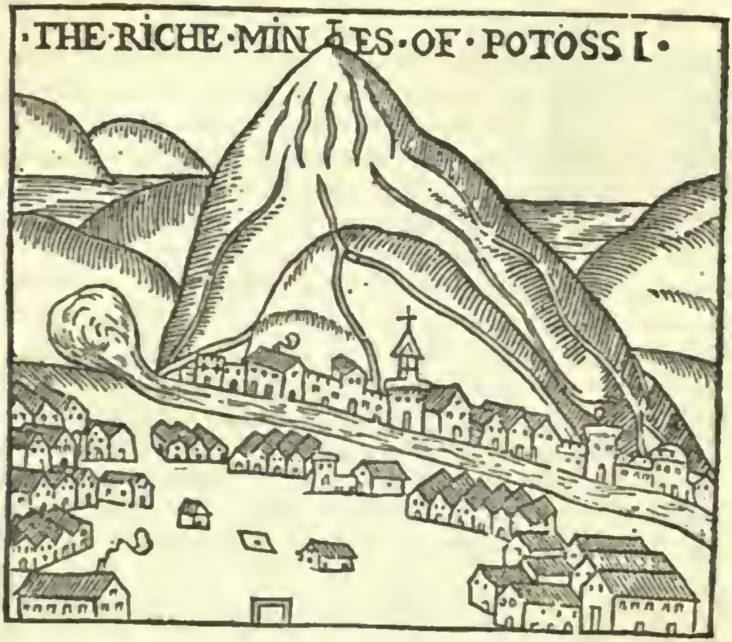
Famine.

Plague.

THe last yeere 1588 I received letters from your worship and from my sister: and since that time I have received none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potossi: for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen use to sowe their corne: and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in April there be no raine, the corne which is sowen will consume away: and so for want of raine we have had two badde yeres of corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potossi, and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians, Mullatos, and Mestiços, called the small pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath destroyed all this countrey. And there have no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age: so for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of Magalanes, whence we have newes that those souldiers which were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them dead, & especially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his majesty to send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This sicknesse came first from Carta-

[III. 563.] *Peru utterly undone with the plague.*

gena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant: and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru over, to the utter undoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes sailing over a gulfe to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a haven called The haven of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie river of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potossi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes journey, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to travaile. And from Potossi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for



A short passage from Buenos Aeres in the river of Plate to Peru.

Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his majestie will consent that we may have traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in five or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, & you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2. yeres before we can receive your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potossi the 20. of July 1590.

The tediousnesse of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER USLANO.

A letter of Steven de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Sivil from Panama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money upon privie seales, and the want of the countrey.

IT may please your worship to understand, that I have received a packet of letters from you, wherein you write unto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of provision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee have had newes from Spaine of the great provision which is making ready for those great wars which his majestie is in preparing, & of the great sums of money that his majestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put us all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his majestie take not away our money which wee have sent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that have sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to have it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his majestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soever marchant or other will send their money into Spaine in that fleete, his majestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort unto us all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from us all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we have none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we have great want of money. Also here is order come from the king with certaine privie seales for to lend his majestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so unprovided of money: But wee are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from the Valles.

Privie seales to borrow money sent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN DE TRESIO.

A letter of the Licentiate John de Labera to the Licentiate Alonso Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Granada, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich silver mines of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the river of Magdalena.

With other letters which I dispatched from hence in August 1589. I wrote unto your worship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you have received them or no. Presently after I departed to the government of Popayan, which joineth with the citie of Quito in the coast of Peru, in companie of the governors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de

[III. 564.]

Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie, by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequita, where they have discovered the great silver mines: which citie is above 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I every day grew worse and worse, I was faine to travaile 30. leagues further up into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Royal audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde: so that this countrey will be utterly undone, if the mines of Marequita help not to restore the same again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal: so that we are in good hope that great store of silver will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his majestie. This river is called the great river of Magdalena. There is a fish in the river called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and devoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this river as we are going up, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe: and so it doth continue from midnight until morning: so that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, & with certaine broad leaves which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a covering to cast over the wares which are laden in the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & sunne from us which are passengers. The canoas are drawen up this river of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with

The citie of Santa Fee in the new kingdom of Granada.

Great store of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

The great river of Magdalena.

ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the Master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going up this river. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants unlade their marchandise, which serve for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of silver and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantitie of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the river to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest.

The richest mines in all Peru.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10. of May 1590.

The Licentiate JOHN de LABERA.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciat John Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Sivil the 24. day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Philippinas, and the extreme feare they have of the Englishmen.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Havana: giving you to understand of my being here, & of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arrived at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I have remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Philippinas.

My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is constantly reported, that for every hundred ducats a man shall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and November it is winter here, and extreme foule weather upon this coast of Peru, and not navigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the ships begin to set on their voyage for those places: and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall have the windes with us. For in July until October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great ships of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tuns apiece, & some 15. barkes which use commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to travel in the day time: it standeth in 8. deg. & ½. and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few sheep, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls & heffkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money of silver is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the silver mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the silver made, hee would never beleeve it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of

The great profite of the trade to the Philippinas.

[III. 565.]

Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for sixe pence in Peru.

silver afterwards againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muske melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, that the like was never seene or heard of: for in seeing a saile, presently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write unto me as touching the wars that his Majestie hath with our enemies, and howe his Majestie doth prevaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590. HIERONYMO de NABARES.

The English-men extremely feared in Peru.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of June 1591. against certaine Spanish ships & gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Majesties houshold, and captaine of the Ile of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Majesties Pensioners.

THe 13. of June 1591. being sunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were smal ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met w^{t} them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made us joyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But assoone as they descryed us, they made false fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) having made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selves for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare up with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better direction thereof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, & the Hopewel gave their admiral the prow, bringing themselves to leeward of him. We in the Content bare up with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broad side aweather of him) gave him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming up with another small ship ahead of the former, wee hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel & Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing up with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of us, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to have layd us aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between us and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd us, as they might easily have done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make: then might the Hopewel & the Swallow have payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did us, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of their small. They having a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) w^t^ both their great ships came up faire by us, shot at us, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes & mainsailes, thinking that wee could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, & anker in shallow water where their great ships could not come nie us, for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their smal ships being manned from 1. of their great, & having a boat to rowe themselves in, shipped her oars likewise & rowed after us, thinking wᵗ their small shot to have put us from our oars, until ye great ships might come up with us: but by ye time she was within [III. 566.] musket shot, the Lord of his mercie did send us a faire gale of wind at the Northwest off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of us) wee stood to the East. The small ship was under our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them upon that boord: then (we thinking to avoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate under our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make us pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small & great shot. Then (we being lerboord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her looffe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herselfe upon the carena, and to stand with one of the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selves to almightie God in prayer, and giving him thankes for the winde which he had sent us for our deliverance) we looked forth and descryed two saile more to the offen: these we thought to have bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stoode in to ayde us: but it prooved farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe having a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but wee espied one gallie under our lee hard by us, boging up with us. Then (because it was evening) one of the great ships discharged sixe great shot at us, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came up, and (hayling us of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with us, made them answere, that we were of the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Sivil: with that they bid us amaine English dogs, and came upon our quarter star-boord: and giving us five cast pieces out of her prowe, they sought to lay us aboord: but wee so galled them with our muskets, that we put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came up into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our Captaines cabbin, that her nose came into it, minding to give us all their prowe, and so to sinke us. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could have no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaved into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell asterne of us, and gave us a prowe. Then having the second time put them off, wee went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalme, praysing God for our safe deliverance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigat all three of them bending themselves together to encounter us: hereupon we (eftsoones commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selves, and resolved (for the honour of God, her Majestie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weaving them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboord presently. So managing ourselves to our furniture, and every moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe us companie till the morning, and then to make an end with us: then giving us another shot from one of the gallies, they fell asterne. Thus our fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seven of the clock in the morning till eleven at night. Howbeit God (which never faileth them that put their trust in him) sent us a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eastnortheast, which was for the preventing of their crueltie, and the saving of our

A fight from 7. in the morning till 11. at night.

lives. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our consortes forsooke us, and left us in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of June in the morning, wee sawe all our adversaries to lee-ward of us, and they espying us, chased us till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not prevaile, gave us over. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare up to the Southwest, in hope to finde our consortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of June early in the morning, we descryed the Spanish fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (having no sight of our consortes) wee stoode for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and never could see any sayle but two frigats, which wee gave chase unto the 24. of June, and could not fet them up. Thus wee give God most humble thankes for our safe deliverance from the cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the providence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, honour, and glory, both now and ever, Amen.

Appendix.

THe barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-bases. She continued fight (from seven in the morning til sunset) with [III. 567.] 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes apiece, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being above musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came up to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreover, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut insunder with their great & small shot. There passed from the galies (each whereof came thrise up to her, & discharged five great pieces at a time, out of every their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her maine top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seven: through her fore-top-saile five: and through her maine maste one. The upper part of the Content was hurt in five places. Onely 13 men continued this fight, the rest being in hold.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies above 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13 persons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Lisle, Captaine.
M. Major, Lieutenant.
William King, Master.
John Barwick, Mrs. mate.
William Clement, gunner.
Thomas Houldships, Bote-swaine.
Charles Creame.
Thomas Godfrey.
Giles Thornton.
John Pells.
John Bourel.
Ralph Grey.
William Heore.

The names of the rest be these following.

John Pie.
John Smith.
John White.
John Butcher.
John Brooke.
John Towpenie.
Edmund Giggs.
William Bateman.
William White.
Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage undertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport Generall of a fleete of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. The golden Dragon Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. Newport himselfe; The Prudence Vice-admirall, under the conduct of Captaine Hugh Merrick; The Margaret under Captaine Robert Fred; and The Virgin our pinnesse under Captaine Henry Kidgil: Begun from London the 25. of Januarie 1591. Written by M. John Twitt of Harewich, Corporall in the Dragon. In which voyage they tooke and burnt upon the coast of Hispaniola, within the bay of Honduras, and other places, 3. townes, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats.

The 12. daye of Februarie An. 1591. we set saile from Dover roade, and having a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arrived at Santa Cruz roade, where having refreshed our selves some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and having a favourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Salvages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with us to S. Juan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing some 20. or 30. musketiers, some 20. horsemen made towards us; but wee retired to our boates without any service done.

The 9. we lay hovering all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at us.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe us to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with us, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the sayde Iland, about some 9. or 10. leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona [III. 568.] some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded us such fruits as their Iland yeelded, viz. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descryed a frigat, which wee chased and tooke: wherein were 22. jarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Juan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde Iland of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar & poultrie great store, but the people had discovered our ships over night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortie or fiftie houses. They brought us much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransome the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selves, wee stode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted under an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could affourd, leaving onely so fewe aboord our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, have wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Iland to the Northwest part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discovered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recovering on lande before us, gave an alarme to the towne, who were presently up in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie horses. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne, having a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where upon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountred by the horsemen having no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horsemen charged us very fiercely, but seeing they could not prevaile, brought in a drove before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to have broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to returne backe upon themselves: and thus their owne device sorted out to their owne detriment. In this skirmish wee slewe their governour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne standeth from the waters side a league.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gave out, (as by the life of their wives and children, &c. that not one of us should goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of us and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe up with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day untill night we could not get up, and they having discovered us, baricadoed up their way, and conveyed all that they had into the mountaines, leaving their houses onely bare and naked, notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leaving not an house unburnt, being a towne of three streetes having about 150. housholds.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguava, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discovered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stoode, and having a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted us not, untill we had almost fet them up: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and fet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing upon us with their ordinance.

They thought some fleete had bene come from Spaine, for so they expected.

Our captaine having understanding by the Spaniards, that there were three shippes more at Puerto de Cavallos, stood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or ever wee came there, the shippes having peradventure discovered us, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee [III. 569.] remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick silver, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, & good linnen, silkes, cotton-cloth, and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we spared it, because wee found other contentment. And having taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboord our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discovered one of the shippes which was laden at Puerto de Cavallos: but they had espied us before, as it should seeme; for they had conveyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded up with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certeine jarres of balsamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood alongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in sixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the sixth of June, we found another of the ships there, but close under the castle, her ruther unhanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers under a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for us to abide, and so betaking us to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discovered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would have landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were dispersed either from other. And having determined all of us to meet at a certeine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selves; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of us came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other untill we came into England.

Our place of meeting should have beene at the Tortugas neere unto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neverthelesse wee fell with certeine islands within the point of Florida, where the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certeine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but found the Savages very courteous unto us, who came brest high into the sea, and brought us a line to hall in our boat on shore, and shewed us that up into the land Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had given him by one of the Savages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Savage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine silver plate, whereof one the sayd Savage gave John Locke, masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife: the other piece he gave to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of silver were in forme like unto the bosse of a bridle. These Savages were farre more civill than those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie, they covered their privities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the bush hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Havana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gave chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee yeelded unto us: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found some five Spanyards, five and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled up in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes, seventeene frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make up the full number of twenty, the Spanyards themselves set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our course from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Azores, where we watered, finding sir John Burgh there, who tooke us to be Spanyards, and made up unto us; with whom wee joyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with divers of us was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir John Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arrived in Dartmouth the seventh of September 1592.

[III. 570.]

The voyage made to the bay of Mexico by M. William King Captaine, M. Moore, M. How, and M. Boreman Owners, with the Salomon of 200 tunnes, and the Jane Bonaventure of 40 tunnes of Sir Henry Palmer, from Ratcliffe the 26 of January 1592.

THe Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Jane with sixe and twenty, all like wise mariners. Wee came first to the Downes in Kent, and never strooke saile in passing thence, untill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota one of the Canarie islands, where we landed threescore men, and fetched a caravell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a demy-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played upon us with their small shot at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gave them the repulse. Thence we went to the Grand

Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driven by great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies, and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seventy Negros, which we caried with us to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El passaje, we gave chase to a frigat which went in to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an English shippe of seventy tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canary-wines, in despight of the castle and two new bulwarks, being within caliver shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost part of the island, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spanish caravell which the Jane Bonaventure tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other. We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selves with potatos and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arrived at the mouth of the river of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Westward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine jarres of malosses or unrefined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with us to Cape Tiburon, which, in respect of service done unto us in furnishing us with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Jamaica, and our shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, where we found no people, but a good river of fresh water; and there we turned up threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two served an

Jamaica.

A good river of fresh water in Grand Caiman.

hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doves, wilde geese, & other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went over for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut over to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty live hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather jerkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set us to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, having certeine pieces of Spanish broad cloth & other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recover Havana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, saving some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore. Then at length we recovered up to Havana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they overreached us with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, having 27 banks on a side, and fought with us another houre; which for that time left us by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out an excellent harbour, having three fadome water at the flood, able within to receive a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed us, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliver shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gave us over, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues off this harbour of Cavannas, we met with

Preserving of hogs-flesh.

The excellent haven of Cavannas.

master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, [III. 571.] of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Benjamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with their boats; but my shallope first boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in jarres, and good store of oile in jarres. The ship we unladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 sailes, before Havana; but passing by we gave chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Havana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cavallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a sevennight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arrived at Dover about the tenth of November 1592.

[A briefe

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Viceadmirall, the Edward Bonaventure, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, Rereadmirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies, suffred shipwracke upon the isle of Bermuda, wherof here is annexed a large description.

A Portugall ship taken.

They double the cape of Buena Esperanza.

THe tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plymmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arrived at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which served greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of July following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Speranza, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with divers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonaventure weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Speranza. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This evening we saw a great sea breake over our admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we never saw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Mozambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Mozambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one mat-saile of Coco nut leaves. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with us, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, upon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all November, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they having first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered untill the beginning of February following.

Quitangone nere Mozambique.

The isle of Comoro.

They Winter at the isle of Zanzibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but having calmes and contrary windes, wee were untill the moneth of June before wee could recover the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of June we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed untill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore

The isles of Pulo pinaom.

tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, [III. 572.] both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from us in a gust in the morning. Here we might have taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seven hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

The isle of Nicubar.

In the moneth of November 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arrived there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord us in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought unto us reals of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diving in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, & were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolved to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherfore we weyed anker in the moneth of November, and arrived at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make up our voyage: whereof hee conceived great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had received; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and every day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke

They returne homeward.

and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certeine flies in our ship, which devoured most part of our bread before we were aware: so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary us into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

They double the cape of Bona Speranza.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Speranza.

The isle of S. Helena.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in unto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in upon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not having seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such joy, that what betweene excessive sudden feare & joy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorowes. Here we found of his drying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two sutes of goats skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like unto the Savages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man lived untill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

The strange force of sudden feare and sudden joy.

The isle of Trinidad in the West Indies.

In the moneth of June 1593 we arrived at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing: but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would have forsaken the ship:

whereupon the captaine was inforced to sweare every man not to forsake the ship untill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliver us; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fifteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arrived a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed us with bread and other provision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaves the one of the other.

The isle of Mona.

In July having foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selves withall: which canvas the aforesayd Frenchman did helpe us withall. Also having doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforenamed, the forsayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gave chase unto us againe; who being come nere unto us, I went aboord him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe us withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canvas. Moreover, he sayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnavy, which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe us with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen unto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staied with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neverthelesse hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying

Cape Tiburon.

* *Or Guanaba.*

[III. 573.]

so long with him, and having little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might have bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ship sent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being invited unto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to us: but at length hee came. At his comming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered us, that either we must depart from him, or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance unto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed & set saile: which we perceived, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept us for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being asterne of them, having in her two Moores & two men of Pegu, which we had given them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, & did threaten us very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward seeing us past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe us as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, & so she came to us, having in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one John West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to see if they could overtake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of us, but heard no newes of his boat. So he having Spanyards and Negros aboord of us, requested to have them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboord our shippe, and he should have them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our joyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboord our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would give mee passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the unrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaves the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnavy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

The last of November 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to have his ship cast away upon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselves at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelve leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through

They wracked upon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saved, I hope to his service & glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie clifs, but we found our selves seven leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats sterne, we were saved some 26 of us; among whom were no more English but my selfe. Now being among so many strangers, & seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor upon the raft, for feare lest they should have cast me over boord, or els have killed me: so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, untill the captaine being entred the boat, called me unto him being at hand, for that it stood upon life or death: and so I presently entred, leaving the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day [III. 574.] until an houre or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, every man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be found store of fresh water. This Island is divided all into broken Islands: and the greatest part I was upon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and two miles & a halfe over; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saved our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and having recovered the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and

The description of the isle of Bermuda.

The saving of the carpenters tooles was their preservation.

A bark strangely built & furnished.

very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrowds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and assoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of us a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the morter into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should faile us; and therfore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our provision of raine-water, and 13 live tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subject to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set us cleere of the Island, to the no little joy of us all, after we had lived in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water river, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast. And here the people of the countrey came unto us, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side unto their skins, & brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company having saved some small beads, bought

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ye East part of Bermuda.

An excellent fishing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton use traffike of rich furres.

some of their ducks. Here we stayed not above foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with divers, but none would take in a man of us, untill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which received us all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed my selfe aboord the English barke: and having passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arrived at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Duddeley, now knight, to the isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria: with his returne home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Juan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo, the shoalds called Abreojos, and the isle of Bermuda. In which voyage he and his company tooke and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an armada of 600 tunnes. Written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt.

HAving ever since I could conceive of any thing bene delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to undertake such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the advise of sufficient seamen, and principally undertooke a voyage for the South seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprise, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Majesties subjects upon so uncerteine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring. Neverthelesse, I have yeelded to your former importunity, and sent you this my journall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

[III. 575.] Nowe being provided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the sixth of November 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Upon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnesses called the Frisking and the Earewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this porttowne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes I utterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnesse, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leaving of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnesse, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which space having many chases, I could meet with none but my countreymen or countreys friends. Leaving these Spanish shores I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get some vessel to remove my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was frustrated, because my vice-admiral was returned into

England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Caravels under the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. sailes. In the one Caravel called The Intent, I made Benjamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate traveller with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa upon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renue my victuals upon the Canthers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canthers had bene so frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding under this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand upon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Caravels from the shore, who road very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenas or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa, I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes we descried, and the first of February came to an anker under a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which glister like golde (but all is not gold that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure us it was Calvori, which signifieth gold with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their com-

This M. Benjamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certaine pinnesses upon a voyage for the South seas and for China, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley.

A description of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The ysle of Trinidad descried.

Punta de Curiapan.

manders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort unto my ship, & brought us hennes, hogs, plantans, potatoes, pinos, tobacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with us for hatchets, knives, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a convenient place to water, balast, ground, & grave my Caravels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shore, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being jealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till from Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, having then but 50. men, because my Caravels before their comming were sent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me stil in like sort. And the Spaniards now provided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore & strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4. long marches upon the yland, & the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) & lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discovering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discovery thereof by Captaine Popham, who received the discovery of the saide empire from one captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries in the selfe same maner almost, as sir Walter Ralegh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceive, the Captaine hath yet to shew

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inskonce themselves.

A treasonable practize of the Spaniards.

They march from one side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

[III. 576.]

in Spanish. This discovery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should adventure all occasions upon it onely, I sent my two Caravels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the provision that I could spare, and dividing my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Caravels being gone, I began to enquire privately of the Savages concerning the maine over against us, and learned that the names of the kingdomes joyning to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right against the Northermost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discovery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by divers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is silver, and great store of most excellent Cane-tabacco. But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I understood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the River (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and whatsoever he knew, he reveiled it to my selfe onely by a private interpreter, not in words alone, but offered upon paine of life to be guide

His two Caravels sent to range the Indias.

Seawano called perhaps in sir Walter Raleghs discovery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Ralegh speaketh of Saima, and Wikeri in his discovery.

This Indians name was Balthasar, who afterward gave our men the slip at their greatest need.

himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discovery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my ship-boat for this discovery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, & gave them their directions to follow, written under mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which river goeth under the name of the great River Orenoque, the foreland wherof was called Capulio bearing South & by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leags distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Rivers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land al woody, seeming to have great store of strange beasts and foules, & very populous. They entred into a small river called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next river they passed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tivitivas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answere. Upon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they should have nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and Jewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token whereof, he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of silver. Also he told them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El

A river called Cabota.

The river of Amana and the kingdome of Tivitivas are both mentioned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

A people sprinkled with poulder of gold.

Dorado, with many other things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Savages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a River called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate above 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worse then before; for unlesse I would have gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for so long they were out of the fresh Rivers, before they recovered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gave us great comfort. And if I had not lost my pinnesses, wherein I might have caried victuals and some men, we had discovered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh (who, as wee surmized, had some purpose for this discovery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might have done some good: but it seemed he came not in sixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not convenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our selves at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leaving the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize

Captaine Pophams arrivall.

[III. 577.]

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

The yles of Santa Cruz and Infierno.
Cape Roxo.
They disemboque by the yle of Zacheo.
The sholds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or Looke out.
Bermuda.
Flores and Cuervo.

refreshed us well : yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Sant Juan de Puerto rico, and shaping our course thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. John, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo : where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Juan de puerto rico buy my prize) I unladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I disemboqued (where fewe Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Juan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shouldes of Abreojos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Havana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete dispersed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes ; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cuervo : whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete of her Majestie my sovereigne, as I had intelligence, and to give them advise of this rich Spanish fleet : but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

A fight of two dayes with a Spanish Armada of 600 tunnes.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of sixe hundreth tunnes. And having spent all my powder I was constrained to leave her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leaving her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arrived at S. Ives in Cornewall

They arrive at S. Ives in Cornwall in May 1595.

about the latter ende of May 1595, scaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

Thus by the providence of God landing safely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by divers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, & were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. John de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, sunke and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I observed at my being there.

Guttemock.	A man.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra.	The heare of ones head.
Dessie	The forehead.
Dasereth, or Dacosi	An eye.
Dalacoack	The mouth.
Archeh	The teeth.
Daria	The gummes.
Desire	The lips.
Dill	The tongue.
Dudica	The eares.
Dacan	A hand.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.
Dadena	The wrist.
Dacurle	A knee.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.
Dabodda	The toes.
Dacutti	The feete.
Cattie	The moone.
Tauraroth	A rope.
Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Weevah	The heaven.
Harowa	A stone good for the head ache.

Mointiman	Yron or steele.
Howa	Munkeis in generall.
Carotta	A thing like pappe.
Sakel	It is well, or I am well.
Techir	A bracelet.
Bodad	A boxe or chest.
Mentinie	A tree.
Addehegaeno	A glasse.
*Calcouri	Gold.
Perota	Silver.
Tacorao a green stone. }	{ Arrara copper.
Caulpiri	A white stone.
Casparo A sword. }	{ Tibetebe cockles.
Marrahabo a bow. }	{ Semaro an arrow.
Huculle	A bow-string.
Halete	A Potato roote.
Caerwoda	A sweete root.
Maurisse Wheat. }	{ Queca A basket.
Yeddola A knife. }	{ Sambolers A hat.
Beyou A pipe. }	{ Callit Bread.
*Oronuie	Water.
Arguecona	A paire of cizzers.
Heldaro	A spoone.
Hemachugh	A bread which they eate.
Hicket Fire. }	{ Walrowa A parrot.
Ureit Tabacco. }	{ Barudda A combe.
Addoth	A sticke.
Barrennaire	A button, or beads.
Curaballa & Sibath, for 2 sundry stones : but Sibath in general signifieth a stone.	
Tolletillero bels. }	{ Ullasso a Tuny-fish.
Bohery A flying fish. }	{ Bara Water.
Haddalle	The Sunne.
Babage-Canoaseen	The manner of the Indians hailing of a ship, calling it after the name of their Canoas.
Non quo, Or	I know not, Or
Non quapa	I cannot tell.

** It is before in this voyage called Calverie.* [III. 578.]

** The name of the river Orenoque may seeme to be derived from this word.*

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight, and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595. Wherein the yle of Puerto Santo, the yle of Coche neere Margarita, the fort and towne of Coro, the stately city of S. Iago de Leon were taken sacked and burned, and the towne of Cumana ransomed, & Jamaica entred. Written by Robert Davie one of the company.

Captaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & discreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the Ascension and the Gift, and a small pinnesse at Plimmouth, for the space of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Jones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the West Indies. We with captaine Jones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowse in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giving chase to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they utterly lost sight ech of other: whereupon captain Preston in his ship alone, resolved to surprise the yle of Puerto santo, and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde services, by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats & kine: they have also plenty of foules, fishes, & fruits.

Captaine Preston comming before this yland with one ship only sought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the same: but the people were on shore in warlike array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the great danger, and disadvantage of the place, he caused his people to returne abord againe. And the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely, who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselves from the raine til break of the day, and so marched forward upon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados upon the shore. By this time the enemie was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our muskets, when they saw our pikes approch, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets, & shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an ensigne, which one captaine Harvey an English man had lost not long before, was recovered: and the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woon and possessed. But before the entrance of our men they had conveighed their wives, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding high hil which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Although they sent divers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they used towards captaine Harvey and his people, captaine Preston would shew them no favour, but utterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & just revenge of his country men, before his owne private gaine, &

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland unto his ship. But we in our ship met not with him, untill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling pursuing our voyage, had [III. 579.] sight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeast side of the grand Canaria. There we met with capt. Sommers, & his pinnesse, & 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing over towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recovered Tenerif, & the same day towards night we ankered under the southside of the same. There I went aland in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselves. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to have landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with joy the 13 of April, & set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arrived at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened unto us saving this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staied at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came unto us in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, and brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with us, for hatchets, knives, & small bead-stones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard joyning to a cold river side: wherein our sick men bathed themselves, and were soone recovered of their sicknesses. This is a goodly yland, and some-

They water upon the grand Canaria.

Dominica.

An excellent holesome hot bath found in Dominica.

thing high land, but al overgrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 sailing Southwestward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arrived at the Testigos & ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muster of all, & the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearle: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neer it in the night with our ships within some 3 leagues, & there ankered under the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesses & boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherein are few or none inhabitants, but they commonly come from Margarita in boats on the munday, and remaine there fishing for pearles untill the Saturday, and then returne & cary al that they have taken to Margarita. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaves with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good store of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew a shore in the seine a fish called by the Spaniards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil devour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they have muske in them, and live as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to have gotten in that night to have landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay that we could not recover the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied

The yles called Testigos.

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fish for pearle.

too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get up so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to us, after they saw that we were at an anker, & came somewhat neere us, and sent their skyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had secretly advertised the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arrivall. Here they of Cumana perceiving that we would land, came to parle with us, and tolde us, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand us, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, they would give us some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, received their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arrival in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Caravels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: saving in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staied til the 23 of May, & in the evening we set saile, and departed from thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to have landed at a fort that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marveilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here over night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke against the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiving no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting us. Then we presently set our selves in aray, and marched toward the fort, & tooke it without any resistance. Here we remained al the rest of this day until the 28, about three of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a

Two flieboats of Middleburgh forewarne the Spaniards of our comming.

The towne of Cumana ransomed.

Three Caravels taken.

A fort nere the Caracos taken.

[III. 580.]

litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company overcharging themselves with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the governor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared unto us that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our comming: and that if we did go the common beaten way, it was never possible for us to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the passage being not above 25 or 30 foot in bredth, & on each side marveilous steep-upright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Upon which speeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way marveilous bad and very ill to travel, which the Indians do commonly use: but he thought that the Spaniards had stopt the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to travel, so our generall sent him abord his ship, & there kept him. In the taking of our 3 small Caravels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traveiled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told us he would cary us thither by any of both these wayes, if afterward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe unto us by the great & beaten way on horsebacke, who being discovered, our generall sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeirs, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous spies out of England.

the Indians way called The unknowen way. In our march we came to divers Indians houses, which we never hurt, but passed by and left them untouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched until it was night over such high mountaines, as we never saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarse passe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a river descended downe over the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish governours confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in divers places with trees, & other things in such sort, that we were driven to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with us for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forward to recover the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreeme high and so steep-upright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came unto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not, nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leave them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come up, and would have stayed longer to have refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that wee durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselves, it doeth almost continually raine. Assoone as we were descended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from us. Here we all cleared our muskets: and when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second volee of shot to the great discouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter us on horsebacke. Being nowe fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, saving certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descendeth from the mountaines. Here we set our selves in a readinesse, supposing the enemie would have encountered us: but having pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shoot, and marched in all hast toward the enemie before the maine battell, wherein was our generall with capt. Sommers and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conveyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily cary, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained until the 3 of June without anie great disturbance, saving sometime by night they would come on horsebacke hard unto our Corps du guard, and finding us vigilant, and readie for them, would depart againe.

The Citie of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

[III. 581.]

The first of June, there came a Spaniard neere unto us alone: the Corps du guard perceiving him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should have free passage. Upon which promise hee came to him on horse-backe, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ransome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So having had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled than anie citie in the world, meaning, by those huge & high mountains which the enemie must passe over before he can approch it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, he tooke his leave for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the governour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffred him to depart: who before his departure, requested to have a token of our General, that he might shew to the Governour how he had spoken with us, or else he doubted, that he would not beleeve him. Wherupon our General gave him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne unto us with an answere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of June, at his houre appointed, he returned with his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the governours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainement which could be given him, they communed again about the ransome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not give. Our General counting it a small summe of money among so many, did utterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the ransome which he demanded, he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of moment, except some shew of assault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, & some two leagues and more unto certaine villages thereabout, & set them on fire: but the enemy never came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed unto us of his own accord, how the General had sent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we understood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought upon the messenger, how he had used long delayes with us: wherupon we were commanded presently, every man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, & burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaves and so departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of June, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came unto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was of such force, that 100 men in it wel furnished, would have kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepenes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriving of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth

Certain villages about Sant Iago fired.

The citie of S. Iago burned.

day of June in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee overthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bases of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and so set forward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, untill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-perilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle, and standing along the coast, our Spanish guide signified unto us, that there were foure sayles of ships about five leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, unto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conveyed their sailes ashore into the woodes, so that they could not bring them off, but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence we stood along the shore, sailing untill the ninth day of June, on which day toward the evening we imbarked our selves in our pinnesses and small caravels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discover the towne, but we could not, wee went above a league up into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with divers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, & so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboord untill the evening. After our

A fort and certain Indians houses by the waters side burnt.

[III. 582.]

Three Spanish ships burnt.

A baricado woon.

The towne of Cores taken & burnt.

comming aboord a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought us newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small caravels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leave their forces, and flie. Having wonne this baricado they there remained untill the next day being the 11 of June, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked. Having gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had used them before, which caused them to convey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to save himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themselves, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bases, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies & a night. So we sayled over toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of June: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we ankored under Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed untill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sicknesse was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common disease in that countrey. We remayned about this Island untill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of July arrived at the Island of Jamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken us, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Jones, was sent to discover some other secret matter, in which discovery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Jamaica until the sixt of July, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeves, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of July, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westermost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were under this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful, and happie discovery of Guiana, and his surprise of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, save

The bay of Laguna.

Hispaniola.

Jamaica.

The death of captaine Jones.

Cape de Corrientes.

that we gave chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

[III. 583.] Afterward we plyed to recover Havana, untill the five and twentieth of July: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set our course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set sayle to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arrived in safety (God be thanked) in Milford haven in Wales, having performed so long a voyage in the space of sixe moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The Banke of Newfoundland

The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.

WEe brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankored againe in Causon bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stoode Southwest: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskervil went, strake upon the Edy stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Munday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northwest and by North, and then we stoode away Southwest and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish fliboats bound for Barbary; which we caried a while with us and afterward dismissed them without doing them any harme: only wee learned newes of them, and stayed them from discrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we saw Forteventura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had over-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeast, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thousand and foure hundreth men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordinance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900, which played upon us out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, & rode there at ankor some three hours, the Salomon, the Bonaventure, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Juell, the Little John, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the caravell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gave over the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stoode off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going up the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set upon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and staves killed the captaine and three or foure of his company:

the rest were sore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a caravel of adviso into the Indies, unto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was three weekes before we set foorth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our provision at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away Southwest and Southsouthwest some 200 leagues, untill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or five other ships bearing on head of the fleete was separated. *Dominica.* Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter knives, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeast side a saker shot off the shore in 13 fathomes water faire sholding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gave a yellow [III. 584.] wastcoate of flanell and an hankerchiefe; and they gave him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in divers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and stoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing upon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the shore: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day sir John Hawkins came to us againe standing up from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set up our pinnesses, and refreshed our souldiers on shore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir John Hawkins fleete was chased by five of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpose with 3. other Zabras for the treasure of S. Juan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our caravel. They left the Francis driving in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Juan de Puerto rico told us.

The 4 of November we began to unlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day unladen, unrigged and then sunken. Then we stood Northwest & by North: and the next morning saw the Ilands of Monserrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8 leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white sand. Then we stood away Southwest, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called Las Virgines, which have bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankorage, high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hookes and nets: also we stayed on shore and fowled. Here sir John Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes began upon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and stoode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discovered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, having hie steepe hils on either side, some league distant from our first riding.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Juan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called The passages to the Southward of us, and that night came up to the Eastermost end of S. John, where sir John Hawkins departed this life: upon whose decease sir Thomas Baskervil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the estermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we received from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the misen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from under him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and master Browne died of their hurts.

The death of sir John Hawkins.

Then wee set sayle and stood to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The fight at S. Juan de Puerto rico.

The 13 we rode still untill night, when in the beginning with twenty five pinnesses, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fire-workes and small shot wee went into the rode within the great castels, and in despite of them fired the five Zabras of frigats, all ships of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gave us a hundreth eighty and five great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it over with her mastes almost to the very fortes and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of brasse, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was silke, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ship called the Vigonia, was conveyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or five and thirty tunnes of silver. Also they had sent all the women, children, and unable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many [III. 585.] were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners.

The 14 we rode stil, being within shot of the uttermost castell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe up the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes wee saw to sinke; and as wee suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got up farther within their chiefest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a caravell comming from the castell point: but before our pinnesses could fetch her up, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Islanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stoode one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giving the point a birth because of a shoald of sand that lieth some two cables length off: there we rode in foure, five, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set up more pinnesses, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnesse of Hispaniola with divers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the caravell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh river in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The Generall went into this river three or foure leagues up, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskervil rowed up the river, and stayed there all night, and went up into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not having repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against us. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

Mona. The 25 we stood away southwest, and saw Mona being a lowe flat Island betweene Hispaniola and S. Juan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter spent her boult-sprite; and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company until the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard, breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to save some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South and South and by West after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called Curazao within eight leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stoode away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw Aruba, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of us.

The Isle of Curazao.

Aruba.

On Sunday morning being the last of November wee saw three or foure little Islands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The Phenix, the caravell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came under Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the rest of the fleete came to anker under the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelve, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. The Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a little Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the first of December wee imbarked all our souldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clocke in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in two fadomes and an halfe water: the

Monjes.

Cape de la Vela.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shold of sand: therefore give a birth some halfe league or more before you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in five and sixe fadomes. There is a fresh river about a bow-shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesses could scarse enter by reason of a barre of sand in the rivers mouth, but within it is navigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues up.

A shold of sand.

[III. 586.]

A fresh river.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskervil marched up into the countrey to over-runne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundreth and fiftie men went by water sixe leagues to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed our selves, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some silver and pearle, but of small value.

La Rancheria taken.

On Saturday the seventh, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sicknes, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Jonas Bodenham captaine of the Adventure, and master Charles Cæsar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so deare as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giving them foure houres respite to cleere themselves with their treasure.

The sixteenth the governour came into the towne about dinner, and upon conference with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand us, whereby they might convey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the General gave the governour leave to depart according to promise, having two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

The seventeenth Sir Thomas Baskervil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the caravel with foure or five pinnesses went some five leagues to the Westward, & landing, marched some foure leagues up into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed over a river, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboord alive with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers having gotten some pillage.

Tapia taken.

Sallamca burnt.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserved. That day wee set sayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskervil.

The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subject much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within

Cape de Aguja.

the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the Westnorthwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steepie hils. A league Southwest within that, (for so falleth the land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indians, which in a bravado at our landing gave us some 30 or 40 shot, & so ran away.

Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in every place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for every small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode neerest the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleete. [III. 587.]

The 26 we saw the Ilands some twelve leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the offin untill the next day.

Nombre de Dios taken.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played upon us, having in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in discharging at us. They gave us also a voley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running upon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

The towne was bigge, having large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill above the towne, and upon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-house, where we tooke twentie sowes of silver, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subject much to raine, very unhealthy as any place in the Indies, having great store of Orenges, plantans, cassavy-roots, & such other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the Eastwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh river of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambush with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, set upon us, and killed Lieutenant Jones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before us and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diverse other houses in pursuing them, and so returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Rivers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from us.

An Indian towne fired.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they are in sight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might have made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskervil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgians and provand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Januarie burnt the rest, with all the Frigats, Barks & Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, having houses built over them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of January sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, having marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played divers times upon us both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was so sore as never Englishman marched before. Having marched some ten leagues in a marvellous straite way, upon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set up a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played upon us as we came up, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of us, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Majesties guard, besides diverse were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskervil a valiant gentleman, with divers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and give over his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The Ile of Escudo.

The 10 day we saw an Iland lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good ankorage. If you come into the Easterne point, give it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing us, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Advisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along the coast Westward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 [III. 588.] leagues from the maine, & is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in every part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and given to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set up the rest of our Pinnesses.

The 15 day Captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scowring or fluxe.

The 23 we set saile and stood up again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of sir Francis Drake.

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, having bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He used some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Jonas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gave to captaine Bodenham.

Puerto Bello.

The same day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al along the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland & another Iland that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses, besides a great new house which they were in building for the Governour that should have bene for that place: there was also a very strong Fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would have made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to have builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordinance sunke in the sea, which we weighed up, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Up within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh river, our men rowing up some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskervill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, having to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, sir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there shewing his Commission was accepted for General, & captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Savill captaine of ye Adventure.

The 27 died captaine Josias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and James Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships & made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne up againe for Santa Martha, we should, if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some balast as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus jolly was going on shore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiving it came downe upon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne up into the woods againe.

The seventh the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shore all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransome for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they never returned againe. As we were setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well used, adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to have bene but a delay to have kept us there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of Februarie, turning up for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Ilands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told us he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made, we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put over for Cape [III. 589.] S. Antonie, and gave over Santa Martha.

The Grand Cayman. The 25 we saw the Iland of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the Northwestward of Jamaica, being a low sandie Iland, having many tortoyses about it.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Ilands, to the East of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiving it, we stood out againe Southsoutheast and so got cleere, and then stood away West *The Ile of Pines.* and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middest of it you shall see rise up above the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westermost hath three in one.

Being shot foorth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espied 20 sayle of ships about one in the afternoone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded wheresoever they heard we were, to come upon us with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Havana.

As soone as they discried us, they kept close upon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of us: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskervil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the rest of our fleete their braverie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship than any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleete loofed by and gave the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonaventure bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with torne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the middest of the Spanish fleete thundering of her ordinance and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consorts were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leaving their admirall and the rest of the fleete, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At sunne set all the fleete tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should have met with more of their consorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had five men slaine, three English men, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after, their fleete keeping upon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and all burnt, as we might well perceive.

The fight betweene the English and the Spanish fleetes.

One of the Spanish great ships burnt.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, having a bush of trees higher than the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleete which then were but 14 no more than we were, kept still upon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with us although our Admirall stayed for them. Assoone as we had cleered our selves of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, & so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleete: But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, and having not forgotten the fight which she made the night before, they loofed up into the middest of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete stayed untill the Salomon came up, and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in sight of by two in the after noone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay, where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North & Easterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a sterne. That night wee stood away a glasse or two Northwest, and Northnorthwest, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off upon the North part of Cuba, presently assoone as you passe Cape S. Anthonie: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at Southsouthwest, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7 we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Havana, and another place in Cuba called The Table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land over Havana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current untill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

Cape Sante Antonio.

The Crowne.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had disemboqued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonaventure, and the Little John, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larbord tacked Eastsoutheast.

The Cape of Florida.

[III. 590.]

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell a sterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eve at night we set saile the winde serving us to lie some slent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came up at Northeast, wee beate it up some 30 leagues to the Eastward, & then about to the West, and so againe to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Corvo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz under Flores: but before midnight we drave, and set saile the next day standing away Northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came up againe at North. On sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came up a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being dispersed by bad weather we arrived about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

[A Libell

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Savile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskervil Generall of her Majesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.

WHereas Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diverse untruthes, concerning our fleete and the commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I have taken upon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, having my selfe bene Captaine of one of her Majesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and love to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Navigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

Henry Savile.

THe true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Navie in the West Indies, sent unto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, and by him put in print with privilege: wherein are declared many untruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the service of her Majesties Navie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, under the command of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins Generals at the sea; and sir Thomas Baskervill Generall at land: with a confutation of divers grosse lies and untruthes, contayned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth. [III. 591.]

Copia de una carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente de la casa de la contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del sucesso de la Armada de Ynglatierra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo un Filibote, y aviendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde aviendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Governador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necessidad de agua, y reparar los Navios por que venian faltos della, me detuve en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por un Aviso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de aver perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso. Y aviendo dado a vuestro Merced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Marzo, y tome la derrota de la Havana, donde entendi hallarlo: y aviendo hecho la diligencia

posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yva con catorze Navios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yva mas al viento con otros dos Navios commenzo arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarsele paraque quisiesse envestir: los que estavamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimavamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembarazo de todos, poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le segui con nueve Navios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instruciones de su Magestad: sirvio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Navios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar un arcabuz, ni una pieza, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Navios los avia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabava de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para aderezarlos. A que navego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me lo arrimo una Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almiranta y los demas Navios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado un Navio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deven de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Havana. 30 de Marzo, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Juan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Sevilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Assistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil maravedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Sevilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y noventa y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Juan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por su mandado, Gregoria de Gutierez, Escrivano. [III. 592.]

[The Spanish

The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent unto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was Generall Francis Drake, and of his death.

FRom Cartagena I gave relation unto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And having sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemie, untill I arrived at Cartagena, and there taking the advise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Governour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we stayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowen. Thus having given you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you understand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towardes Havana, where I thought to have found the English fleete. And having used all the diligence possible, upon Munday the eleventh of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Ile of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleete, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of us, and our

Admirall who bore up towards the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus upon them, three times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe upon us, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and calivers, whereby they received evident hurt by us: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leaving their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Majestie. It little availed us to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could use, could cause them to stay or come neere us, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them: the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit us to trim them: I have sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we have not repaired their pumpes nor clensed them: and the same day I departed thence, there came unto me a small Pinnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships have the like impediment, but no great hinderance unto us, for ought I could perceive by our enemies: It is manifest what advantage they had of us, and by no meanes was it possible for us to take them, unlesse we could have come to have found them at an anker. Nevertheless they left us one good shippe behinde for our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they have made for Generall of the English fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by us, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arrive in England. The number of men we have taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behaviour: I have no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire. From Havana the 30 of March, 1596.

[III. 593.] DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO DE AVELLANEDA.

THe Licenciat Don John Bermudes of Figueroa Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of Sivill, and the Province thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of Priego, giveth licence to Roderigo de Cabriera to imprint the Relation of the death of Francis Drake, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, upon paine of tenne thousand Maravedis for his Majesties chamber. Given in Sivill the 15 of May 1596.

The Licenciat Don John Bermudes of Figueroa.

By his Assigne Gregorie Gutierez Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their supposed victorie, was altogether received for an undoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes unto the Spaniarde, that there was present commandement given to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be pertakers of this common joy: the which letter printed in Sivill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Savile

Esquire, who being employed in that service for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Majesties good shippe the Adventure, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainely appeare, the sayde Henrie Savile doth answere particularly to every untrueth in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that Francis Drake died at Nombre de Dios, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

The Generals first newes, & his best newes is in part lying newes.

THe Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: It is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whose life was a scourge and a continuall plague unto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely beseeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place upon the report of a silly Indian slave. For it had bene sufficient to have sayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is most certaine sir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Escudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being ravished with the suddaine joy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie upon another, doth not cease untill he hath drawen them into sequences, and so doth commende them unto Peter the Doctor, as censor of his learned worke.

Secondly, The Generall doth write unto the Doctor, that Francis Drake died for very griefe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

A Thing very strange that the Generall or the Indian whom hee doth vouch for his lie, should have such speculation in the bodie of him whom they never saw, as to deliver for truth unto his countrie, the very cause or disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tollerable; notwithstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly proove that the Generall doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of any Barkes or men in our Navie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one small pinnesse excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a fleete of five Frigates (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere unto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour of Don Bernaldino: the which five Frigates of the kings afterwardes had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Juan de Puerto rico, and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise mens judgements, will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, sir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen upon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded up his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall shall survey his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort unto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene utterly lost.

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The successe of the kings five Frigats.

[III. 594.]

The certaine cause whereof sir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleventh of March last he met the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, being fourteene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set upon them three times with all their shippes: but the English Fleete fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

THis third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a just proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoza his countreyman, concerning the overthrowe of hir Majesties Navie in the yeere one thousand five hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the whetstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoza the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot conjecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Navie with nine shippes, and did three severall times give the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be living) and many other can witnesse the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to save her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish Fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleete: and the Spanish Navie can witnesse that they received such store of bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English navie did holde their determined course: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not above thirteene

A payre of Spanish liers.

The Spanish Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spanish ships after the fight.

ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to save themselves.

**The translation of the Spanish word Lanchas is here mistaken.*

Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleete fled away, and left their *oares for hast behind them in the sea.

This lie was made in the Generals own forge.

IT was strange that they should leave behinde them oares in the sea, sithence there was not in the English fleete either Galley or Galliasse, which required the use of oares: as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboord their shippes, and were no impediment unto them, but most necessarie for them to use, and therefore not likely they would cast them overboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is sinne to belie the Devill, and therefore the Generall shall have his right: the letter is so well contrived, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should have beene printed, he would have omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did use him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

Fiftly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could use, he could not cause the English fleete to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could. [III. 595.]

AND this lie also he doth not receive by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action, which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde than wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Majesties shippes, and others that served in that fight, doe declare, that his ships received at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreyman (if any do favour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done unto the kings fleete, sithence they did encounter with the English Navie, whensoever they that remaine shall arrive in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and waxeth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoza: and yet Mendoza was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Navie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behave himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwayes farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stoode cleare from the danger of musket or any small shot, and durst not approch; whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so helde his place, untill by order of fight other shippes were to have their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politikely had so ordered his vangarde,

The torn sides of the Spanish ships doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

The order of the English Navie.

and rereward, that as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniarde, so might they have bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any judgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Navie should flie from him; for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that ever he did winne from the English: Peradventure some silly novice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of conjuration, and for feare of raysing a spirit, might flie from him as from the Devill: or some simple Indian slave hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English Navie were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they have often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spanish brags are of no value with the English.

Sixtly the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that Drake dyed in Nombre de Dios: in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the best sort.

THe Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniarde having already gone over his shooes, maketh no danger to wade over his bootes also: and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclude. I marvaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying: that is, A liar ought to have a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to revoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and stand to the intelligence received from the silly Indian slave, as it appeareth in his first lie: for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he have his right senses) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General avouch that he received intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most falsely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and frivolous letter) seeing that this name was strange & unknowen to any in the English Navie. Neither do I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith he hath taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth proove that Don Bernaldino is not unfurnished of a forge and storehouse of lies, from whence as from an everflowing fountaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store, [III. 596.] and great plentie to furnish his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gave him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of privilege from being sharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which favour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speak Quebraran for Baskervil. So much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and strange name.

The schoolemen of modesty doe use this kind of reprehension, when they doe thinke the author to erre.

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskervill.

his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the Generall hath given a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernaldino de Mendoza: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might have bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giving the name of Quebraran to the English Generall. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witnesse that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Navie, and never to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they have the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to shew: But evermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will proove, (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieve to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leave them for cowardise, as most untruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a provident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh upon him (amongst other his miracles performed before the English fleete) by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great, as a little shooe to serve a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serve his purpose; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so drie and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a distressed ship which is supposed not to strike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil prove but three.

such manifest untruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploites having taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that served in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Navie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the trueth onely may appeare, to all such as have a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffise to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda his great judgement in amplifying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now having thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and untrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lies, I will leave him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discerne the same: And have here following plainely and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The first discovery of the Generals printed letter.

The meeting of our English Navie and the Spanish fleete, and the order of our encounter.

Sunday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Iland of Pinos, where haling in for the Westerne part thereof, thinking there to have watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we sent in three of our Pinnesses to discover the harbour, and to sound afore us, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discovered a fleete of twentie

The first discovery of the Spanish fleete.

[III. 597.]

sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleete, we kept our loofe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with divers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses: so that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about upon the larbourd tacke, and so ranne in towardes the lande keeping the winde, so as we recovered our Pinnesses; which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere unto them they shot at us; we still approched, having our close fights up, our flags, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight untill our Generall beganne, and gave us warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: so being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came neerest unto us, to whom our Viceadmirall John Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonadventure gave fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall Sir Thomas Baskervill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe unto the Elizabeth Bonadventure) bare up to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly untill he came within musket shot. Jonas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Savile Captaine of the Adventure, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being within musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre. The Defiance bare up likewise and had her turne: after came the Adventure againe within musket shot, who having changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, & continued it an houre with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queenes shippes their course: The

The incounter betwixt the English and the Spanish ships.

marchants ships with other small vessels being without the Queenes ships, shot when they saw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from us, the Adventure playing upon them with her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with divers others of their ships, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of their many and great leakes, which they had received by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee sought to hinder. But our Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selves into the bay, gave them the winde. All that night they kept themselves upon our brode side, notwithstanding our Admiral carried his cresset-light all night, having great care of our smallest shippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were slaine so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leave to your judgements. Yet our eyes can witnesse their ships were sore beaten and racked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driven to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to save themselves then sinke in the Sea: besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their ships blowen up: And in the morning a shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which caused our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ships forced the three ships of the

The Spanish Viceadmirall can witnesse, what successe they had in this fight.

The English admirall carried his Cresset light, notwithstanding the enemie was upon his broad side.

The English received little losse in this conflict.

enemies (which were put foorth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to save themselves, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by us having the winde of us, being but thirteen sayle of their twentie to be seene: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to have fought with them againe, which they perceiving tacked about from us, and after that never durst nor would come neere us: What became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by having received many bullets from us. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere us, so we keeping our course West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the author hereof will justifie with the adventure of his life, against any Spaniarde serving in that action, that shall contradict the same.

The remainder of the Spanish fleete were but thirteene sayles.

Henry Savile.

[III. 598.]

Thomas Baskervil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Savile.

I Thomas Baskervill knight, Generall of her Majesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and us, having perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Navie, and also having perused captaine Henrie Savile his answeres unto the sixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, doe say that the said Henrie Savile hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I have hereunto set my hand.

A.D. 1596.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the justification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contractation house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoever armes he shall make choyce of. And because the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I have written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdome of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I have written: But if by my imployments into France I be so stayed by her Majesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

[A true

A true relation of the voyage undertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knight in Anno 1596. intended for the Ile of San Tomé, but performed to S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Jamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues up Rio Dolce, and homewarde by Newfoundland. With the memorable exploytes atchieved in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships and a gallie. The Bevice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little John 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly distributed into every ship. We arrived at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualed and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Bevice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with us our Generals purpose was to have first sackt the Madera Ile, and so to have proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arrived upon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of Barbary, and came to Masagant, within shot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the Canarie Iles there purposing to water, our galley lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betweene which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Brasill, having nothing aboord her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The Captaine of this Flybote tooke upon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly consented to stay with us, being a Fleming. Having watered at the Canaries, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Iles of Cape Verde, he assuring us that we should there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The Fort of Masagant.

A Flieboat taken.

The first of July we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleete to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete us: where we arrived the fift of July, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the yeere was farre spent. At this place most unfortunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremity, having his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers unto him, unto whom he made a very pithie and briefe speech, tending to this purpose: That as we

[III. 599.]

The Isle of Mayo.

were Christians and all baptised and bred up under one and the true faith, so wee should live together like Christians in the feare and service of God: And as we were the subjects of our most excellent sovereigne, and had vowed obedience unto her: so we should tend all our courses to the advancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or unfit actions. And because we came for his love into this action that for his sake we would so love together as if himselfe were still living with us, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, unto whom under his hand he would give commission to succeede himselfe: all which with solemne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was past, and finding the cost of Guynea most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Æthiopia would be our utter overthrow, and infect us all to death: whereupon he advised us to be respective of our selves, and to divert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brasil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the sholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare up & take some other course; for the time wasted, our men fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging & tempestuous. The water falling from the heavens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

A most contagious & filthy place.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to goe for the West India; & so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who undertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, & arriving at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia, where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

The towne of Praya upon the Isle of S. Iago taken.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our Generall to our great comforts began to recover strength; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with us. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, having a small fort in it, with 6 or 8 cast pieces.

A description of the town of S. Iago taken by sir Francis Drake 1585.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, divers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herdsmen, they would crie unto us Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, & lay under a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to give us notice where the towne was: so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred over with people made shew of feare only to draw us into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by us and viewing us very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to have danted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly housed, & three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefest and best standing upon the top of the hill right over the towne: so that from thence with muskets they command every streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all three commanding the rode, and these two every streete in the towne. Upon the front of the towne the sea beateth, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall seeing himselfe thus straighted, and perceiving the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and advantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like unto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: assure your selves that the device of the Portugals shall serve our turne this day; for they will suffer us quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue us, then [III. 600.] which nothing can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selves as I know you will: and so presently we descended into the trench. And being downe the enemy pursued with a mightie crie, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on every side in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot over. Those that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were so received that they made a stand, and never more came neere us. We had now halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were received with the streetes full of souldiers, who joyned with us at the push of the pike. But their captaine and divers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled: and our Generall pursuing with such furious speede, did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and the third of August we possessed both the lower forts.

The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can never have sufficient commendation) baricadoed up all the streets, and brought our selves into a very convenient strength. After we had bene sixe houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the upper fort, began to sally downe upon us, and to assault us at every baricado: so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thrise more then ours: but they still prosecuted their assault, not giving us time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of three thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our poore number. Whilest we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about unto us, who received many dangerous shot from the upper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus streighted, & discreetely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarse able to defend any one assault more, sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the upper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ashore, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie supposing that our purpose was to assault the upper fort, (which God knowes was most impregnable for us) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals having espied our Generals policie came very furiously upon the backe of us, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is invincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent search we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleventh of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle yeelded us nothing but miserable infection. One night wee had a showre of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger upon the upper decke.

Isla del Fuego.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the

West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieve the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome unto themselves, franticke and desperately raving, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loved were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe unto. But had not his mind bene invincible and his desires above the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now have rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserved him to some exceeding good purpose.

Dominica. *Two excellent hote bathes.* Arriving at Dominica the seventeenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselves were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place used us with great kindnesse, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed untill the 25 of November. *Margarita.* From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord us, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buenaire our Fliboat was cast away, & some of the men lost, but the most part saved. Coasting all the shore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a small frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleventh of September: she had in her money to the valew of 500 [III. 601.] pound, linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed upon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which frigat we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose us. Arriving at S. Martha, two leagues West from the towne in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, & so marched to the towne being often times encountred by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recovered, and so entred the towne, the enemie flying before us. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traveller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to save the towne from burning, wherin he prevailed, but ransome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great poverty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Having stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission unto him, for they were now within a league of us with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstanding intreat favour with great humilitie. Whilest we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe unto us: so wee shaped our course for Jamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke us with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods favourable help wee arrived in the road of Jamaica the 29 of January, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the sholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne standeth;

Santa Marta taken.

The Ile and chiefe towne of Jamaica taken.

the people all on horsebacke made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselves to our Generals mercy: and here they provided for us great store of dried beefe, and Cassavi meale, a base food, yet the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marveilous fertil Isle, & is as a garden or store house for divers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we have not seene: it aboundeth with beeves and Cassavi, besides most pleasant fruits of divers sorts. We have not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsome place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboord us, we having pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals devotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people & in one peace together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing from Jamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purposed to entrap the watch, & so to sacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discovering us, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships under the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is invincible by nature. It standeth upon the top of a very steepe hill, bordering close to the sea: so environed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing up the hill, only having one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approched unto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieved by our few and weake men.

Puerto de Cavallos taken.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cavallos lower down in the bay, stil nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently prevailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most poore and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voyage: our General reserving unto himselfe his silent inward impatience, laboured to doe some memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Isthmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serve him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chiefest sea men consented hereunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leaving the ships well mored the tenth of Aprill [III. 602.] he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Up this river by many uncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and divers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that river, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march unto: so that now we were in worse case then before: for wee were fallen sicke with the

Guatimala, Sonsonate, and Sacatocaluca.

unholsomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recover our countrey. *Their returne.* Whereupon with most unwilling minds we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed, & so laboured upon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to avoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Bevice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to revictual, and to have fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, & so to depart for the streits of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would have concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it unnecessary here to reveale, being put in principall trust by him.

Being thwart Havana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place hee was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was ever before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arrived there the fifteenth of June, not having one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of June, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plat overthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble service.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to Margarita, Jamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cavallos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise up Rio dolce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize upon Campeche the chiefe towne of Yucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprized also the towne of Sebo.

IN the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Adventure of five and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed from the foresayd haven of Plimmouth in the moneth of November, having one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita.

Sixe English men redeemed.

The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spanish gentleman and others, who for his ransome set at libertie Master James Willis, and five other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumaná, who otherwise were never like to have come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled over to the Isle of Jamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consorting our selves with him, we departed from Jamaica

Truxillo assailed. the sixt of March, and resolved to set upon the strong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And having sayled to Cape de Corrientes upon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to have sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discovering us, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships under the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpose, [III. 603.] for the towne is invincible by nature, and standeth upon the top of a very steepe hill joyning close to the sea, environed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approched unto, unlesse it be upon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we passed up farther into the gulfe the second of April, with intention to invade the towne of Puerto de Cavallos, where wee arrived the seventh of April, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. *Puerto de Cavallos taken.* Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes, resolved here to enter up to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to passe overland unto the South sea. Wherefore wee set forward, and entred above thirty leagues up the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to have passed overland with two companies of men, and to have caried a pinnesse in sixe quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to have embarked our selves in the South sea, and there for a time to have tried our fortune; and to have returned overland to the bay of Honduras. *They passe above 30. leags up Rio dolce.* But this our diligence tooke no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was given out at the first. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the East part of Yucatan from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Yucatan, untill I came unto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leaving my ship sixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning* I landed hard by the monasterie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein five hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes close adjoyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled upon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renued their strength, and set furiously upon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some sixe of my men, and my selfe was shot under the left brest with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put unto our shifts wee devised on the sudden a newe stratagem: for having divers of the townesmen prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in stead of a baricado to defend us from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with us our sixe dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the haven, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in silver and other good commodities,* which were presently to bee transported to S. Juan de Ullua, and brought the same and our Periago or Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadome water sixe leagues from the town, being not able to come any neerer for the sholds upon that coast. Over against the place where our ship rode, stoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo,

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cabo desconoscido.

**On Easter even* 1597. *The towne of Campeche taken.*

A new stratagem.

**To the value of* 5000 *pound.*

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

which we likewise tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withall, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned up to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored every day at noone, because of the brizes, and in turning up I lost my barke called the Adventure, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as since we understand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed five weekes on this coast, wee shaped our course for Havana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed over to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the first of July, and within two dayes after arrived at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Azores.

An excellent ruttier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nueva Espanna.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere Southwest until hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, & at the Easter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island & stand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt have sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt have sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. [III. 604.] And thou must come to ankor on the Southeast side of the Island. But I advise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from Sant Lucar.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea untill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. And thou shalt see a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Casa del Cavallero. And from thence thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles of Alegranza, and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegranza, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

Cape Cantin.

A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the shore.

WHen thou art fifty leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt hall with sight of Cabos del Plata, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt have thirtie fadomes water, and sand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou shalt have oaze; but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt have other sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S.

The bay of Cadiz.

San Pedro. *San Sebastian.* Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermitage of Sant Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe under sayle. And thou shalt goe into the bay taking *Los Puercos.* heede of the Puercos, give them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldest goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou shalt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet give them not *The Diamant.* too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

The Canaries. If thou be at the Canaries and wouldest sayle to Nueva Espanna, thou shalt sayle foure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe Westsouthwest, untill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and by South, which is the course for the Isle Deseada. And from Deseada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Deseada, thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the eastermost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point. *The Isle Deseada in the West Indies standeth in 15 degrees of latitude.*

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South untill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a river, where thou mayest water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seaward, it maketh in the middest a partition; so that a man would thinke it devided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe. *Markes to know Dominica by.*

I advise thee that if thou wouldest goe for Nueva *Guadalupe.* Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and *Monserate.* Monserate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou shalt go Westnorthwest, *Santa Cruz.*

and so shalt have sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seventeene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end.

S. Juan de Puerto rico.
Cape Roxo.
[III. 605.]
Mona.
Saona.
Las Sierras de Yguey.
Los Bufladeros or The spoutes.

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe to have sight of the Isle of San Juan de Puerto rico, which is an Island lying East and West, and standeth in eighteene degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Eastermost is the highest. And if thou fall with the middest of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West unto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the coast runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt have sight of Mona. And the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18. degrees, rather lesse then more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Saona: which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees; and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted upon Mona, then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine shoalds that lye off Saona: but having day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loofe up Northwest and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest the sea to be cast up into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings up are called The Spoutes.

Santo Domingo.

But I advise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northwest. And if thou wouldest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And having daylight thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward untill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt lye with thy stemme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the river; and so having opened the river, thou must go with great care in the middest of the same, with all thy sailes up, except thy maine saile, and thou must have thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to tow thy ship, if she cast too much to the loofe, for the currents will cast here to the loofe: wherefore bee sure to have thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke.

Calle de las Damas.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueva Espanna.

I Advise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueva Espanna, thou shalt goe Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt have sight of Punta de Nizao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Viejas, and towards the Northwest of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou shalt stirre from this poynt of Nizao Westnorthwest, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker til thou be past all the rivers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home,

Punta de Nizao.

Hocoa.

Puerto Hermoso.

thou have thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or five men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared.

The course from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna.

Going from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna thou shalt stirre Southwest: and this way thou shalt find the Isles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath these marks: It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees: and on the East side an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath these markes. A blacke round land, and the Eastermost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou shalt go West, untill thou be so farre shot as the Frailes: and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt have sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou have sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Isle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out untill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in some part thereof certaine white cliffes.

Beata, and the marks therof.

Alto velo, and the marks thereof.

Frailes.

The Isle of Baque.

Cape de Tiburon.

I advise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon, thou stirre Northwest, and so thou shalt have sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West: and thou shalt see certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West unto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hils to Cape de Cruz the land waxeth lower and lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to have the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise up the sand from the

Cuba.

S. Iago de Cuba.

Sierras de Tarquino.

[III. 606.]

The nine fathoms.

ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water upon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt have.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt have sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou have faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest, and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt have sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Jardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest untill thou have brought thy selfe out from The Jardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

Los Jardines.

The Isle de Pinos.

The markes to know the Cape de Santo Antonio.

THe headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and upon the Cape it selfe it hath two or three thicke woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou have sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay; and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The poynt of the sands, to the Cape of Saint Anthonie, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou shalt have a great Bay, being so long, that if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Sant Anton in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from Dominica to Martinino, and so to Tierra firma.

I Advise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldest goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West, because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest. And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, which be 4 or 5 Islands: and if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, which bee three small Islands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Juan Griego, which lieth on the Northside, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt have sight of puerto de Juan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

The Testigos.

Frailes.

Puerto de Juan Griego.

I advise thee that going from Matalino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldest goe to Cartagena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt have sight of the Isles of Curazao and Aruba, which stand in 12. degrees: from these Islands thou shalt go West; and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou shalt see them to be three little white Ilands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt have sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe Westsouthwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Avite.

Curazao.
Aruba.

Monjes three little Islands.

Coquebacoa.

Going from this poynt of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to have the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land even with the sea.

Baia honda.
Portete.

Cape de la vela.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

Cape del Aguja.

And going from this Cape to have sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt have sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Nevadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and upon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Nevadas, or snowy mountaines.

[III. 607.]

Rio de Palominos.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course abovesayd, and commest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will be certaine smal sandy white oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the river called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midst of the Sierras Nevadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North until day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it.

Morro hermoso.

Rio grande.

Isla de Arenas.

Samba or Zamba.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to have sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile, and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keep a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night, thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I have sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South of Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Gato, which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward: and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land even with the water: and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

El Buio del Gato.

Punta de la canoa.

Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, & lye off to the offward until midnight without any saile abroad until midnight: and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without sayle: and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou have sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa untill thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not above 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right over the harbour of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that never was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Having these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thyselfe hard aboord the poynt of Yeacos: and then when thou commest to double the

The land marks of Cartagena.

The poynt of Yeacos.

poynt del Judeo, give a breadth off, because there is a shoald.

A shoald.

A shoald halfe a league to the sea.

I advise thee that if thou be benighted, when thou art at The poynt de la canoa, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou findest thy selfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou have any fresh Northerne winds, then loofe up to the seaward, and lye with thy stemme Eastsoutheast, and so thou mayest goe in East through the middest of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt have sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land.

The Isle of Cares.

Sal Medina.

Cabeza de Cativa.

Rio de Francisco.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeza de Cativa; and then goe Southwest and by West, and thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying East and West. And on the West of the river of Francisco thou shalt see certaine cliffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

The Isles of Cativa.

Punta de Samblas.

Sierras de Santa Cruz.

I advise thee that going this course above written; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and West, thou mayest make account that they be the Islands de Cativa, and then runne West, and so thou shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and upon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

[III. 608.]

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds, when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou mayest have sea-roome, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hils on a coast that lyeth Northeast and Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Having kept this course abovesaid, and having sight of the former marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the West side of Nombre de Dios.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Puerto de velo alto.

Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a litle table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against this hill, and comming neerer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbor thou shalt see two or three Islands called Islas de los Bastimentos.

Sierra de Capira.

A ledge of rocks.

Isla de los Bastimentos.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest untill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the land, untill thou be hard aboord the shore, and so thou must go turning untill thou hast doubled Cabeza de Cativa: and having doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it, then thou shalt have sight of the Ilands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt have sight of the gallie that is over Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

The course to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

Islas de Baru.

I advise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time abovesayde, and commest from Cabeza de Cativa, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going thus if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagues into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is Isla fuerte: but if thou see not the rocks, give them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the maine and them in fifteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answere truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine sandie bayes to seaward; and the sayd Isles have a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called the Bacilla. And these are all the markes for the Islandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Islands and very even with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Isla fuerte. A ledge of rocks.

Islas de San Barnardo.

La Bacilla.

A ruttier from Cartagena to Havana in Cuba.

COmming from Cartagena to goe to Havana, thou must goe Northnorthwest untill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou shalt goe with great care to anker every night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoalds of Serrana: and so thou mayest proceede with a care to anker when thou commest about Seranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And upon it thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying Northeast and Southwest: and the sea beateth upon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelves of sand, and on the West side it hath a certain litle copple, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe under sayle: and

The shoalds of Serrana.

Seranilla.

being Northeast and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoald commeth out on the West side a certayne shoald, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate.

I advise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd little copple that it is like a sayle and the shoald: for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northwest, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certaine white sandy bayes, and on the West side seest a low land, and on the Eastside a little coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de San Antonio.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white sandie bayes: and upon the Cape it selfe thou shalt see two thicke groves of great trees, and they be upon the Cape it selfe.

[III. 609.]

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Havana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe Northwest untill thou be cleere of all the shoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, untill thou bring thy selfe unto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand.

The Tortugas.

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16. degrees, and it is on the shoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou have the wind large, goe Northeast and by East, because of the variation of the compasse, and thou shalt make thy way Eastnortheast, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring North

Seranilla.

An Island in 16. degrees.

Baxos de Cabo de Camaron.

The variation of the compasse.

Isla de Pinos.

The currents set here sometimes West.

and by East, for the wind would not suffer us to lye neerer the East, and one evening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our judgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right a head, & the coast lying Southwest: and then we cast and lay Northeast till day: And being day, wee saw the land all a head, and we plied to windward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southwest. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the evening before: and it was an Island called Cozumel, lying on the coast of Yucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middest of the Island, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gave us all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Astrolabs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Yucatan, and the Cape de Catoche at pleasure Northeast; and the water wil set in thy favour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt have the sounding of the Tortugas.

Isla de Cozumel.

The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.

Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna, and beeing late, thou shalt stirre Westnorthwest till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, until thou bring thy selfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go Southwest, & by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a

The little Isle called Vermeja.

Marks of Villa Rica.

ledge of high hils lying Northeast and Southwest. But if thou chance to fall with a coast that lyeth North and South, then thou mayest account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou have cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

The low ground of Almeria.

Las Sierras de Papalo.

And I advise thee that beeing so farre shotte as the poynt called Punta delgada, which is the ende of all those hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being so farre shotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre Southwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe being shotte into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth over the house of Buytron: and as thou doest come neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe thy lead going, and shalt have foure fathomes and a halfe or five fathomes, and so thou mayest goe through the middest of the chanell. And comming against the castle, thou shalt give it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and having doubled the castle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

Saint Paul.

Monte de Carneros.

Casa de Buytron.

The castle of S. Juan de Ulloa.

The hospitall.

I advise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarses, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes which depth thou shalt have neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, observing what is abovesaid.

And I advise thee that if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, [III. 610.] thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if in this depth thou hast oaze, make account thou art East and West with the river of Almeria. This course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueva Espanna without or aseaboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

The river of Almeria.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

If thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueva Espanna within the Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms; and if thou keeping this course findest lesse water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, untill thou have brought thy selfe North and South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta: from thence thou shalt go Southwest: and by this course thou shalt have sight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northwest and Southeast, and they have a partition in the midst, and to the Northwest they be highest: and on the Southeast part within the land, thou shalt see something an high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the loafe of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surta or Zarza.

The high hils of S. Martin.

The hils of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I advise thee that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint John de Ullua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well descrie the hils of S. Martin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to bee low land: and comming this course thou shalt have sight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou shalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and these hilles lye over the river of Medelin. And if when thou art East and West, with The Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Juan de Ullua is, thou mayest truely answere, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

Rio de Medelin.

S. Juan de Ullua in 18. deg. and a halfe.

The course to be kept from Nueva Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

COmming from S. Juan de Ullua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast untill thou be in 24. degrees: and so beeing thou shalt goe East untill thou bring thy selfe in the soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white sand. I advise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to waxe shoalder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, untill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Havana thou must stirre Southsoutheast, because of the currents that carrie thee to the East. And if by this way thou have sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, even with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Havana thou must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne up till thou be upon the harbour of Havana.

The Tortugas.

The currents to the East.

Pan de Cabanas.

Havana.

The marks of the poynt of Havana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, strike thy toppe sayles in signe of peace to the castle, least it shoote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Havana to Spaine.

Los Martyres.

The sholds of Mimbres, that is, of Osiars.

IF from Havana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so have sight of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South untill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then go turning up: and take good heed that every evening at Sunne going downe thou have sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the chanell, untill thou bring thy selfe [III. 611.] into the middest of the chanell: and thou must lye off from the going downe of the sunne, untill the ende of the first watch with thy coarses alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards cast about, and lye the other way with the like sayle untill day: and thus thou must doe untill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre Northeast, with a care to goe cleane off the sholds of the Mimbres or the Osiars. And if being in the Chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a litle saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldest cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

The chanell reacheth to 28. degrees.

I advise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. And if it be in summer, thou shalt goe Northeast untill thou be in 39. degrees and ½, which is the height of Flores: and thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to have the seawinds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I have sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou hast no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus because of the variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt find the isles of Flores and Cuervo, which stand in 39. degrees ½, and in 40. large. These markes be these.*

La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compasse.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cuervo, and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt have sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And beeing at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou hast doubled a certaine litle Headland that lyeth in the East poynt, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. And thus going, thou shalt have sight of Terzera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes bee these.* And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terzera, thou shalt runne East Northeast, untill thou bring thy selfe Northwest, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for alwayes thou shalt have the windes at Northwest. And beeing Northwest and Southeast with this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the coast to the South, untill thou see the Cape. And the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Asagresal Southeast: and so running, thou shalt then goe East unto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East Northeast, and so thou shalt

Flores and Cuervo.

Saint George.

Terzera.

The Cape of S. Vincent.

The windes are alwayes at Northwest in the summer.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent.

The Asagresal.

The Cape of Saint Mary.

runne to have sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a little hill towardes the East which is called Cabeza de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, untill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The course in winter from the chanel of Bahama.

The variation of the Compasse.

Many lost upon Bermuda by negligence.

The Isle of S. Marie.

Faial.

I advise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldest goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East Northeast, untill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more; and then thou mayest goe East and by South, because of the variation of the Compasse. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many have bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East Northeast, untill thou bee in the height of seven and thirtie degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make account it is the rocks called las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees ½ scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt have sight of Faial. The markes of it be these.*

The barre of S. Lucar.

Comming out from Faial, and leaving all the Islandes, then all goe East and by South untill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape having the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be Northeast, and Southwest, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe Northeast for the Barre.

Sierras de Monchico.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou have not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and hast sight of certaine hie hils, make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

I advise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S. Vincent, then goe in 36 degrees ⅓. And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North Northeast, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte.

To avoyde men of warre.

The castle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of Cuba by the North side thereof to Havana.

[III. 612.]

GOing from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayest weather it, & it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and smooth: and above up within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that poynt to Baracoa is 7. leagues.

The cape of S. Nicolas on the East ende of Cuba.

Punta de Mayaci.

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-shore all along, untill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke upon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne upon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, over the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoaldie.

Baracoa.

A shold on the East side of Baracoa.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old chanel, you shal set your course Northwest until you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the shoald of Moa, untill you thinke you are Northeast

Cayo de Moa.

This worde Cayo in the Biskayne tongue signifieth a flat or a shoald.

Pracellas.

The Mosowes.

and Southwest with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you shal know that you are upon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you shall understand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and upon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to the Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you have to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see the Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald above the water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leave them to windward.

Camoloquea.

The Flats of Mecala to be avoyded.

Cropeda a flat Island.

2. Rockes of stone.

Punta de Caucus.

Matanzas.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course untill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe upon the Shoald, you shall goe upon that depth, untill you have runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, till you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke divided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you have certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you shall set your course West Northwest untill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboord the shore, and then you shall see a flat Island with many broken sands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone, which are the poynt of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a poynt which sheweth like broken land. This is called the poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanzas on the Northside of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow upon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Chanell. And being at Matanzas, you must runne all along the shore, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath upon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hill, and the Hil is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and upon it are some little risings and they are not very high, and upon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates of Havana.

The currents.

The Teates of Havana.

To know along the shore when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A little to the Westward one league, you shall see along the shore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is over the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Havana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shore till you come to Havana. To know the harbour of Havana, you shall see before you come at it one litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward the sea: upon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you have the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

The harbour of Xaroca.

Markes to know the harbour of Havana.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because on the East side, on the West end of the Rocke aforesayde, there lieth a ledge to the Westward which hath but three or foure fathoms ½ upon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, untill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Bay over you may come to an anchor.

[III. 613.]

[How to

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe over the Pracellas or shoalds.

Caio de Moa.
Caio Romano.

IF you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming upon your course from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or shoald: and then set our course West unto the low islands of the Firme land. And upon this course you shal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and smooth upon, and in the middest it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you must take heede you come not neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take heede stil when ye night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe Northwest as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the shoald. And finding much wind & being benighted, from midnight till day stirre West Northwest, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforesaid.

Alcane de Barasoga.
Savano.
Basquo.
The Flats of Mecala.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the rest, a round hamocke, which you may easily know. It is called Alcane de Barasoga. And from thence to Savano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise Havana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse under the Fort is 45. leagues. And stirre hence upon your course aforesaid. And if you have gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you shall see none of the Flats of Mecala: And give them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course West Northwest, as aforesayd, untill it be day, and presently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus stirring, keepe your course untill you see the hilles of Camaloqua.

Take heede of that which is here sayd, for it hath litle reason.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or shoald by night close by it, you shall not see what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you shall set your course as is aforesayd untill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is above mentioned, untill you come to Havana.

Sierras de Camaloquea.
Caio de Moa.
Pracellas.

Havana.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West Northwest, until you thinke you be Northeast and Southwest with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seaside. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre Northwest and by West: and upon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. And the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth upon the top: and in the middest of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not yourselfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it untill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course untill you see it, and then set your course, as is abovesaid.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.

Caio Romano.

The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

[A principal

A principal ruttier conteining most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andaluzia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called Las Antillas, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Juan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called Los Alacranes, to the port of S. Juan de Ullua in Nueva Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Havana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

Punta de Naga.

IF you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away Southwest untill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga upon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away Southwest and by South, untill you come to the height of Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes whereof be these following.

[III. 614.]

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea ward, and maketh a snowt like the nose of a galley, and hath upon the top of the poynt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two homocks, that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower: and his Cape is in 32. degrees and ½.

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discover Punta de Naga beforesayd, must stirre away Southwest and by West, untill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

THe said point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine upon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and upon the North side of the said point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and upon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like unto the eares of a Hare.

Punta de hidalgo.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indies.

IF you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indias, you must stirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may avoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, untill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South untill you come to 15. degrees and ½. And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwesting of the Compasse: which West way will bring you to the Island of Deseada.

The calmes of Fierro.

The variation of the compasse.

The markes of the Island of Deseada.

THis Island Deseada lieth East Northeast, and West Southwest, having no trees upon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and passing by the Norther ende thereof, you shall perceive white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them: & the Southwest

Deseada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and ½.

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

MOnserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and upon the East side thereof you shall perceive certain white spots like sheetes : and being upon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a litle Island, and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

MArigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley upon her decke : and being on the Southeast side about half a league off you shall make certaine homocks of blacke stones, and certain white patches : but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shores or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

THe Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and upon the Northwest side it sheweth more high : and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer unto it, you shall perceive it to be but one : and upon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and upon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon ; and upon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and upon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and upon the Norther side you shall perceive it like many white sheetes.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

THe Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Deseada, and upon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but upon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoas of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islands.

Markes of the Isle of Matalina, or Martinino. [III. 615.]

THE Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, having in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest sheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And upon the North side it appeareth like three little Islands. And in this Island there are warlike Indians like those of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islands called Islas de Los Santos, or the Islands of Saintes.

LOs Santos are 3. Islandes lying one close by another upon the South side of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Juan de Puerto rico you must stirre away Northwest, untill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of Saba.

SAba is a litle Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship under saile: but follow that direction that I have given, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Isle called La virgin gorda.

LA virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them until you see the litle gray Island, which you shal see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, over that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white litle Island, which seemeth like a ship under saile. And if

These 2. the white and the gray Islands are rather bare rockes in the sea, for so doeth Farallon the Spanish word signifie. But I interprete it Island, because all the rocks separated from the bigger Islands are sayd to be litle Islands. This white & bare Island is made white by the dung of birdes and sea foules that resort unto it.

you will passe betweene this litle white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leave the white Island on the larbourd side of you, and come no neerer it then a Caliever-shot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you enter into the Haven of Puerto rico: and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, untill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so drive untill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-turne. And know, that having the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

Directions from Monserate to Santa Cruz.

HE that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze upon S. Juan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of Santa Cruz.

SAnta Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and upon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico; and having found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, untill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know Cape Roxo.

CApe Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the sea-ward, having certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a litle Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere unto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from Cabo roxo to the Isle of Mona.

IF you will seeke Mona from Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes of the Isle of Mona.

THe Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooth Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West; and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, untill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceive that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Isle of Saona. [III. 616.]

IF you chance to see the Isle of Saona, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the Southwest end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away Northwest.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

SAnta Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rockes even from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth, West and by North:

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the spoutes.
The point of Causedo.
San Domingo.
Sierras de las minas viejas.

and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongst as the rocks doe that cast up the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle ahead off that, you shall see the point of Andresa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee Northwest and Southeast; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop up at North upon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast or Port, and that you happen to see the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northwest off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueva Espanna.

The point of Nisao.
The Isle of Beata.
Ocoa.
Puerto hermoso.
The Isle of Alto Velo.

IF you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueva Espanna, stirre away Southsouthwest, until you come up as farre as the point of Nizao: and from thence stirre away Westsouthwest, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Nizao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, untill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull haven, which is 18. leagues distant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueva Espanna, you must stirre away Southsouthwest, untill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

BEata is a small Island and not very high: you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo: and from thence you must stirre away

West and by South, to give a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre ahead as the Frailes, then must you stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde point of Bacoa, you shall discover a little lowe Island even with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Isla Baque.

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

Las sierras de donna Maria.

Isla Baque.

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

IF you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the isle of Navaza, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and edge in somewhat to the Northwest, and you shall passe betweene Navaza and Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.
The Isle of Navaza.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of Hispaniola.

CApe Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and upon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines upon it, which are caused by the passage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Navaza.

NAvaza is a litle round Island full of low trees or shrubs, and it lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper upon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away Northnorthwest.

[Directions from

[III. 617.]

Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

Sierras de Cobre.

Sierras de Tarquino.

IF you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you must stirre away Northwest, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coast West towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you shall see The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you shall have to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the highest land upon all that coast; and then by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you have 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discovering the coast, untill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

CApe de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great betweene the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Jardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

Los Caimanes.

Los Jardines.

IF you sayle from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorthwest. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you have nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands upon the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, having sight of them, stir away Northwest, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee the Jardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Jardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you have brought them North of you, then may you stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

THe Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were divers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and upon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare unto you a lowe point even with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discerne the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

IF you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape upon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that upon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Las sierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

CApe de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it; for it is more lowe, and hath upon it 4. or 5. great splats like unto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

[Markes of

Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

A convenient watering place.

THe cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees; and you shall see within the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and upon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine sholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueva Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

[III. 618.]

The Isle Vermeja.

Villa rica.

S. Juan de Ullua.

A volcan or burning hil.

IF you will sayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueva Espanna with a North winde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound upon the pracel or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, untill you lose the ground; and then follow your course againe, untill you have brought your selfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then saile West untill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle of Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueva Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not to see the lande, then stir away West untill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Juan de Ullua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towardes the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Juan de Ullua shalbe East and west off you.

Markes of Villa rica.

Villa rica standeth in 19. degrees and ½. and the signes thereof are certaine high hilles full of homocks of many heads, which have on the top of them certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and these hils lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower unto you: but so doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewise if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but even at land it selfe.

Sierras de Sant Martin.

Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the river of mountaines called Rio de las montannas.

IF you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The river of palmes, or els with the river of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the river of Panuco, you shall have many mouthes or openings of plaias or strands, where also are many lizas or oazy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso.

Rio de las palmas.

Rio de las montannas.

Rio de Panuco.

Rio Hermoso, or The beautifull river.

You must beware what part soever you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discover it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly, the current setteth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteth to the Northeast.

The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the East) setteth to the North, and 40. leagues from the shore to the Northeast.

[Markes of

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull river.

IF you wil seeke the river called Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shal see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder then the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the river of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and even with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the river of Panuco.

IF you fall with the river of Panuco (betweene which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the river it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay upon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place upon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the aforesayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd river, and then shall you see a little low tower having on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and ½. and you neede not to stay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I have mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hils at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of, which goeth to the mouth of the river where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you have 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the river of Panuco.

Las sierras de Tarquia.

S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

ISla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle grove or wood of palme trees, and all the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas or strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arrazifes or shoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South side close by the poynt that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and untill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground. [III. 619.]

Cabo Roxo.

A watering place.

Markes of the river of Tuspa.

IF you fall with the river of Tuspa, you must beware the sholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and upon this river of Tuspa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and have their ending upon the bay of Cassones: and upon the river you shall perceive a white cliffe, which will shew unto you like the castle of S. Juan de Ullua.

The bay of Cassones.

Markes of the river of S. Peter and S. Paul.

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Cassones, and upon the river of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuspa have their ending upon this bay. And in the mouth of this river of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white sand, the Westermost being bigger then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall perceive the water to change white which commeth out of the river, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay upon your lead; and looke upon the West

All these are upon the coast of Tabasco.

Las sierras de S. Pablo.

side, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other.

Markes of Almeria.

IF you should chance to fall or come upon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms you shall have clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward sand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

Punta delgada, or The slender point.

Soundings of Villa rica.

IF you fall with Villa Rica in 30. fathoms, you shall finde clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you shall have sand: and upon the port of S. Juan de Ullua you shall have in some places clay or oaze, and in some places herring bones, and in other places mase and   , and upon the rocks called Cabezas anegadas you shall have small blacke sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a coast that lieth Northeast and Southwest, and another Northwest and Southeast, you shall be upon S. Paul: and if you should be upon Cabezas anegadas, you shall finde in 30. fathoms great sand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you shall have the sand white like the shavings of free stone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Juan de Ullua you have many deeps, which at one sounding bring you clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together, and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shal finde rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de pescado, or The foode of fishes.

Cabezas anegadas are sunken heads or rocks under water.

Comedera de Pescado.

A SECOND RUTTIER

The course from Cabo de Corrientes and Cabo de S. Anton upon the West end of Cuba, towards Nueva Espanna, within the Isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions.

IF you saile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueva Espanna on the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir West: and when you thinke you have sailed 35. or 40. leag. you shall sound upon the pracel, and you shall come upon many bristlings of waters, which, if it were faire weather, would seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings, if you sound you shal have depth as I have sayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I have sayd: you shall have white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shavings and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are upon The Alacranes, and then stir away Westsouthwest untill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depths you shall go sounding; and then taking your heigth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees & $\frac{1}{3}$. or 21. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. at the most; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northwestward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, untill you have gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discovered the coast of Campeche, which coast lyeth North and South, and you shall take up on your lead

Cabo de Corrientes.

Cabo de S. Anton.

[III. 620.]

Cape Sisal upon the coast of Campeche in Yucatan Or Isla de Arenas.

white sande like houreglasse sand, and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, until you lose it, and so shal you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Juan de Ullua.

Sierras de S. Martin.

Roco partida.

Or Minsapa.

WHen you have lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northermost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Island which is called Roca partida, or The cloven rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a topsaile will appeare, and then shall you bee North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Nisapa. Note, that these Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so much the higher will they shewe unto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very shore.

The course from Roca partida or The cloven rocke to S. Juan de Ullua.

Or Antoniserro.

IF you depart from Roca partida or The cloven rocke for Sant Juan de Ullua, you must stir away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Mislardo: and if you happen to sound upon The sunken rocks called Cabezas anegadas, you shall have black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you shall have 34. fathoms.

A SECOND RUTTIER

The course from Sant Juan de Ullua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

IF you depart from S. Juan de Ullua to Havana, you must stir away Northeast until you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little Islands called Las Tortugas, untill you have the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall bee East and West with them, and if your sounding bee shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles or skales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or skales must bee red, and if at some time you take up blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas.

Las Tortugas.

Markes of The Tortugas.

IF you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, saving one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from The Tortugas toward Havana.

IF you depart from The Tortugas towards Havana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South, that the current may not draw you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like unto Organ pipes and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The river of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place untill you come to Cape

The hilles called Los Organos upon Cuba neere Havana.

Rio de Puercos.

Baya honda.

de S. Anton all is sholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the sea, even as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Havana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hilles together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Havana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or the Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that about Havana it is all lowe land even with the sea, till you come to Mesa de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Havana, and then shall you soone perceive the tower that is upon the cliffes of Havana.

La Quadrilla de sierras.

El pan de Cavannas.

La mesa de Marien.

[III. 621.]

The tower of Havana.

Markes of the haven or port called Puerto de Marien.

PUerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelves, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leave the other side, and so shall you enter safe: and from this place to Havana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you overpasse the harborough of Havana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceive at full sea upon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, because the lande is lowe; and comming neere the shoare you shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of sande which shewe like unto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast,

Note.

Chipiona a towne standing upon the coast of Andaluzia next unto S. Lucar.

you shall see a round loafe which is called El pan de Matanzas: and also you shall perceive in certaine places round white heapes of sande called Barrancas. If you will recover Havana, go along the coast close by the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

El pan de Matanzas. Barrancas also signifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

The course from Havana to Spaine.

IF you will saile from Havana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeza de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop up at North on you, then stand to the Eastward, untill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matanzas; then cast about to the West, to discover the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matanzas at ful sea, it hath these markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare unto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and upon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matanzas shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to avoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast of Florida.

Cabeza de los Martires. Which Martires are a number of small Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanzas.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

Markes of the head of The Martires called Cabeza de los Martires.

THe head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceive that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and ½, then are you East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I have sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaveral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Cabo de Cannaveral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of Bahama homeward for Spaine.

The course in Winter.

IF in Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or five hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you have brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North untill you bring your selfe to 25. degrees and ½, and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Fayal or of Flores.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

[III. 622.]

Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

THE Island called Fayal upon the Southwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilla in the Island of Terzera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and upon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island; and upon the North side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of the Azores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know.

Puerto Pini.

Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

IF you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it: the Island lyeth Northeast and Southsouthwest, and the West ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village, in every bay you may likewise ride and water: and you shall see the water run into the sea in every part that you looke on.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Juan de Puerto rico, unto Havana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

El Passaje a place on the Northeast part of the Isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico.

IF you depart from S. Juan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ovejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southwestward; and if when

Cabo del Enganno the most Easterly Cape of Hispaniola.

Or Samana.

Las Ovejas.

you see the land, it seemeth unto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Markes of Cabo Franco.

CAbo Franco is a low Cape even with the sea, and hath these markes * And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat: and at the foote of this hill is the haven or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you must leave the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, untill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teats which looke like 3. crownes. And you shall passe betweene the Isle of Tortugas, or Hinagua, and the Island of Jaico: and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and having doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and upon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe even lande foure or five leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called La sierras de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table sixe or seven leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you have five and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano upon the larboord side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you have three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

Cabo Franco.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Isla de Tortugas otherwise called Hinagua.

The Isle of Jaico.

Las sierras de Cabanca.

Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the Biscaian tongue signifieth a flat or a shold.

Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cayo Romano.

CAyo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues: and comming on it Northeast & Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romana, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but al night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way untill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leave these Cayos, on the larbourd side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcell, about fifteene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Havana, if it be by day, stir away West Northwest; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcell, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away West-northwest untill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seven leagues lyeth another Cayo upon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all even; But the point on the Southwest is

This Island lyeth 100. *leagues from Havana.*

[III. 623.]

The great Parcel.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

El puerto de Matanzas or The haven of slaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

smaller, and upon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the middest thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and upon the Northeast side (for on this maner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shal see certaine hilles eighteene or twentie leagues long lying Northeast and Southwest being all saddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southwest off you, you shall be in the middest of the chanell: and from thence you have as farre to Matanzas as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Havana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and ly Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a little Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

Markes of Cruz del Padre.

La Baia de Conel.
La Baia de Caos, or Cayes.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away Northeast, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd poynt: and then stir away West Northwest to goe with the Port of Matanzas, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

Or Cameloquea.

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northwest and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and even: also upon the Northeast side it is even land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanzas, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and upon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matanzas will beare off you West and by South.

Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matanzas.

THis Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land and if you bring your selfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles; and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoever you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I advise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you may not deepen more then fortie five fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Also you must note, that if by chance you finde *Note.* your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them; and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest untill you see them; and having gotten sight of them, sounde, and you shall finde eighteene or ninteene fathomes: and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12 fathoms, and shall have blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that is the sholdest water you [III. 624.] shall have. And you shall passe by a bustling of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you shall have no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustling but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell.

An advertizment.

WHen you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Havana, having a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and Northerly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of Madera, The Canaries, and the West Indies, as of the Azores and the Isles of Cabo Verde.

	Degrees of latitude.
THe island called Puerto santo standeth in	33
The isle of Madera standeth in	32½
The isle Salvaja in	30
The isle of Alagranza in	29½
The isle Fuerte ventura in	28½
The Grand Canaria in	28½
The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28½
The isle of Gomera in	27½

The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies.

	Degrees of latitude.
The island of Fonzeca standeth in	11¼
The isle Tabago in	skant 11
The Barbudos in	13
The isle of Trinidad upon the North side in	10
The isle of Granata in	11¼
The isle of Sant Vincent in	12
The isle of santa Lucia in	12¾
The isle of Dominica in	14
The isle of Matalina or Martinino in	14½

The isle of Marigalante in		15
The isle of Deseada in		15½
The isle of Monserate in		16
The isle called La Antigua in		17
The isle called La Baruada in		17
The isle of S. Bartholomew in		17
The isle of S. Martin in		17½
The isle called La Anguilla in		skant 18
The isle of Sombrero in		18½
The isle Anegada in		18⅔
The isle called La isla de Avez in		15½
The isles called Las Virgines in		18
The isle of Santa Cruz in		17
The isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico	On the North side in	18½
	On the South side in	17¼
Cape del Enganno upon the East part of Hispaniola in		18½
The point of the isle of Saona in		17½
The Cape called Punta de Nizao neere S. Domingo in Hispaniola in		17½
The isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in		17
The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in		17½
Cape Tiburon upon the West part of Hispaniola, and the isle of Navaza in [III. 625.]		18⅓
The isle of Jamaica	On the South side in	17¼
	On the North side in	18½
Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in		20
The 3 Isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in		19¼
The dangerous isles called Los Jardines South of Cuba in		21
The isle of Pinos in		21
Cape de Corrientes upon the Southwest part of Cuba in		21½
Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in		22

The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in	22
The isles called Nigrillos in	23½
Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nueva Espanna, in	22
The Cape of Yucatan called Cabo de Catoche in	21
The island called Isla de Ranas in	21½

large.

The latitudes of certaine places upon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of divers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine.	Degrees of latitude.
Villa rica standeth in	19½
Sant. Juan de Ullua in	18¾
From Sant Juan de Ullua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in	27½
The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in	25
The Port of Havana upon the Northwest part of Cuba in	23½
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26½
The Chanel of Bahama in	27½
The Cape de Cannaveral upon the coast of Florida in	28⅓
The Isle of Bermuda in	33
The *isle of John Luis or John Alvarez in	41¼

This is a very commodious Isle for us in our way to Virginia.

The latitudes of the Isles of the Azores.	Degrees of latitude.
The isle of Flores standeth in	39½
The isle of Cuervo in	40
The isle of Fayal in	38½
The isle of Pico and the isle of Sant George both in	38½
The isle of Terzera in	39
The isle of Gracioso in	39½

The isle of Santa Maria in	37
The isle of sant Michael in	38
Cape sant Vincent upon the coast of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40
Bayona in	42½
Cape Finister in	43½
The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin upon the coast of Barbarie in	32½
Cape Bojador upon the coast of Barbarie in	27* *large.*
Rio del oro, or The river of Gold, in	23½
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20¾

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas stand all in	18⅓
Isla del Sal, or The isle of salt, in	17¼
The isle called Buena vista in	16
The isle of Sant Iago in	15

[III. 626.]

The latitudes of divers Islands, Capes, and other places, from the Isle of Margarita upon the coast of Cumana Westward along the coast of Tierra Firma.	Degrees of latitude.
The isles of Aruba, Curazao, and Buinaro stand all in	12
The isle of Margarita in	11
The islandes called Los Testigos in	11¼
The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth East and West in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11⅓
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	13½
The isle of Santa Catelina in	13½
The isle of Sant Andrew in	12½

The Seranilla in	15½
The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	17¼
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	16¾
Genaza in	16½

Here followeth a declaration of the Longitudes, or Western and Eastern distances, from Spaine to Newe Spaine in America, and from thence backe againe to Spaine.

	Leagues.
From Sal Medina upon the Coast Andaluzia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin upon the Coast of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria	200
From the Gran Canaria to Deseada	850
From Deseada to Monserate	20
From Monserate to santa Cruz	58
From santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of Sant Juan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona	25
From Saona to sant Domingo	25
From sant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the isle Baque	43
From the isle Baque to Navaza	33
From Navaza to sant Iago of Cuba	32
From sant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman	40
From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the isle of Pinos	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the forsaid course	106
From the isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton	20

The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Juan de Ullua by the outside or North of the Isles called Alacranes.	From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
	From the Nigrillos, untill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja	25
	From the isle Vermeja to Villa Rica	96
	From Villa rica to Sant Juan de Ullua	12
The course from Cabo de Corrientes to sant Juan de Ullua on the inside or South of the Alacranes.	From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding	45
	From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called Isla de Ranas	80
	From Isla de Ranas unto	

[III. 627.]

The longitudes from New Spaine, backe againe to Spaine.	Leagues.
From Saint Juan de Ullua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Havana.	36
From Havana to the head of the Martyrs.	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahamá.	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaveral.	62
From Cabo de Cannaveral to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Isle of John Luis or John Alvarez.	320
From the Isle of John Luis or Alvarez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terzera.	28
From Terzera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terzera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria upon the coast of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado) and the provinces of Emeria, Aromaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their rivers adjoyning. Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of Her Majesties Guard, Lorde Warden of the Stanneries, and Her Highnesse Leiutenant Generall of the Countie of Corne-wall.

To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of England the most renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, Counceller in her Highnesse Privie Councels.

FOr your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I have hitherto onely returned promises, and now for answere of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers, which I have devided betwene your Lordship, and Sir Robert Cecyll in these two respects chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they have consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some colour for the same in their account; secondly for that I am assured, that whatsoever shall bee done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all, but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume, that you wil be pleased (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shal but object out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loves sought mee out in the darkest shadow of adversitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite, yet I shal ever acknowledge: & the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they have yeelded very grievous effects, & if ought might have bene deserved in former times to have counterpoysed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther meanes I might yet use, but even to appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I have wasted in effect all herein. I have undergone many constructions. I [III. 628.] have bene accompanyed with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other bravado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was never hidden in Cornewall, or els where, as was supposed. They have grosly belied me, that forejudged, that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would have perswaded, that I was too easefull and sensuall to undertake a journey of so great travell. But, if what I have done, receive the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall distast; I doe not then know whether I should bewaile my selfe, either for my too much travell and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserve nothing. From my selfe I have deserved no thankes, for I am returned a beggar, and withered, but that I might have bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Majesties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived, to goe journeys of picory, it had sorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Majesties grace I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of Guiana, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pizarro and others conquered the said Empire, from his two elder brethren, Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being favoured by the Orejones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caxamalca. I sent my servant Jacob Whiddon the yere before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker, sometime my servant, and nowe attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they supposed, and many other impediments to them unknowen and unheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was upon the same enterprize, leaving my ships at Trinidad, at the Port called Curiapan, I wandred 400 miles into the said countrey by lande and river: the particulars I will leave to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Majesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Majesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the West Indies, an easier way to invade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impoverished, by taking three or foure Port townes in America, as wee suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueva Espanna so left by the sea side, as it can bee easily washt away with a great flood, or springtide, or left dry upon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in respect of the rest within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receive the treasure for Spaine: and we might thinke the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, if they could not upon two dayes warning cary all the golde they have into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, especially the Indies being (as they are for the most part) so mountanous, so full of woodes, rivers, and marishes. In the Port townes of the Province of Venezuela, as Cumana, Coro and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston, and Cumana and S. Josepho by us) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valencia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Laguna, Maracaiba, and Truxillo, are not so easely invaded: neither doeth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the king of Spaine, any one ducat: and if we sacke the river of Hacha, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the Portes of Nuevo reyno, and Popayan; there are besides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous, the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophoro, the great Cities of Pamplon S. Fe de Bogota, Tunxa and Mozo where the Esmeralds are found, the townes and Cities of Marequita, Velez, la Villa de Leva, Palma, Unda, Angustura, the great citie of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Juago, the great Citie of Popaian it selfe, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of Uraba, in the kingdom or rivers of Dariene, and Caribana, the Cities and townes of S. Juan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Anserma have gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not easily invaded by the way of the Ocean: or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the Province of Castilla del oro, and [III. 629.] the villages upon the rivers of Cenu & Chagre; Peru hath besides those & besides the magnificent cities of Quito & Lima so many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the West Indies, I wil omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea-townes aswel of Nicaragua, Iucatan, Nueva Espanna, & the ylands, as those of the Inland, & by what meanes they may be best invaded, as far as any meane judgement can comprehend. But I hope it shal appeare that there is a way found to answer every mans longing, a better Indies for her Majestie then the King of Spaine hath any: which if it shal please her highnes to undertake, I shal most willingly end the rest of my daies in folowing the same: if it be left to the spoile & sackage of common persons, if the love & service of so many nations be despised, so great riches, & so mighty an empire refused, I hope her majesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, could have laid hands on & ransomed many of the kings & Casiqui of the country, & have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their

A treatise of the West Indies.

redemption: but I have chosen rather to beare the burden of poverty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second travel and the chances therof, then to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, untill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely & royal heart either to folow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leave it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, overrun in every part of the folowing discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, forme nor fashion, that you will be pleased to esteeme mee as your owne (though over dearly bought) and I shall ever remaine ready to do you all honour and service.

W. R.

¶ To the Reader.

BEcause there have bin divers opinions conceived of the gold oare broght from Guiana, and for that an Alderman of London & an officer of her Majesties Mint, hath given out that the same is of no price, I have thought good by the addition of these lines to give answer aswel to the said malicious slander, as to other objections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of Trinidad, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far from the Port, where we ancored, there were found certaine mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seene both English and Frenchmen gather, & imbark some quantities therof: upon this likelyhood I sent 40. men & gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine to make trial of its goodnes: which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was Marcasite, & of no riches or value: notwithstanding divers, trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the said Marcasite, and have tried therof since my returne in divers places. In Guiana it selfe I never saw Marcasite, but al the rocks, mountains, al stones in ye plaines, woods, & by the rivers side are in effect throughshining, and seem marvelous rich, which being tried to be no Marcasite, are the true signes of rich minerals, but are no other then El madre del oro (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is said by others the scum of gold: of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, every one taking ye fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part I did not countermand any mans desire, or opinion, & I could have aforded them litle if I should have denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: but I was resolved that gold must be found either in graines separate from the stone (as it is in most of the rivers in Guiana) or els in a kind of hard stone, which we call The white spar, of which I saw divers hils, & in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Neere unto one of the rivers I found of the said White sparre or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endevoured to breake by al the meanes I could, because there appeared on the outside some smal graines of of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rocke, I found a clift in the same from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some smal quantitie therof, of which kind of white stone (wherin gold ingendred) we saw divers hils and rocks in every part of Guiana, wherein we traveiled. Of this there have bin many trials, and in London it was first assaid by M. Westwood a refiner dwelling in Woodstreet, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by M. Bulmar & M. Dimock Assay-master, & it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by M. Palmer comptroller of the Mint, and M. Dimock in goldsmiths hal, & it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was also at the same time, & by the same persons a trial made of the dust of the said mine which held 8 li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100: there was likewise [III. 630.] at the same time a triall of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold, besides divers trials made in the countrey, & by others in London. But because there came ill with the good, & belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also bene concluded by divers, that if there had bin any such oare in Guiana, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such onely as adventured, if any store had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of massie gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same: and whosoever hath seene with what strength of stone the best gold oare is invironed, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heapes, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to performe the same. There were on this discovery no lesse then 100. persons, who can all witnesse, that when we past any branch of the river to view the land within, and staied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driven to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the same, the day following it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in June, July, August and September, it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers: for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflowne, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake, it is impossible to save any one person therein: and yer we departed the land it ranne with such swiftnes, as wee drave downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse than 100. miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in hast for that purpose at Trinidad, and those little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our returne in 15. dayes. Others have devised that the same oare was had from Barbary, and that we caried it with us into Guiana: surely the singularitie of that device I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise, therby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savors, to be parched & withered, and withall to sustaine the care & labour of such an enterprize, except the same had more comfort, then the fetching of Marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold oare in Barbary. But I hope the better sort wil judge me by themselves, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I have herein consumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other respect or desire then to serve her Majestie and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had bene of like beliefe to these detracters, we should litle have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garisons, & navies he hath and doth mainteine, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88. above 100. saile of great ships with their artillery, & that no yere is lesse unfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwrack to us all: we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks, and Sivil oringes, nor from ought els that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe us from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britaine, Ireland, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a yere or oftener to cast lots for their own garments, and from such shal all trades, & entercourse be taken away, to the general losse and impoverishment of the kingdom and common weale so reduced: besides when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are prest & incouraged by the desire of spoile & riches. Farther, it is to be douted how those that in time of victory seeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or il successe; to trust also to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull & uncertaine adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevaile, as [III. 631.] vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might bee said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoever kingdome shalbe inforced to defend it selfe may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by litle and litle, the same must needs fall to the ground, & be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my smal power, & perswasion, to advance al those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentifull trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake judgement by such a warre were as easily indangered & brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince of Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his revenues are gathered, & those so weake in their owne beings, and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, & that the time which our enemies embrace, cannot be had againe to advantage, I wil hope that these provinces, and that Empire now by me discovered shal suffice to inable her Majestie & the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spaine hath in all the Indies East and West, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Majestie wil undertake it, I wil be contented to lose her highnesse favour & good opinion for ever, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indevors of such as thereby seeke the profit and honour of her Majestie, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receive such construction, and good acceptance, as themselves would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W. R.

¶ The discoverie of Guiana.

ON Thursday the 6. of February in the yere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of Spaine, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings, & the Rocke, and so onwards for the Canaries, and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three dayes, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Grand Canaria, & so to Tenerif, and stayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordships ship, and for Captaine Amyas Preston and the rest. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinidad with mine owne ship, and a small barke of captaine Crosses onely (for we had before lost sight of a smal Galego on the coast of Spaine, which came with us from Plimmouth:) we arrived at Trinidad the 22. of March, casting ancker at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call punta de Gallo, which is situate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, & in all that time we came not to the speach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point Caroa towards Curiapan, but for feare of the Spaniards none durst come to speake with us. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close abord the shore and landed in every Cove, the better to know the yland, while the ships kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a few dayes we turned up Northeast to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (revictualing my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering places, & ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were divers little brookes of fresh water and one salt river that had store of oisters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oisters grow upon those boughs and spraies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by Andrew Thevet in his French

The yle of Trinidad.

Curiapan.

Parico.

Tierra de Brea.

Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by Plinie in his 12. booke of his naturall historie. But in this yland, as also in Guiana there are very many of them.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our shippes to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for shippes trading the South parts [III. 632.] very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Anniperima, and so passing the river Carone on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Espannolles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a sheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the soile is very excellent and will beare suger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wilde porks, fruits, fish and foule: it hath also for bread sufficient maiz, cassavi, and of those rootes and fruites which are common every where in the West Indies. It hath divers beastes which the Indies have not: the Spaniards confessed that they found graines of golde in some of the rivers, but they having a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations: those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvajos, betwene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepojos, and those about the Spanish citie terme themselves Carinepagotes: Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers I leave to speake here, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the yland, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerta de los Espannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace, I sent Captaine Whiddon to speake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the said yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne strength then for ought else, and in the ende upon pledge, some of them came abord: the same evening there stale also abord us in a small Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Casique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman wee understood what strength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the governour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

The death of Captaine Whiddon.

While we remained at Puerto de los Espannoles some Spaniards came abord us to buy linnen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers having bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discoverie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to seeke the Edward Bonaventure, which arrived at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence Berreo sent a Canoa abord the pinnesse onely with Indians and dogs inviting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no sooner one harquebuze shot from the shore, but Berreos souldiers lying in ambush had them al, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captaine Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

8 Englishmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.

While wee thus spent the time I was assured by another Casique of the North side of the yland, that Berreo had sent to Margarita and Cumana for souldiers, meaning to have given mee a cassado at parting, if it had bene possible. For although he had given order through all the yland that no Indian should come abord to trade with me upon paine of hanging & quartering, (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards founde) yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had divided the yland and given to every souldier a part, that hee made the ancient Casiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their slaves, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same there were 5. of ye lords or litle kings (which they cal Casiques in the West Indies) in one chaine

[III. 633.]

almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of late since English, French and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves Capitaines, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ships, and to leave a garison in my backe interrested in the same enterprize, who also dayly expected supplies out of Spaine, I should have savoured very much of the asse: and therefore taking a time of most advantage I set upon the Corps du guard in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. souldiers, and my selfe followed with 40. more and so tooke their new City which they called S. Joseph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe shot, and all being dismissed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me abord, and at the instance of the Indians, I set their new citie of S. Joseph on fire.

The Citie of S. Joseph taken. Antony Berreo taken prisoner.

The same day arrived Captaine George Gifford with your Lordships ship, and Captaine Keymis whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and wast those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui under her then there were trees in that yland: that shee was an enemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the Northren world from their servitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her Majesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Majestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princesse or greatest commander. This done we left Puerto de los Espannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and having Berreo my prisoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreis and elsewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great assurednes, and of a great heart: I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the countrey is situate above 600. English miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeve it had bin, which afterward understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have bene brought to attempt the same: of which 600. miles I passed 400. leaving my ships so farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of desire to performe that discovery, then of reason, especially having

Sir W. Ralegh passed 400. miles toward Guiana.

such poore and weake vessels to transport our selves in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a shipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driven to lie in the raine and weather, in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and upon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavory, that what with victuals being most fish, with wette clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will undertake there was never any prison in England, that could bee found more unsavorie and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

If Captaine Preston had not bene perswaded that he should have come too late to Trinidad to have found us there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tary for him there ere hee coulde recover the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God hee might have joyned with us, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten dayes sooner ere the Rivers were overflowen, wee had adventured either to have gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other Cities [III. 634.] and townes neerer at hand, as would have made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to favour mee at this time: if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perfourme more then ever was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Pizarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar, and Atabalipa, and whatsoever prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, townes, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others have written large discourses : for when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the said Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa sonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to bee slaine, one of the yonger sonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thousands of those souldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with those and many others which followed him, hee vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate betweene the great river of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwise called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly East from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or moe great Cities then ever Peru had when it flourished most : it is governed by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people observe the same religion, and the same forme and policies in government as were used in Peru, not differing in any part : and I have bene assured by such of the Spaniards as have seene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation : it is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200. leagues long like unto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seeme more then credible : and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. Chapter of

The statelines of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de Gomara hist. gen. cap. 120.

Lopez in his generall historie of the Indies, wherein he describeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestour to the Emperour of Guiana, whose very wordes are these. Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina, era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamanno de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no avia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviesse de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantitad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espannoles se lo tomavan, y embiavan a Espanna. That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper for strength and hardnesse of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignesse of all the beasts, birds, trees, and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and silver, heapes of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they say, The Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themselves, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and silver, an invention, and magnificence till then never seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of silver and golde unwrought in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Francisco Pizarro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth downe in these words following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and [III. 635.] two thousand markes of good silver, and one million, and three hundred twenty and sixe thousand and five hundred pezos of golde.

Now although these reports may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may easily beleeve the same: for we finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase, if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indanger us, hee will then be unresistable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endevoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have bene many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now living is descended) tooke his way by the river of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the commandement of Gonzalo Pizarro, in the yere 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Thevet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagues: but sure it is that those rivers have one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will speake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little lesse then 70 yeres since that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the same: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana discovered the river of Amazones; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Juan Martinez master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ship; and this port is some 300 miles within the land, upon the great river of Orenoque.

Juan Martinez the first that ever saw Manoa.

I rested at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discovered Manoa) his successe and ende are to bee seene in the Chancery of Saint Juan de Puerto rico, wherof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement aswell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Orellana after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the sayd river of Amazones, passed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Islands, and his fleet severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprise, and departed Spaine with 600 souldiers, and 30 horse, who arriving on the coast of Guiana, was slaine in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the sayd Orgas, untill Berreo found the anker of his ship in the river of Orenoque; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred so farre within the land, and arrived at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire; and Martinez having the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith:

Diego de Ordas went foorth with 600 souldiers 1531.

Fran. Lopez hist. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

Martinez being much favoured by the souldiers, had all the meanes possible procured for his life; but it could not be obteined in other sort then this: That he should be set into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great river: but it pleased God that the canoa was caried downe the streame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the same evening: and having not at any time seene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be woondred at, and so from towne to towne, untill he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa were vanquished by the Spanyards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well enterteined. Hee lived seven moneths in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, untill he came to the entrance of Manoa it selfe, and was foureteene or fifteene dayes in the passage. He avowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun rising to Sun setting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had lived seven moneths in Manoa, and began to understand the language of the countrey, Inga asked him whether he desired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not desirous to stay, obteined the favour of Inga to depart: with whom he sent divers Guianians to conduct him to the river of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gave to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arrived neere the rivers side, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) save only of two

The great city of Manoa or El Dorado.

[III. 636.]

great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to passe: and so in canoas hee fell downe from the river of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and also to Saint Juan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the Sacrament at the hands of his Confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabazas or gourds of the golde beads which he gave to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, upon this occasion: Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I have seene, are marvellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts, when the emperour carowseth with his captaines, tributaries, and governours, the maner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof wee have had good experience: when they are anointed all over, certeine servants of the emperour, having prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes upon their naked bodies, untill they be all shining from the foot to the head: and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkennesse sometimes sixe or seven dayes together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had seene. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of golde which he saw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold

The author of the name of El Dorado.

The substance of this report is in the end of the navigation of the great river of Marannon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo to cardinall Bembo. Ramusio. Vol. 3. fol. 416.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

which they use in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Pizarro, one Pedro de Osua a knight of Navarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylonez: and it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troups a Biscain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a sergeant or alferez: but after certeine moneths, when the souldiers were grieved with travels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so prevailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpose not onely to make himselfe emperour of Guiana, but also of Peru, & of all that side of the West Indies: he had of his party seven hundred souldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captaines and companies, to deliver up townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by ye said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to returne towards Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that ye descent of the river made so great a current, he was inforced to disemboque at the mouth of the sayd Amazones, which can not be lesse then a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de villa Andreda, governour of Margarita, who was father to Don

Reade Josephus Acosta.

Juan Sarmiento, governor of Margarita when sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the Island. Agiri put to the sword all other in the Island that refused to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the same yere that sir John Hawkins sailed to Saint Juan de Ullua in the Jesus of Lubeck: for himselfe tolde me that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the river of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade Nuevo reyno de Granada, and to sacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the sayd Nuevo reyno he was overthrowen, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his owne children, foretelling them that they should not live to be defamed or upbraided by the Spanyards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that sithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliver them from shame and reproch. These were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana; Ozua, and Agiri.

The voyage of sir John Burgh to the West Indies.

[III. 637.]

Also soone after Ordas followed Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa with 130 souldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neveri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silva, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silva, and by the favour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entered by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the river, and by the Amazones hee was utterly overthrowen, and himselfe and all his

1534. *Gomar. cap.* 84. & 86.

Don Pedro de Silva.

armie defeated, onely seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

Pedro Hernandez de Serpa.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the West Indies, taking his journey by land towards Orenoque, which may be some 120 leagues: but yer he came to the borders of the sayd river, hee was set upon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and overthrowen in such sort, that of 300 souldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preston in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spanyards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spanyard was brought aboord me by captaine Preston, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garnished with golde, and divers rarities which he caried to the Spanish king.

Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo reino, whose daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost. I tooke one captaine George a Spanyard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise.

Antonio Berreo.

Gonzales gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworne to me, hath spent 300000 ducats in the same, & yet never could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, souldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed undertakers, nor Berreo himselfe, discover the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yer he understood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al these forenamed, and divers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassamar, which falleth into a great river called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orenoque.

He tooke his journey from Nuevo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he drave with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers crosse and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the passage of Ximines and Berreo, mine owne discovery, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, your lordship shall receive in a large Chart or Map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also tolde me yer I departed England, that Villiers the admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I

A new & rich trade of the French to the river of Amazones.

spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same yere that my ships came first from Virginia.

There was another this yeere in Helford that also came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. [III. 638.] Although, as I am perswaded, Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazones, and so it doth on every hand far from the countrey it selfe; for those Indians of Trinidad have plates of golde from Guiana, and those canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Islands by which our ships passe yerely to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the province of Venesuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of golde of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazones, Thevet writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is above 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforesayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the rivers betweene Orenoque & Amazones, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleeved, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene delivered me for trueth of those women, & I spake with a casique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the South side of the river in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retracts are in the Islands situate on the South side of the entrance some 60 leagues within the mouth of the sayd river. The memories of the like women are very ancient aswell in Africa as in Asia: In Africa those that had Medusa for queene: others in Scithia nere the rivers of Tanais and Thermodon: we finde also that Lampedo & Marthesia were queenes of the Amazones: in many histories they are verified to have bene, and in divers ages and provinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes have chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a sonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the brest, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazones have likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recover by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, & we use for spleene

The seat of the Amazones.

stones: and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them. Of these I saw divers in Guiana: and commonly every king or casique hath one, which their wives for the most part weare; and they esteeme them as great jewels.

But to returne to the enterprise of Bereo, who (as I have sayd) departed from Nuevo reyno with 700 horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed, he descended by the river called Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuvia, from which mountaine also springeth Pato; both which fall into the great river of Meta: and Meta riseth from a mountaine joyning to Pamplon in the same Nuevo reyno de Granada. These, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they lose their names; and Baraquan farther downe is also rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other side of the city and hilles of Timana riseth Rio grande, which falleth in the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassonar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey served them for to march, and where otherwise, he was driven to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current downe the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entred that great & mighty river, he began dayly to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers Islands sharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by sicknesse, and by encountring with the people of those regions, thorow which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially [III. 639.] by divers encounters with the Amapaians: and in all this time hee never could learne of any passage into

Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, untill he came to a further border of the sayd Amapaia, eight dayes journey from the river Caroli, which was the furthest river that he entred. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three moneths of the six, which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate upon Orenoque also. In this countrey Berreo lost 60 of his best souldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former yeeres travell: but in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo wth tenne images of fine golde among divers other plates and croissants, which, as he sware to me & divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: & he was resolved, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his campmaster, they would appeare very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no yron instruments at all nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces, are called Anebas, and the river of Orenoque at that place is above 12 English miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground nere the river; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonfull wormes and serpents; and the Spanyards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and even the very horses poisoned therwith: insomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left above 120 souldiers, & neither horse nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they susteined much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the skie, they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, evening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away assoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march over them, continuing from the East sea into which Orenoque falleth, even to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition over those craggie, high, and fast hilles, being all woody, & those so thicke and spiny, & so full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: hee had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them: and more, to his disadvantage, the casiques and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of golde: he passed by the mouthes of many great rivers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediousnesse, and because they are more pleasing in describing then reading.

Many great rivers falling into Orenoque.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred rivers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as Rio grande, that passed betweene Popayan and Nuevo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being esteemed one of the renowmed rivers in all the West Indies, and numbred among the great rivers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led; for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne travell, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdomes from the East sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of provinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they stood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere: for by the dissention betweene Guascar and Atabalipa, Pizarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious over Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined unto. [III. 640.]

Now Berreo began to grow into dispaire, and looked for no other successe then his predecessor in this enter-

The province of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians.

prise, untill such time as hee arrived at the province of Emeria towards the East sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtill, and of great experience, being little lesse then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was sent by his father into the Island of Trinidad, by reason of civill warre among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island, called Parico; at that place in his youth hee had seene many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the West Indies (for both those places have ever beene relieved with victuall from Trinidad) by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his countrey with those of the Christians, and ever after temporized so, as whosoever els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himselfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he also held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever els had warre.

Carapana.

Berreo sojourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana sixe weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then utterly disable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for as well out of Spaine as from Nueva reyno, where hee had left his sonne, Don Antonio Ximenes to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance, and so for the present imbarked himselfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arrived at Trinidad, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recovered Margarita: and having made relation to Don Juan Sermiento the governour, of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty souldiers, promising presently to returne to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing lesse at that time; for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departed from Margarita, seated himselfe in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master, and his sergeant-major backe to the borders to discover the neerest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love; without which, he knew he could neither passe safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five dayes journey from Macureguarai, the first civill towne of Guiana.

Morequito.

Now your lordship shall understand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feasted, & presented by the governours of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one Vides governour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spaine for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and forgone his desire and hope, it

Vides the governour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conquest of Guiana.

was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter thorow his signorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort; for Vides governour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aswell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana it selfe: howsoever it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa) to travell thorow his countrey, gave them a guide for Macureguaray, the first towne of civill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven dayes arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certaine; although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he sayd) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

Macureguaray.

Ten Spanyards arrive at Manoa.

[III. 641.]

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and tooke from them to the value of forty thousand pezos of golde: and one of them onely lived to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine souldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I my selfe spake with the captaines of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo inraged heerewithall, sent all the strength he could make into Aromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito suspecting the same, fled over Orenoque,

Aromaia.

and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recovered Cumaná, where hee thought himselfe very safe, with Vides the governour. But Berreo sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden yer he was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, aswell to avoid the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him escape: but the poor Guianian, betrayed on all sides, was delivered to the campe-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the souldiers of Berreo spoiled his territorie, and tooke divers prisoners, among others they tooke the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great understanding and policy: he is above an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine seventeene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesayd, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and divers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in Aromaia, hath lost the love of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his souldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts, aswell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They also have gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they have Christened, and named Don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endevouring by all meanes to establish him in the sayd province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used canoas to passe to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, & Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, even their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelve or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they sell them againe at Margarita in the West Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is so many crownes.

Some fewe Spaniards are now seated in Dissequebe.

The master of my shippe, John Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be solde, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped as ever I saw any in England, and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of Cassavi, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They also recover great store of Cotton, Brasill wood, and those beds which they call Hamacas or Brasill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our selves while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ransome of divers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and divers birdes, and dispatched his campe-master for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to levie souldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise. And having sent divers images aswell of men as beasts, birds & fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath never beene sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his sonne in Nuevo reyno to levie all the forces he could, & to come downe the river Orenoque to Emeria, the province of Carapana, [III. 642.] to meet him: he had also sent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coast of the Caracas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Jacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himselfe had speech at that time, and remembred how inquisitive Jacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse, and used all the arguments he could to disswade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any barke or pinnesse, or hardly with any ships boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelve inches water. Hee further sayde, that none of the countrey would come to speake with us, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and besides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for golde, because the same would be their owne overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

The river of Capuri.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resolving to make triall of all whatsoever happened, directed Captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eastward, against the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captaine Whiddon, and John Dowglas the master, to discover, who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water, to whom I had given instructions that they should anker at the edge of the shoald, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, which shoald John Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it up altogether so farre to the East, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell yer they could have passed the sands; as wee after found by a second experience: so as now wee must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure foure hundred mile behinde us, must run up in our ships boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for so long a time in such bables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his sonne must be by that time come downe with many souldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lions whelpe, with his shipboat, to trie another branch of a river in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to proove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thorowly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would assaile them with many canoas, and that they shot poisoned arrowes; so as if he hasted not backe, they should all be lost.

In the meane time, fearing the woorst, I caused all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I sent John Dowglas againe in my long barge, aswell to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein, can never disemboque againe, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the sayde bay, as also for that the brize and Easterly winde bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides that have traded to Trinidad.

John Hampton captaine of the Minion under sir John Hawkins in his voiage to S. Juan de Ullua.

I sent with John Dowglas an olde casique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde us that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so returne in foure dayes. John Dowglas searched those rivers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoald, and but sixe foot water: so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lions whelpes boat & whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made up a hundred: [III. 643.]
we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his whery, with all their victuall, weapons, and provisions. Captaine Calfield had with him my

cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my selfe had captaine Thin, my cousin John Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Upton, captaine Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and above fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so farre to wind-ward, as it was impossible for us to recover: for wee had as much sea to crosse over in our wheries, as betweene Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to goe in those small boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which John Dowglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whose canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the sayd Barema, laden with Cassavi-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelve yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no judgement: and if God had not sent us another helpe, we might have wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of rivers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, especially after wee were past ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes, for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compasse, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Islands, and every Island so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further then the bredth of the river, or length of the breach.

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A woonderfull confluence of streames.

The river of the Red crosse.

But this it chanced, that entering into a river, (which because it had no name, wee called the river of the Red crosse, our selves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing up the same, wee espied a small canoa with three Indians, which (by the swiftnesse of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I overtooke yet they could crosse the river, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed under the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to shew themselves on the banks side, and offered to traffique with us for such things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the journey: when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the Island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoile and destroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creekes mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine: with that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This olde man being resolved that he should pay the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with so maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the shout they made: but at the last this poore chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped downe and swamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfasted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of those rivers, we assured our selves hee knew the way better then any stranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had never found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the olde man himselfe was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which [III. 644.] dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

Two nations of the Tivitivas, called Ciawani, and Waraweete.

A description of the mighty river of Orenoque or Baraquan.

The great river of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth: on the South side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many lesse. From the first branch on the North to the last of the South, it is at least 100 leagues, so as the rivers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the severall North branches, are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chiefe lords which have continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the river by which John Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

What maner of people the Tivitivas are.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever. In the Summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Uraba: for betweene May & September the river of Orenoque riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those ilands overflowen twenty foot high above the levell of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are inforced to live in this maner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sowen: and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad, they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

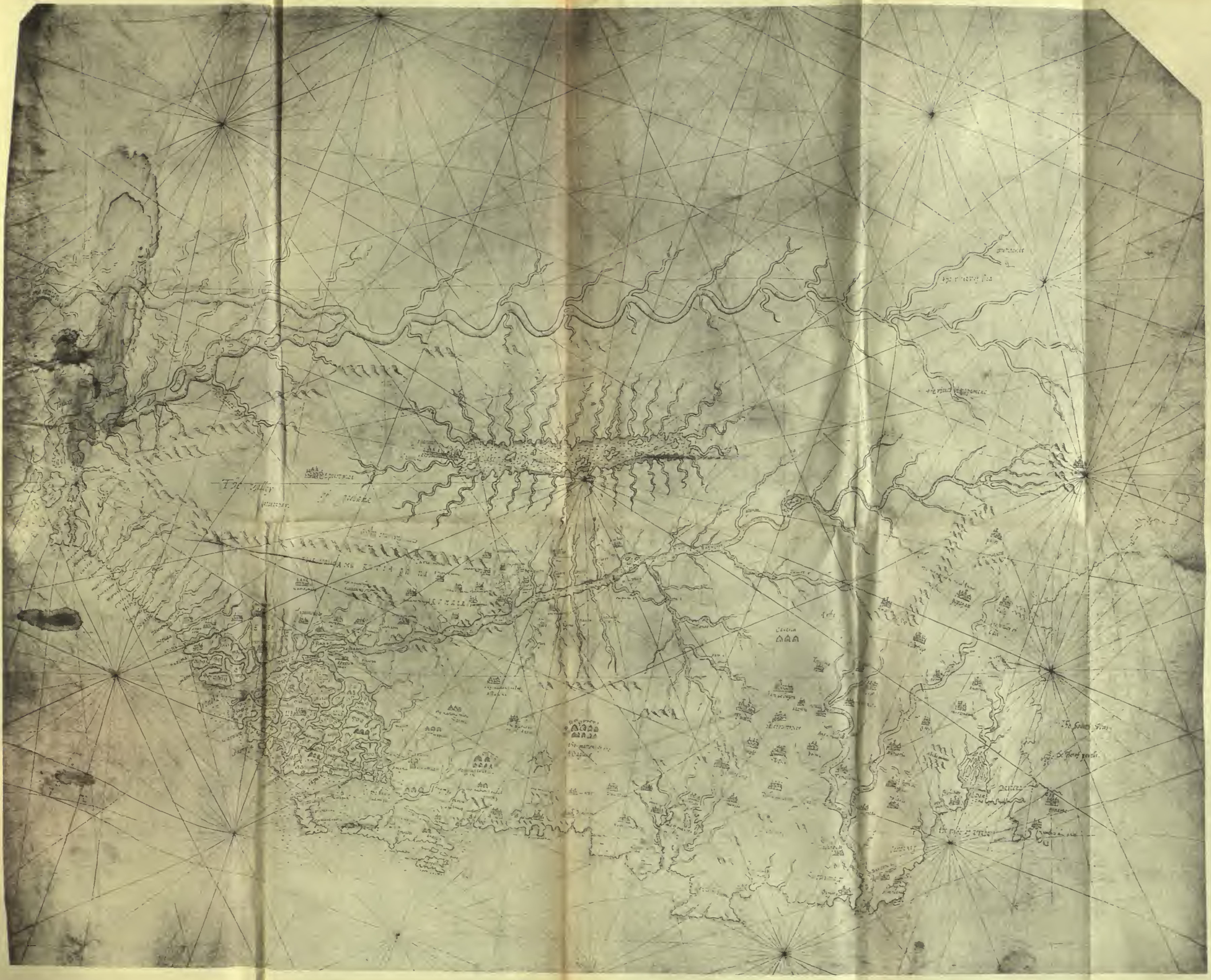
And if to speake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and formes, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seene or read. Of these people those that dwell upon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest canoas, and sel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the excessive taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistnesse of the aire in which they live, the hardnesse of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowle for their living; in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre upon all nations, and especially on the Canibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase againe, and hang it in the caciques house that died, and decke his scull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates, about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and doe use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drinke it all in their severall sorts of drinks.

The Arwacas on the South side of Orenoque.

The port of the Ciawani.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, wee passed up the river with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entred the river, our galley came on ground, and stucke so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left fourescore and ten of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but soone after the flood of the sea left us; and being inforced either by maine strength to row against a violent current, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, every gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to spell one the other at the houres end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of

A river called The great Amana.



MAP OF GUIANA BY SIR WALTER RALEGH

rivers, some falling from the West, others from the East into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the Cart of discovery, where every one shalbe named with his rising and descent. When three dayes more were overgone, our companies began to despaire, the [III. 645.] weather being extreame hote, the river bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current against us every day stronger then other: but we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an ende the next day, and used it so long, as we were driven to assure them from foure reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured, that many dayes were spent, and wee driven to drawe our selves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drinke at all; and our men and our selves so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee should ever performe it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in five degrees.

They are in five degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnesse) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had most need of strength and abilitie; for hourely the river ranne more violently then other against us, and the barge, wheries, and shippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had spent all their provisions; so as we were brought into despaire and discomfort, had wee not perswaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee should be relieved of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorne. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety, as were sufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieved our selves many times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with fowle and fish. Wee saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, and it was unto us a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, having little or no bread, and lesse drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the river, we had beene in a very hard case.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I sayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leave the galley at anker the while in the great river, he would bring us to a towne of the Arwacas, where we should finde store of bread, hennes, fish, and of the countrey wine; and perswaded us, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and Captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and so we entred the mouth of this river: and because we were perswaded that it was so nere, we tooke no victuall with us at all. When we had rowed three houres, we marvelled we saw no signe of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde us a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us: for hee confessed that those Spanyards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joyned together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was; hee tolde us but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure; we saw no signe; and our poore water-men, even heart-broken, and tired, were ready to give up the ghost: for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had surely gone; but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the river began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as wee were driven with arming swords to cut a passage thorow those branches that covered the water. Wee were very desirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feast, because wee made but a short breakefast aboord the galley in the morning and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our stomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was best to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian ever assured us that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the last about one a clocke after midnight wee saw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoas above foure hundred miles off, upon a journey towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came so neere us, as his canoas grated against our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee understood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, divers plates of golde, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hennes. [III. 646.]

A most beautifull countrey.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautifull countrey that ever mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene used to a keepers call. Upon this river there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The river of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all lost, (for wee promised to returne before night) and sent the Lions whelps shippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow us up the river; but the next day, after we had rowed up and downe some fourescore miles, we returned, and went on our way, up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied foure canoas comming downe the river; & with no small joy caused his men to trie the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the foure gave over, and ranne themselves ashore, every man betaking himselfe to the fastnesse of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay holde on these; and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither. Those canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to cary thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spanyards, who having heard of the defeat of their governour in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoas: one of them was a

The river of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards escaped.

cavallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde us, another a souldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could have bene more welcome to us, next unto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our men cried, Let us goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the canoas first ranne themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his quick-silver, saltpeter, and divers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pound to what souldier soever could take one of those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselves into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceived by the company, there would have beene by this

The Spanish golde-finers basket & other things taken.

The richest mines defended with the white spar.

time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selves might have beene prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people bene utterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often objected) whosoever had seene or proved the fury of that river after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leaving them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich stones. And to say the trueth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such [III. 647.] speed, as if we waded them over the shooes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenii: such a quantitie as would have served our turnes we could not have had, but a discovery of the Mines to our infinite disadvantage wee had made, and that could have bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could have returned a good quantitie of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

The Spaniards divelish lies.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with us, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen us, and that wee gave them meate, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters dayly, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got us more love amongst them then this usage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drewe them to admire her Majestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

A notable course of justice.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their uttermost demand.

They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolved, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesties armie and Fleete had given them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gave one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ancker upon the lande, and with maine strength drewe her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discovered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent of a Northerly winde that blewe very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river Orenoque; out of which this River discended wherein wee were: wee descried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered up the great River, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought us to have bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord us: and of such fish and Tortugas egges [III. 648.]

They come on ground with their gally.

as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Rivers (the one was the River of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towardes the East) and landed upon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight.

Two branches of the river Orenoque.

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried us from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelve galons very cleane and sweete, and are themselves at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene up the River in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with sixe cuppes and a little

Toparimaca.

ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I have seldome seene a better favoured woman: Shee was of good stature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied up againe in pretie knots, and it seemed shee stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I have seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would have sworne might have bene the same.

The towne of Arowocay.

The great breadth of the river Orenoque.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adjoyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceive all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but even as a case covered onely with skinne. The Lord of this place gave me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traveile, and knew the River most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to have such a Pilot, for it is foure, five, and sixe miles over in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great ylands, and divers sholds, and many dangerous rockes, and besides upon any increase of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an Easterly winde to helpe us, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the River lieth for the most part East and West, even from the Sea unto Quito in Peru. This River is navigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be sailed up in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nuevo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed up a branch of that River, having on the left hand a great yland which they call Assapana which may conteine some five and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the River running on the other side of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another yland in the River called Iwana, which is twise as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which devide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

They enter the river Orenoque which runneth East and West.

The yle of Assapana.

The yland of Iwana.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great River, and beyond it on the same side, wee anckered for that night, by another yland sixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we ankered

[III. 649.]

The yle of Ocaywita.

againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, over against which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coveted to ancker rather by these ylands in the River, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like unto the best steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also divers great mountaines, which border this river in many places.

The yle of Putapayma.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cosen Butshead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march over the bankes of that red land, and to discover what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine levell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get upon: And my old Pilot, a man of great travell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the same levell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was overthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumaná towards Oren-

The plaines of Sayma stretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

oque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but have smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poyson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poyson I will speake somewhat being a digression not unnecessary.

Aroras a black people using venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these poysoned arrowes: for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shotte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinarie poyson, are made of the juice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencheth marveilously the heate of burning feavers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could never attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poysons. Some of the Spaniards have bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poysoned arrowes with the juice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrowes are used, that they must abstaine from

The juice of garlike good against ordinary poyson

Speedy drinking to be avoyded of such as are wounded with poysoned arrowes.

drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they shall bee marveilously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will returne againe to our journey which for this thirde day we finished, and cast ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared [III. 650.] hourely least any raine should fall, and then it had bene impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong brize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the river.

The yle of Manoripano.

The next day we sailed by a great yland in the middle of the river called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of us, there came for us from the maine a small Canoa with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the towne of Toparimaca: and so the fift day we reached as high up as the province of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and five broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The province Aromaia.

The yle of Murrecotima.

The next day wee arrived at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, uncle to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to us on foote from his house, which was foureteene English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow under the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gave mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred over with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge as a great hunting horne, which they use to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to bee set up, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Majesties greatnesse, her justice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceive: all which being with great admiration attentively heard, and marveilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adjoyning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that himselfe and his people with all those downe the River towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the river and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discovered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians.

The valley of Amariocapana.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loved) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had nowe made themselves Lords of all, even to that mountaine foote called Curaa, saving onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hist. gen. cap. 119.

[III. 651.]

The towne of Macureguarai.

called Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which have no ende: and that their houses have many roomes, one over the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to invade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to invade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie.

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leave to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was every day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey above, hee would againe come to us, and in the meane time provide for us the best he could, of all that his countrey yeelded; the same night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being situate betweene foure and five degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaved himselfe towardes mee in all his answeres at my returne, as I marveiled to finde a man of that gravitie and judgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward up to the River, to view the famous River called Caroli, as well because it was marveilous of it selfe, as also for that I understoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subjects to Inga, Emperour of

Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anckered at another yland called Caiama, of some five or sixe miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the River, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to have gone up some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stones cast in an houre, and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the River, so as we incamped upon the bankes adjoyning, and sent off our Orenoquepone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the River of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the province upon that River, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this River side that Morequito slewe the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousande pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertaine us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Majestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this River were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this River descended, & were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would joyne with us, and that if wee entred the land over the mountaines

The yle of Caiama.

They arrive at the mouth of the river Caroli.

Wanuretona.

Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations seated on a lake at the head of the river Caroli.

of Curaa, we should satisfie our selves with gold and all other good things: he told us farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first civill towne of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the Emperour.

A great silver Mine.

Upon this river one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great silver Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide river. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen foure or five foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever to rowe into the River against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenvile, my nephew John Gylbert, my cosen Butshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte more to coast the River by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles over the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefest friend) because this towne and province of Capurepana adjoyned to Macureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched over land to viewe the strange overfals of the river of Caroli which rored so farre off, and also to see the plaines adjoyning, and the rest of the province of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they coulde finde any Minerall stone alongst the river side. When we were come to the tops of the first hilles of the plaines adjoyning to the river, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine see the river howe it ranne in three parts, above twentie miles off, and there appeared some tenne or twelve overfals in sight,

Amnatapoi, a towne.

[III. 652.]

The strange overfals of Caroli.

every one as high over the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all covered over with a great shower of raine: and in some places wee tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better discerne the same. I never saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more lively prospects, hils so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plaines adjoyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in every path, the birdes towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand severall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation pearching in the rivers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, and every stone that we stouped to take up, promised either golde or silver by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered under the Sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall Sparre aforesaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requisite save onely our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also severall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet such as had no judgement or experience kept al that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of Mar-

A most beautifull country.

Abundance of minerall Sparre.

quesite with all, from Trinidad, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I so farre in love with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may prove I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orenoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adjoyning to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one dayes journey for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall divers rivers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches.

Cassipa a great lake.

There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth thorow the lake Cassipa,

The river of Arui.

and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next unto Arui there are two rivers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not above their shoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolved it is true, because every childe in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arrivall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandevile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

The rivers of Atoica and Caora.

Ewaipanoma a strange headlesse nation.

[III. 653.]

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great travell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West as Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage, but hee is well knowen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people.

The river of Casnero.

The fourth river to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that river is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which devide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee navigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those rivers for the causes aforesayd, the Winter being come upon us, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them both blossome, leaves, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and overflowing of the rivers, with many great stormes and gustes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

The Winter of Guiana.

On the North side, the first river that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Above Amapaia toward Nuevo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar. To the West of those towards the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adjoyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the rivers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the river of Papamene which descendeth into Marannon or Amazones passing thorough the province Mutylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Meta, Pato, Cassanar.

Papamene.

The Isle of Baraquan.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for above Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible overfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawen even to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leave the rest to the description. This river of Orenoque is navigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, Nuevo reyno, and Popaian, may be invaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the provinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound in gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the easter province of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the

Orenoque a mighty river by which Peru, Nuevo reyno, & Popaian may be invaded.

[III. 654.]

province of Venezuela, to the bay of Uraba, behind Cartagena Westward; and to Amazones Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten us with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the river began to rage and overflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, every day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most materiall.

Canuri.

They returne.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundreth miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with us into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on

The last conference of sir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari. whose sonne he brought into England.

what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selves, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gave mee an answere to this effect: first that hee could not perceive that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere served, neither could hee perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe: besides hee gave mee this good counsell and advised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not live till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and travell, unlesse the borderers gave them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were overthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smoothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discerne their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that 4 daies journey from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and neerest of the subjects of Inga, and of the

Counsell to be followed in other conquests.

Macureguarai ye first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beastes, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to joyne with us? He answered that he would go himselfe with al the borderers, if the rivers did remaine foordable, upon this condition that I would leave with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee undertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not above fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, & that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knewe would use the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although upon the motion Captaine Calfield, Captaine Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needes have perished, for Berreo expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourely for his sonne to come downe from Nuevo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horse ready to march, and I could not have spared above fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to have fortified withall. [III. 655.]

When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I should bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide us or assist us against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that province, so they had him seventeene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, until hee had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and divers chaines of Spleen-stones for his ransome: and nowe since he became owner of that province, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they should understand of his conference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they have gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they have Christened Don Juan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Loviana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to travell nor to shifte, as when I was of yoonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed us to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would bee more seasonable to travell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any river, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguari, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde

A.D. 1595.

or [treasure, for their labours, but onely to recover women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had beene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to have tenne or twelve wives, they were now inforced to content themselves with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kinreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for us, and their gold for you: for the hope of those many of women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subjects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I received this answere of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better advice to have entred Macureguarai, and to have begun a warre upon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ships) I thought it were evill counsell to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many objections: but it would have bin in mine opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to have yeelded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them, but as yet [III. 656.] our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Majestie undertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted: and therefore till I had knowen her Majesties pleasure, I would rather have lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might have beene very profitable) then to have defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die even to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had beene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolved Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gave me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to live, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a servant of Captaine Gifford, (who was desirous to tarie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not severed from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small

Francis Sparrow.

The lake of Manoa.

stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they used a great earthern pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran, & then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your Honors of two sortes such as I could by chance recover, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them manie more peeces of gold, then I received, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Majesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her servants thencefoorth.

Most rich gold ore.

I have also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to bee hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarrie and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, barres, ledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee saw all the hilles with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an undoubted assurance of the generall abundance: and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of.

The lake of Cassipa.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithfull promise of the principallest of those provinces to become servants to her Majestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and received his sonne for a pledge betweene us, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gave instructions to travell to Marcureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coasted the *Guiana on the Southside.* river on Guiana side, because wee came upon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with us from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the province of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards upon Caroli before spoken of) who desired us to rest in the Porte of his countrey, promising to bring us unto a mountaine adjoyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, over land towards the said mountaine, marching by a rivers *Mana.* side called Mana, leaving on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the Province of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselves some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautifull [III. 657.] fields, as any man hath ever seene, with divers copsies scattered here and there by the rivers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in everie lake and river the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the river of Mana, we crost another river in *Oiana.* the said beautifull valley called Oiana, & rested our selves by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling us fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heavie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the ford to passe over towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where

Putijma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceived, that to passe the said river would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my selfe to endure it, and therefore I sent Captaine Keymis with sixe shot to goe on, and gave him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a river called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma himselfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the rivers side, saw by the way many rockes, like unto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

Great fishes called Manati most excellent meate.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the province of Parino: As for the branches of rivers which I overpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Ajo, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre downe as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque devideth it selfe into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers) I sent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greenevile with the galley, the neerest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the province of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent over land, as also to acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the river of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd river to expect his comming, & the rest of us rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunneset, we entred a branch of a river that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the evill season of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey: wee saw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth over it a mighty river which toucheth no part of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth over the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an over-fall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adjoyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Winicapora.

A mighty cataract or overfall of water.

Diamonds & other precious stones.

Upon this river of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being upon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied us, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selves

Wacarima.

a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selves backe to our boats, upon the river and there came to us all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other provisions, and of those stones which wee call Spleene-stones.

Wee understood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoyning to the mountains of Guiana, over [III. 658.] the valley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us, as any of the lords of the provinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured us, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooved, but to be acquited of the Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the province of Cairoma is situate at the mountaine foote, which devideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip over the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooved, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the river of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure rivers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 rivers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recover up againe to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as wee were driven to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis over land: but when wee entred the same, they had heard no newes of his arrivall, which bred in us a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed up a league or two farther into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there.

And the next morning wee heard them answere us also with a piece: wee tooke them aboord us, and tooke our leave of Putima their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with us into England, if we could have stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The port of Toparimaca.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which devideth the river from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selves with that beast which is called Armadilla presented unto us before at Winicapora, and the day following we recovered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, & the same evening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the river; but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the river of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the rivers mouth, as between Gravelyn and Dover, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard.

[III. 659.]

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, Islands, or villages of the Tivitivas which dwell on trees: we will leave all those to the generall mappe: and to be short, when we were arrived at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the rivers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close under the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her; for mine owne part I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, either to goe over in the pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water over the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew five: or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we taried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, and my cosen Greenevile into my barge; and after it cleared up, about midnight we put our selves to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the Galley at anker, who durst not adventure but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and stearing for the neerest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was never to us a more joyfull sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to sende us safe to our shippes, it is time to leave Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worshippe, and steare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discovery thereof. Of the severall nations which we found upon this discovery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our first enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of us in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which

A rehearsall & description of all the nations and rivers found in this discoverie.

inhabite the rivers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third river which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumaná, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne upon the sayd river is Sayma; In this bay there are no more rivers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towardes Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tivitivas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Province) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diverse questions of her Majestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Majesties greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truely made of her Highnesse many vertues: And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adjoyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diverse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marveilous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the North of

Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the severall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their severall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru used, which may be read in Cieza, and other Spanish stories, how they beleeve the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to injoy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wives and friends drinke them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in every Province. They have all many wives, and the Lords five-fould to the common sort: their wives never eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselves. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all else of service and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

Piedro de Cieza.

[III. 660.]

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I have not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rarenesse most marvellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Salvages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arrivall, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adjoyning, or in Manoa: but if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her Majestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therin; no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies.

Great riches.

For the rest, which my selfe have seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth foorth so many armes and branches leading to severall countries and provinces, above 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico,

Exceeding commendation of the river of Orenoque.

or Pizarro in Peru: and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere rivers, abundance of Phesants, Partriges, Quailes, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and divers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie.

To speake of the severall sorts of every kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolved it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. *The holsomenesse of the countrey.* Moreover the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons & more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire every night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

Gold. Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the river, great quantities of *Brasil wood.* Brasil-wood, and diverse berries that die a most perfect *Excellent dyes.* crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, even those browne and tawnie women spot themselves, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and never knowen in Europe, of all sortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies have.

Cotton, silke, Balsamum, gummes, and pepper.

[III. 661.]

The navigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in sixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subject unto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, & when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

The short, easie, and commodious navigation to Guiana.

This very yeere* there were seventeene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to have sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Juan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Navigation every yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leave England is best in July, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, Januarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in June, so as they shall never be subject to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outragious gustes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

1595.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath never bene entered by any armie of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Provinces which I have seene, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe up but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other several kingdomes, lying within the said river, even to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easinesse of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall be found unaccessible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to approch, for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sunne, and is so environed with impassable mountaines on every side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the passage: which hath bene well prooved by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru have never left five yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie severall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noble men, there was never any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the saide countrie. Orellana, of whom the river of Amazones taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet know the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished upon the river within: The West Indies have many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoever companies shall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie severall Provinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion eyther by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countries are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man invade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the brize and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueva Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned [III. 662.] prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adjoyning) doe serve them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Majesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands & regions never written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Majestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I have received to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie discovered, many nations wonne to her Majesties love and obedience, and those Spaniardes which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Sivill for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Majestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great uncles Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entrey of his countrey: and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said Conquerours. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said countrey, so her Majestie will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empresse of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spaine enjoy it, he will become unresistable. Her Majestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires and so farre removed.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

[An abstract

An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning Guiana and the countries lying upon the great river Orenoque: with certaine reports also touching the same.

An advertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir [III. 663.] Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discoverie: he made knowen and delivered to some of her Majesties most honourable privie Councell & others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoyned. Wherein the Reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before Morequito the Lord of Aromaya, and others thereabouts, which throughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the sonne of Topiawary now chiefe Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discoverie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then having farther consideration of the matter, and more then conjecture of their intent, having knowen and heard of their former cruelties upon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and imployed for a farther discovery, they were provided to receive and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gave them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards seeme to call Guiana and other countries neere it, bordering upon the river of Orenoque, by the name of Nueva Dorado, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of El Dorado which was given by Martinez to the great citie of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgement of the indifferent Reader. W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

THere have bene certaine letters received here of late, of a land newly discovered called Nuevo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discovery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

[Alonsos letter

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

SIrs, we have no newes worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee have it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discoverie, unto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelve dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discoverie, that was sent to his Majestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Majestie, of the discovery of Nuevo Dorado.

IN the river of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Governour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Caranza Register for the sea, commanded [III. 664.] all the souldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said unto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you understand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the travell of eleven yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discovered the royall Provinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to governe the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad.

But now they have sent me to learne out and discover the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Provinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason wherof I intend so to doe in the name of his Majestie, and the saide governour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to advance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reverence unto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drewe out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Governour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere, that in these our actions was present the Cassique, or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Governour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe having his sword drawen in his hand saide unto me: Register, that art here present, give me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I have taken of this land, for the Governour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera, and underneath, Before me Rodrigo de Caranza, Register of the armie.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and the discoverie of the way and Provinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him understand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpretor, that his Majestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, delivered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they understood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Governour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on end towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done. And underneath. Before me Rodrigo Caranza, Register of the armie.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discoverie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being five leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gave to understand that his Majestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yeelde their obedience to his Majestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should advance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Governour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met us in peaceable maner: and he is called Revato, he brought us to a very large house where he entertained us well, and gave us much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence [III. 665.] that golde was, he answered, From a Province not passing a dayes journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselves all over therewith to make the braver shew; and to the end the Golde may cover them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: & they have warre with those Indians. They promised us that if we would goe unto them, they would ayde us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they gat ye same Gold, they told us they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged up the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about five leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all in peace with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated us to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would have any, wee should send them Jewes harpes, for they would give for every one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gave him five hundred Harpes; the Hennes were so many that hee brought us, as were not to be numbred. Wee sayde wee would goe thither; they tolde us they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill us. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts; hee sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all covered with Golde. The Indian sayde unto us, if wee would see them, wee should give him some Hatchets, and he would bring us of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gave him one Hatchet (hee would give him no more because they should not understand we went to seeke golde) he brought us an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd unto him, Give mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be given him: hee then tolde us, those Indians were comming to kill us for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleventh day of May wee went about seven leagues from thence to a Province, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde us that if wee came to fight, they would fill up those Plaines with Indians to fight with us; but if wee came in peace, wee should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they tolde us of all the

Indians with high shoulders.

riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Majestie: for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaves of paper would not containe it.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries unto his cousin a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

SIr, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new discovered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discovery that went to his Majestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Jamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, [III. 666.] bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the king of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol unto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

[The report

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

1591. HE saith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that river which *Paracoa.* commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the River of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discovery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and having a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Discoverers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had divers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the river of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

THey sayd (advancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nuevo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discovered a certaine Province so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the said discoverie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discoverie of El Nuevo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the King was in every poynt truely sayde, that the river Orenoque hath seven mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd river runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the sayd Dorado.

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Majesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

I Have here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discoverie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best beseemeth a simple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, unto your selfe, that small libertie which I have therein used, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be given to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the judgement bee theirs, that uprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their evill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoveries, doe so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, & tread under foot the thing it selfe. But this is no novelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, Laudes eo usque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque

Pericles.

facere posse existimant: simajora proferantur, invident, non credunt. The fervent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endeare the [III. 667.] toyle, care, and danger that you have willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approve it selfe, and is better read in your living doings, then in my dead unregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to justifie, how much more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtfull events. If unto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appeare otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence unto the enemie: the cost and travaile which you have bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if unto your Honour I can prove how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and prevention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all service,
LAURENCE KEYMIS.

To the Favourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though never so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisedome, to discredite most noble and profitable indevours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoever an action well and judicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my jealous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I have presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne unsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana unto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to vaile and cover all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remove all fig-leaves from our unbeliefe, that either it may have cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serve the Spaniard his turne so well as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly advertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps prove, & be hereafter taken for worse then paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hood winke our selves, as who would say, No man shall see us. Besides, if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Majesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and never be discovered, untill it were acted. But since it craveth the approbation and purses of many Adventurers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and lives, as voluntarily to run themselves out of breath, in pursuing they know not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade & induce them unto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, unsetled, & uncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the travailes, reports, & substantial proofes of his own men, that have above 60. yeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath used in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, & disappoint us; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space have done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our English nation, interessed in so weighty businesse. *In June 1596.* *His late provision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable service most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should have bin conveyed, were converted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth evidently prove, that El Dorado hath undoubted credit & account in their judgements: so pointeth it at us, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, & instantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing [III. 668.] dreame of a golden fancy. If we with our selves shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the advantage wholy resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey throughly discovered, & the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Majesties happy government; they notwithstanding by entring before us, have now gotten ye start of us: what may we thinke? Shal wee judge that their native countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome unto them, then ours is unto us? Their Peruleri, who going bare & empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disprove all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they have more spare men to be imployed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subject to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaves to follow their husbandry, & themselves disdaining base idlenes & beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselves, their substance, & best indevour to further this cause; that maketh us to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to loose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way prejudice our advised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negros to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessaries may (by the favour of God) at our first comming, both store us with quantities of gold oare, and ease us of much trouble, paines, and travaile. If we should suppose our selves now to live in the dayes of King Henry the seventh of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice us to beleeve it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Utopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes subject to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth even now heavy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we have the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from us to condemne our selves in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truely say, that Otium is animæ vivæ sepultura: we beleeve, that perfect wisedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we justly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers have atteined to their greatnesse by labour & industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth us with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What evill happeneth unto us? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliver us, and give us an understanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth unto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.

That worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'envie and us t'atchieve,
Filles me with furie, and gives armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and every sense into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,
Opens most tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.
Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,
[III. 669.] Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,

Like to Joves Eagle on Elizas hand.
Guiana, whose rich feete are mines of golde,
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
And every signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore savage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soveraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth upon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,
That seconding your last, may goe before it
In all successe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was divine,
(Aswell by Fate as your high judgement ordred)
To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Envies feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And shroude it with broad leaves of Rule oregrowne
From all blacke tempests of invasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke
The solid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their brave attempts on weaker grounds,
And lesse perswasive likelihoods then this;
Nor was there ever princely Fount so long
Powr'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,
And such ascending Majestie as you:
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,

That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,
Shoves up the seas to heaven, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his wastfull bravery in the Even:
But as a river from a mountaine running,
The further he extends the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,
Even to joyne battell with th'imperious sea
Disdayning his repulse, and in despight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes:
So let thy soveraigne Empire be encreast,
And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,
Directing with discredite of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.
With whom before you will inherite gold,
[III. 670.] You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;
You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing you faith in Incredulitie.
Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich:
Till Honour having golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deserves not ought;
And use you gold-made men as dregges of men;
And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking
In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies and your dunghill pride.

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,
That slovenly will spit on all things faire,
The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle
How easie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame

On brave indevours, knowing that in them
The tract of heaven in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the Rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest y'are most confident:
You that know death lives, where power lives unusde,
Joying to shine in waves that burie you,
And so make way for life even through your graves;
That will not be content like horse to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
But where the sea in envie of your reigne,
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosde,
That she like Avarice might swallow all,
And let none find right passage through her rage:
There your wise soules as swift as Eurus lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes:
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,
That live not for yourselves, but to possesse
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store;
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-love makes,
Of them whose lives and yours one ayre doth feede,
One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine;
You that are blest with sence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,
(I meane even in her most ennobled birth)
How in excesse of Sence is Sence bereft her!
That her most lightening-like effects of lust
Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh unwounded;
And she must neede incitements to her good,
Even from that part she hurtes! O how most like

[III. 671.] Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)
To this wrong'd soule of Nature that sustainst
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And she much like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,
Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, use, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt eares
Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent:
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble spirits,
Apter to byte at such unhooked baytes
Gaine by our losse; that must we needs confesse
Thy princely valure would have purchast us.
Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy grave desires,
Of our advancement, faile deserv'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I love,
Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.
Natures that sticke in golden-graveld springs,
In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,
At the most rare endevour of her power.
And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces
Th'industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,
Dismissing him to convoy of his starres.
And now for love and honour of his woorth,
Our twise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
That is espousde for vertue to his love
With feasts and musicke, ravishing the aire,
To his Argolian Fleet, where round about

His bating Colours English valure swarmes
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his Fell waters fell upon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast,
Where (as if ech man were an Orpheus)
A world of Savages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treasuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,
Nor Valure Estridge-like his yron armes.
There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,
Nor Gallique humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,
And joyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disjoin'd.
There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,
And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churlish Avarice.
And there do Pallaces and temples rise [III. 672.]
Out of the earth, and kisse th'enamored skies,
Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heaven,
The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, & universæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MOntibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:
  Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.
Intus habet largos Guiana recessus:
  Hostili gestans libera colla jugo.
Hispanus clivis illis sudavit, & alsit
  Septem annos, novies: nec tamen invaluit.

Numen, & omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:
  Et nobis virtus sit recidiva, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via est duce & auspice Ralegh
  Mense uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte diéque; datis velis, remisque laborans,
  Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,
  Communi natus consuluisse bono.
Providus excubuit simili discrimine Joseph:
  Sic fratres, fratrem deseruêre suum:
Fama coloratam designet sibona, vestem:
  Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
  Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis instar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
  Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia nostra licet dives sit, & undique fœlix:
  Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferásque;
  Prætereo: haud prosunt, quæ novitate, placent.
Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
  Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

The second voyage to Guiana.

They fall with the Canary Isles.

Cape Verde.

Sunday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, having in company the Discoverer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday, the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seven or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest

course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise & hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12. of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelve fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March untill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Westermost of the Cape Verde-Islands unto this Bay I doe [III. 673.] estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald upon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull providence is most admirable, that upon a lee-shore subject unto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heavie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any jeopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the rivers, the use of a drove sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great

A notable observation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari situate in one deg. 40. minutes.

river. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth &c. thinking it fittest to reduce these disjoyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they joyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these severall great rivers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea thirtie miles from the mouth of any river it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe above thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these rivers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leaving the ship at anker, I tooke into the boate John Provost, my Indian Interpreter, John Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these rivers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the river falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we overpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes under the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our

A sea of fresh water.

boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeve to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere us, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought us to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained us most friendly, and then at large declared unto us, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour rivers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that having burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwaccas who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serve and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spanyards first began to borrow some of their wives, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now live united for the most part towards the river of Amazones. But the especiall cause of his present remoove was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of advantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subjects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with us,

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of sir Walter Ralegh.

[III. 674.

assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, have earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or five moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them; that we now came only to discover, and trade with them; and that if her Majestie should have sent a power of men, where no enemie was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to invade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse justice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in undertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to joyne with us, and by all meanes possible to assist us in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceived, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receive us, without molestation or intrusion upon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling-places, if they forsooke one to live in another: but stoode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or living. He then farther desired, that he with his people might have our favour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enjoy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wives and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they lived, to live in perpetuall slaverie under the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserve some part of this friendship, commended unto us an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing us to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we *Brasil-wood.* wanted any Urapo, which is the wood, that is usually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof, But because most of our caske was not yron-bound, and in making stowage-way to remoove it, would have bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it sufficient at this time, to have only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heave all overboord: thinking our selves happy, to have recovered thither at seven dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our covertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke under us. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then else where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of us had ever come aboord againe. I afterwards understood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeere usuall, neere the Island Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the river Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by some evil spirit: for they verily beleeve, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they dividing al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themselves, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after divers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can never bee done away againe during life. When

Unseasonable weather about the Isle of Oncaiarie.

How the nation of the Iaos marke themselves to be knowen from other people.

he had sometime conversed with our Indians, that went from England with us, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficiencie, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct us to many golde mines, and in nothing will undertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.

[III. 675.]

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads under small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and five fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road under Triangle Islands, which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in five degrees, which have also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flixe and headach. These rivers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire over rocks, as the river

Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries countrey.

Next adjoyning unto these, are the rivers Cunanamma, Uracco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand West-northwest. In this varietie of goodly rivers, Amonna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soever they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe never passe lower then Berbice to trade. Above Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard ever travelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I have seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong unto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due unto them that have beene, and I hope will still continue favourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it unto the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their provision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes journey; afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. *leagues.*

Dessekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth.

In September.

This Spaniard understandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

bignesse, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this river, which we now call Devoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, who wan so great credit by overthrowing the Tivitivas of Amana, and making free the passage of that river (but now againe liveth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa have killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forsaking his governour Berreo joyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, every day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, having lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and never likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the governors of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to advertise their king, that Berreo was utterly unable to folow this enterprise, that he had given it over, and did now sojorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, having bene in Guiana, and understanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adjoyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had given you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who adventured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leave nothing unattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire alive, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake adversarie against your [III. 676.] selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might be behoovefull for his majestie to revoke Berreo his grant, and to use their service, who were readie and willing without any delay to undertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and delivered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Campmaster, who was sent into Spaine, five moneths before your arrivall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to levie and furnish 500. men, having gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreo supposing that these governours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approove his care and constancie, and that he never would yeelde under the burthen of his adverse fortune; giving no time or breath to his adversaries nor himselfe: returned foorthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These governours followed him, and assuring themselves of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the river from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselves, some in searching the countrey, others in purveying of victuals out of the rivers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed up into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when unhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arrived, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recovered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leaving all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrow taken prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, servant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the river. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred up with Berreo. I gave him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with us.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to invade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by driving these Arwaccas, who serve the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the river Raleana, having spent twentie and three dayes in discoverie upon this coast. The chanell of this river hath sixe or seven fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not above five foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelve Canoas came unto us, furnished and provided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion having lost some of their wives (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelve women, thinking themselves wel and surely blessed, howsoever they live, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recover this losse upon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, & required to be joyned in league of frindship with us against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with us, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing until this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that upon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they use in confirming friendshippe, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the

They anker within Raleana, or Orenoque.

Spanish Paganisme.

[III. 677.]

other twentie: one other hee caused to goe up the river before us, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselves the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayses and honour, that may bee devised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and untill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed us, and in their way shewed us, where the shoaldes of the river doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes journey distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselves doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the River Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the River doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border upon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great River, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twentie dayes journey from the mouth Wiapoco: sixeteene dayes from Barima,

Her Majestie.

Muchikeri the name of the Province where Macurigueray the first towne of Guiana is situate.

Parime an Inland sea of salt water.

thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way unto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high up in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as John your Interpreter doeth well understand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I have heard of a sorte of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an inland River, named Cawrooma, adjoyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos have images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of unmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell five dayes journey up the River about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed us that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Cassavi bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the River Amana, to Carapana his Port.

They have eminent heads like dogs, and live all the day time in the sea, they speake the Charibes language.

Upon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, shoulde take away their wives and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolved if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassavi, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent us this newes, as wee returned downe the River.

A sudden assalt of the Spaniards by the Indians.

The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to advertize him of our comming. Hee foorthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with us: they rifled him of his victuals, gave him knives, and dismissed him.

[III. 678.]

A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arrived at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd us. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire severed themselves amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes have seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the middest of the River, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their Towne, or having notice of any practise against them: but now leaving both Towne and Island, they joyned themselves altogether, and returning to the mouth of River Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without griefe to see ourselves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remoove. As we road at an ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came unto us with lean cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe us that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come up the River, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our provision, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with us.

This informers very countenance gave him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring us that Berreo had not full fiftie five men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nuevo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about sixe moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driven with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not adventure at any time to leave the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nuevo Reyno, for his Campemaster from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his use, by his fathers appointment, ever since your being in the River. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniardes noysed it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the River.

Topiawarie his sonne.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse: I resolved to seeke Putijma in the mountaines: and turning downe the River with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselves too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniardes: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and knives to returne us golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed unto. When wee came to the place of their usuall abode; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring us either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes journey overland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adjoyning to this gold myne, and having measured their pathes neere the same place this last yeere, could not judge it to bee fifteene miles from us. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to have me goe with him thither. I understood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would have shewed mee the overfall of the River Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small river, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne unto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but upon better advise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might proove a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also: they have to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, have devised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and devoureth all that come neere it. [III. 679.] But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they love beyond measure) with it will undertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe us no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this journey had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine have taken so good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came unto us: that Don Juan the cousin of Gualtero, who liveth here a revolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to usurpe, bee a fast friend unto us: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to joyne with them, in the way to intercept us: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selves, to make knowne our discoverie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to observe our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of advantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the River, except first wee could remoove them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid evill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a servant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassavi. They had a letter sent from the Governour to bee conveied to Trinidad, which I received. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie knives, wherewith this Indian servant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her up the River towardes Nuevo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to bee sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe have bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If five such boates bee sufficient to convoy him, his men and all their provision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

The small forces of Ximenes.

This servant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to have some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these knives should be hired, were to passe up so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leave them there, and make them officers over the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Justices and Constables over them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remove most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the river side of Raleana. That they already were provided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these severall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serve his turne, and never to become strong, or likely to joyne themselves against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the river, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leaving a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes

This transplanting of Indians is worthy of consideration.

they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeve neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of June, when the River shall bee impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo ever since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purveying of victuals, whereof there is such scarsitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, have not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselves to live with litle.

The Port of Toparimacko.

In sayling up the River, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboord the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine river on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent five or sixe severall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with us. Thus wee lingred sixe or seven dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie us, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired us to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated unto us, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath ever since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they have taken from him and his people many of their wives, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Juan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subjects, excepting onely a choise guarde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, ever to have sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to have enlarged his Countreys and

The porte of Carapana.

[III. 680.]

people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, untill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subjectes, that they might have the priviledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and knives, which are jewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine us their friendes, or else give place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes prevayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, using them as their slaves, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their lives, to leave their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage, then her Majesties gracious government, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure unto them. For, sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse have persecuted us to the uttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach us, take our Townes, and make us ransome our wives and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well governed companie durst offer any of us wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when unknowne they might have done it. We then beleeving it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wisedome, that had framed her subjectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that injoyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly crave of her Majestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee also may injoy her favourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left unto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their injustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, utterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to us seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. For as governement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc jure molesti, quo fortes: To men, I say, that live in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, never sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, justice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of living, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetenesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is avayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their service, and promise to provide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliver them from oppression

Carapana a great Lord bordering upon Guiana craveth her Majesties protection.

and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and knives bee the onely things of request and usefull unto them) they have agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, & others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their rivers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwise, have returned much gold. This he uttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce us to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, [III. 681.] which in this case they doe all generally observe, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies unto their native Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe up to the head of this River: hee declared that the Spaniardes have no Indians to trust unto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force: That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tivitivas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soever the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Pariagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and invulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become invulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may proove good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri have nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes journey or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolved not to seeke upon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or devided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines up in armes against the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes journey from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboord the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniardes therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they have many times used many meanes to reconcile him unto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemie, nor in ought shewing them any friendshippe. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniardes shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you have conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse olde man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come unto you.

By this I perceived, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could have bene content to spend one sevennights more to speake with him) would bee purposelesse. Wherefore having assured so many of the Indians as at any time came unto us, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of knives, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserve their Cassavi, and provide store of their pieces of golde for us: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might understand of our being in the River and that wee meant to relieve them so soone, as conveniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the River Arawawo, neere Trinidad, undertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order that no Indian should speake with us. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to joyne with us, and had provided fifteene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the river wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this River, because I cannot say ynough, [III. 682.] I will speake nothing. Wee have presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that ever entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is best knowen by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently proove, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this River, our Pinnesse, the Discoverer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came unto us. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with us. William Downe the Master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure rivers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, untill the rockes stopped their passage. In Caiane they went up one dayes journey. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last River they had beene in. Whence, having no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwardes I would have returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large & good. They meete with their Pinnesse.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an untraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caveat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee assured, that this people, as they no way sought our harme, but used our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to have any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seeke revenge. The example of the like practise upon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serve for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this injury.

A good caveat.

When wee had taken aboorde us such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in her, (for her Rudder could serve her to no longer use) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, untill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Rivers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera

The isle of Tabago.

the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But having Tabaco-island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are evill neighbours unto it. They of Trinidad have a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Governour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime lived there, noteth it for the best and fruitfullest ground that hee knoweth.

Most dangerous Canibals.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome under the North side of the Island some five or sixe miles from the sayde point. The floodtyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shoore in our boat: but no Indian came unto us. I would have sent John of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with us: but he was altogether unwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recovered, by turning under the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising us store, and delaying us from day to day, sought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate us, as lately they had devoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come unto us. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But having intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying us, stole away by night. The Indians of this place have determined to remoove, and joyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified us, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Ilands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time [III. 683.] and travell in following your lordships directions for the full discoverie of this coast, and the rivers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your private profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedilesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not overpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather have adventured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightiness thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and favour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether unsavourie, season it selfe with some of the leaven of your owne discourse touching this discoverie. The particular relation of some certaine things I have reserved as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best use thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serve to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall have credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath marvelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilest others reape and gather in this harvest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men living in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for envie and private respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others: If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey service; and had but perfected his first discoverie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooved, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no devises and vaine surmises could have taken place, no illusions could have prevailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Majestie doe spend their dayes in serving the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had beene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely upon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in overcomming evile with good.

This your seconde discoverie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreover yeeldeth choyse of fourtie severall great rivers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels navigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to adventure in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd rivers Brasil-wood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites unto our countrey to any that shall be the first undertakers hereof, I am gladly content to give such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I have attained unto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I have bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts live onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe just, profitable, and necessarie. Just, because it is intended for the defence of harmelesse people, who fearing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their countrey under her Majesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discoverie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and lastly, by the provision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite us thereof. Necessarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the unbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasurie of Nuevo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians with our assistance to seeke revenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they have endured, [III. 684.] and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations have beene layd in the blood of their parents and ancesters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to

Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this river, are an evident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequele of this discoverie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste imployment for his men and shipping, that upon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe us onely from Tabacco? For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde us? No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-master with tenne of these shippes be compared with precedent advertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they have already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Agãine, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the governours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and lives in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their judgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespasse and offence, howe great soever it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and overthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and upwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their lives witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to us the easinesse of obteining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe prevaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those objections, which have beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they have supposed, are best answered by the unreprooved witnesse of those mens actions. Some have termed these discoveries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee have supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time have possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and provinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those severall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times undertaken, and never perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairefull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterved nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selves, as unfit and powerlesse to possesse one province already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples love, and that all the Chieftaines and principals have vowed their obedience to her Majestie; the navigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sickenesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooved with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their travels: it may easily bee perceived, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch us, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilest wee out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe unto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults, and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate living hath, or can have so faithfull and incorrupt counsellers, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke [III. 685.] that the Governours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish over all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous ungrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater than hee can make, are setled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not unlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that have beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subjects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and have beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that unto others, which they have gotten abroad by hard adventure, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discerne, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre divided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of unneces-

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sarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies having no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselves able to maintaine themselves without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides environed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and adventurous without meanes sufficient; may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe, may even there shake the foundation of his long contrived devises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder that import servitude, and subversion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe, his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered unto the English: his contempt towardes us would seeme so intollerable and despightfull, as might bee sufficient to provoke us, though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee unprovided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth us so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leave no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giving out false intelligences of preparations to invade England, thereby to keepe us at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machavellian under hande by secret conveyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and uncertaine stay to upholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder us from prevailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disadvantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or divorce us from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolved, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdaine of prevention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselves, Viis & modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceive, or beleeve any thing, that may disswade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth unto us, not to inforce those objections against our selves, which hee with lesse reason rejecteth as frivolous; since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause have wee to bee diverted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for brevities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conjoyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfulnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to prove this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth unto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange weakenes in our selves, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, above us; as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the [III. 686.] many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subjection the Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the navigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selves to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in governing them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and provinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisedome for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in us, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriving a cavilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres:

If wee doe but consider, howe unhappily Berreo his affaires, with his assistants have of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of everlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soveraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, have in their doings preached nought els but avarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, & sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie unto themselves, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend unto the heavens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his judgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen servant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper justa sunt Dei judicia.

Her Majestie.

To leave this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soveraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The river of Raleana giveth open and free passage, any provision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the river be all drowned) to convey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to averre a trueth, that having nowe the second time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leisure well advised my selfe upon all circumstances to bee thought on; I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Majestie may to her and her successours enjoy this rich and great empire: and having once planted there, may for ever (by the favour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos & Gentes. Subjects, I doubt not, may through her Majesties gracious sufferance, joyning their strength together, invade, spoyle, and overrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a private and present benefite; considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, howe, and wheresoever the charge shall growe, to bee annexed unto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any private estate: no question, they will rather proove sufficient to crosse and countervaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing urge us, because in some case better a mischiefe, then an inconvenience: let the conveniencie thereof somewat moove us, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulnesse; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and unlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen having able bodies, that doe live in cleannesse of teeth and povertie. To sacrifice the children of Belial unto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and [III. 687.] the execution of justice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the juice, and nourishment that the fruitefull branches should live by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase, and growe to good: thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discoverie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You have framed it, and moulded it readie for her Majestie, to set on her seale. If either envie or ignorance, or other devise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Majestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee have more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home invasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad,

A Table of the names of the Rivers, Nations, second voyage

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.	
2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwanas, Iaos.	
3	Maipari great.	Arricari.	
4	Caipurogh great.	Arricurri.	
5	Arcooa great.	Marowanas, Charibes.	
6	Waipoco great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.	
7	Wanari.	Charibes.	
8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.	
9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icomana.
10	Wia great.	Maworia, Charib, Wiaco, Ch.	Parammona, great.

[III. 688.]

A.D. 1596.

whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Majesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serveth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all joyntly together importune us, nowe, or never to make our selves rich, our posteritie happie, our Prince every way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our Countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on us, as to deprave so notable an enterprise with false rumors, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soveraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leave all unto the Spaniard.

Townes, and Casiques or Captaines that in this were discovered.

Captains.	
	1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tivitivas language; so likewise doe the nation of the Arricari, who have greater store of those moneyes then any others.
	2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinzon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe live.
Wareo. Mashwipo.	3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great river of Amazones. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by ye Indians report, but 1. dayes journey from the greatest river, that is on that coast.
	6 The first mountaines that appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this river. From

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
11	Caiane g.	Wiaco. Ch.	Canawi. g.
	Gowateri a great iland.	Shebaios.	Orinikero.
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.	
13	Cawroora.	Arawaccos	
		Charib.	
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.	
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.	
16	Curassiwini.	Shebaios.	Musswara. great.
17	Cunanama.	Iaos.	Waritappi. great
		Arwaccas.	
18	Uracco.	Arwaccas.	
	Moruga.	Arwaccas.	
19	Mawari.	Winicinas.	Iwanama.
		Arwaccas.	
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.
21	Amonna very great.	Charibes.	Iaremappo. very great.
	Capellepo. g.		
22	Marawini. g.	Paracuttos.	
23	Owcowi.		
24	Wiawiami.		
25	Aramatappo.		
26	Wiapo.		
27	Macuruma.		
28	Carapi.		
29	Uraca.		
30	Chaimawimini great.	Carepini.	
		Charib.	
31	Ecrowto.	Upotommas.	
32	Pawro.		Maripomma.
33	Shurinama g.	Arwaccas.	
		Carepini.	
		Chari.	
34	Shurama g.	Carepini.	Cupari.
35	Northumbria or Cupanama very g.	Char.	
		Arwaccas.	
36	Wioma.		
37	Cushwini.	Neekeari.	Tawrooromene.
38	Inana. g.		Owaripoore.
39	Curitini. g.	Carepini.	Mawronama.
		Arwaccas.	
		Parawianni.	
40	Winitwari g.		Maiapoore.
			Cariwacka.

[III. 689.]

Captains.	
Parawatteo.	the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the salte lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another : where it falles into the sea, hils do inclose it on both sides.
Ocapanio. Carinamari. Curipotoore. Marwabo. Eramacoa. Aranacoa. Mahahonero.	10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force : the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks : but in proofe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, so far as the mountaines do extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.
Caponaiarie.	14 These speake the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them alive peecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are invenomed with the juice of ye herbe Wapototo. These Indians because they eate them whome they kill, use no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they live in league and peace.
Neperwari.	21. Neere the head of this river, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians live in this river.
	39. This river, as also most of the rest, is not navigable above sixe dayes journey by reason of rockes. It is tenne dayes journey to the head, where the Guianians do dwel : hony, yarne or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and Brasil-

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
41	Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta.
			Manacobeece.
			Eppera.
			Parawiannos.
			Lupulee.
42	Wapari.	Shebaios.	Madewini.
		Arwaccas.	
43	Maicawini.	Panapi.	Itewee.
		Arwaccas.	
44	Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa. g.
45	Lemerare. g.	Wacawaios.	Maburesa. g.
46	* Devoritia or Dessekebe very g.	Arwaccas.	
		Iaos.	
		Shebaios.	
		Arwaccas.	
	Matorooni.	Charibes.	
	Coowini.	Maripai.	
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.	
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.	
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo.
47	Pawrooma. g.	Iaos.	Waroopana.
	Aripacoro.	Panipi.	Maripa.
	Ecawini.		Chipariparo.
	Manurawini.		Towtwi.
			Sarinbugh.
			Wariwagh.
48	Moruga. g.	Iaos.	Cooparoore. g.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	
	Chaimeragoro.		Awiapari.
			Topoo.
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.
50	Barima. g.	Charibes.	Pekwa. g.
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	Arwakima.
	Arooca.		
51	Amacur. g.		
52	Aratoori. g.		
	Cawrooma. g.		
	Raleana, or Orenoque.		
	Maipar	Ilands in the mouth of Raleana.	
	Ita caponea		
	Owarecapater.		
	Warucanasso.		

** So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Essex.*

Captains.	
Warawaroco. Benmurwagh. Caporaco. great Cap.	beds are here to bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alongst Eastward. Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because every where they are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receive pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They have every where divers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.
Macapowa. Shuracoima.	Names of poysoned hearbes. Ourari. Carassi. } { Apareepo. Parapara.
Manarecowa. Iarwarema.	Hearbes good against poyson. Turara. Cutarapama. } { Wapo. Macatto.
Parana. Anawra. Aparwa. Arracurri.	The 29. day of June we arrived in Portland roade, having spent five moneths in going, staying, and returning.

[Here follow

[III. 690.]

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Juan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.

THE enterprise of Guiana was undertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the river of Orenoque, which we past in fifteene. Hee named the river by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

The river of Amana by which Sir Walter Ralegh first entred, called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Casas Ivia-Pari.

2 Juan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched up into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazones: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Juan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Upon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others adventured to follow his steps.

5. 6 Philip de Uren, & after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Jeronimo de Ortal undertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great travell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the provinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other jewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to passe in like maner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also undertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Juan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres undertooke this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders upon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonzo de Herera, at two severall times. Hee endured great miserie, but never entred one league into the countrey. Hee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado joyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discover El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this journey hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom hee manacled in yrons; and many of

them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, served well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, untill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gave him for a present some rich jewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaves, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three provinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names [III. 691.] were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and have an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they received in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conveyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaves. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselves in mutinies: those that lived returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso undertooke this journey: but having endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gave it over, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the river of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they passed downe the river, they found Synamom trees.

His men murthered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his travels unto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the province of Maracapana with 100. souldiers bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended journey is not expressed.

In this discoverie of Guiana you may reade both of Orellana, who discovered the river of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that have trode this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to finde this countrey.

An advertisement to the Reader.

IN this Breviarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, have indevoured to discover and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many cavalleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time have performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I have therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to have beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendevous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be foure, Nuevo reyno, the mouth of Amazones or Orellana, Cubagua or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Raleana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moiobamba, & tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: Guiana is environed with these 2 fresh-

water-seas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no marvel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nuevo Reyno, were allayed & spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate & uncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe over land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, have now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards travelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, overlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driving those nations to desperate resolutions.

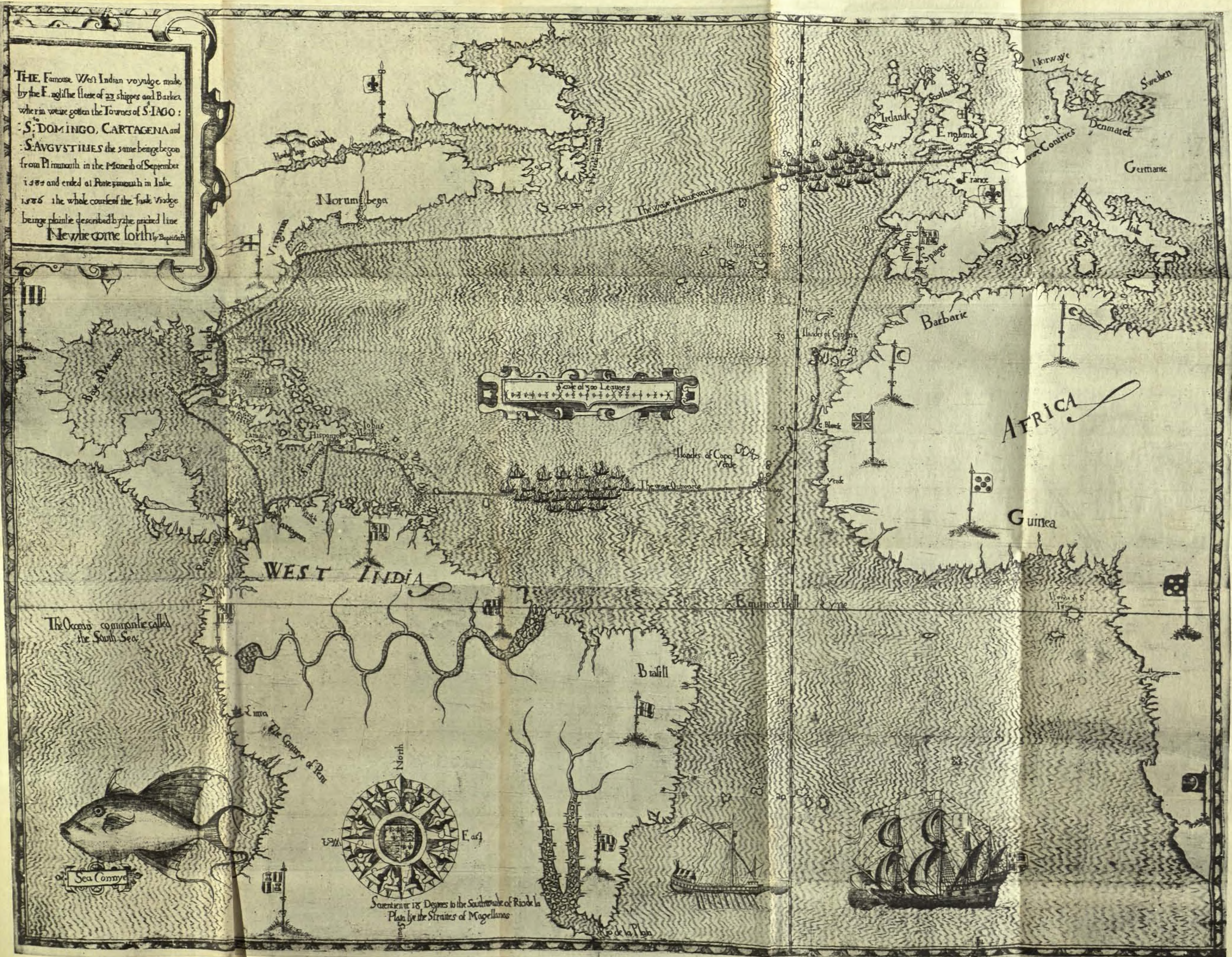
3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, have at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable journeys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recover the river of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards have bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadjutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many [III. 692.] attemptes, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to prevaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongst themselves.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place have mist that advantage, which elsewhere hath steeded themselves in all their conquestes: namely, the dissentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of that force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one province conteining in circuit not above 20. leagues, have maintained warres above these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them have kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemie unto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians divided among themselves, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had never beene Spanish.

Lastly. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the divine providence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heaven) wee neede no further assurances, then wee already have to perswade our selves, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserve this empire for us.


THE Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleete of 23 shippes and Barkes wherin weare gotten the Townes of S.t IAGO : S.to DOMINGO, CARTAGENA and S.t AVGVSTINES the same beinge begon from Plimmouth in the Moneth of September 1585 and ended at Portesmouth in Iulie 1586 the whole course of the saide Viadge beinge plainlie described by the pricked line Newlie come forth by Baptista B.
Canada
Norumbega
Virginia
Florida
Bay of Mexico
Mexico
Cuba
Iamaica
Hispaniola
S. Iohns
Ilandes of Asores
Ilandes of Canaria
Ilandes of Capo Verde
Scale of 300 Leagues
The waye Homewarde
The waye Outwarde
Irlande
Scotland
Englande
Norwaye
Sweden
Denmarck
Lowe Countries
Germanie
France
Spaigne
Portingall
Italie
Barbarie
AFRICA
Guinea
Capo Blanck
Capo Verde
Cartagena
WEST INDIA
Equinoctiall Lyne
The Ocean commonlie called the South Sea
Brasill
Lima
The Countrye of Peru
North
East
West
South
Sea Connye
Seventene 18 Degrees to the Southwarde of Rio de la Plata lye the Straites of Magellanes
Rio de la Plata

The third voyage set forth by sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana, with a pinnesse called The Watte, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. Thomas Masham a gentleman of the companie.

UPon Thursday the 14. of October 1596. we set saile from Limehouse upon the river of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Januarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to have gotten a boate to serve us upon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great, that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for us, wee ripped up, and wooded our selves with her. That day wee descryed a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for salte. Wee fell in consort with her, and that night stoode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stoode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the river Doro. The 28. of Januarie wee made the furthermost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Benjamin Wood with his fleete of 3 sailes

M. Benjamin Wood bound for The South sea.

bound for the straights of Magellan & China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Benjamin: who told us that there was no good to be done in the river Doro. *Cape Blanco.* Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, unto which we came upon Sunday night next following. And upon Munday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a sandie bay: so wee stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selves with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there untill Thursday the 5. at which time wee stood up with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnesse, who put foorth right afore us, and another Frenchman and his caravel well manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of every ship both English and French, all our captaines were invited to a feast aboord the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would give us leave.

The Island of Sal. The same day we all weyed and stoode along for the Isle of Sal, unto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling upon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water upon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines upon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being overcome with drinke, having bene aboord our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admiral and the caravel stayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stood away for the isle of Maio. This [III. 693.]

night the other two French shippes that came from Sal with us (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost us. The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northermost part of the Island, and master Benjamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermost, and came all to an anker together at the Southwest part thereof: where rode sixe sayles of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their horses and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne upon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde us that there were thirtie sayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it up with much adoe, & came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, considering the dearnesse of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that have seene them: and it is a wonder howe they live one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, having no great mountaines upon it.

36 sailes of Flemmings at Maio for salt.

Here ended our determination concerning the invading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselves with goates, who as I have heard since had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe unto them in their long voyage. So upon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set saile and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Upon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of

Buena Esperanza along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away Northwest.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was Westsouthwest, wee stoode away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set us to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away Southwest, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recover it.

By Thursday wee were within one degree ½ of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Westnorthwest, Northwest, and Northnorthwest. In the night wee sounded divers times, and had twelve, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had seven and eight fathoms both day and night, and upon Sunday morning by day being the seven and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neerest as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees ½ toward the North. Right on head of us was a Cape or head land, so that had wee beene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly have doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and stopping every tyde, it was the Tuesday following before wee cleered our selves of the bay, and recovered the Cape. Nowe the land trended Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker every tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night wee sawe Cape Cecill: and after some two houres came to an anker. Betweene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and even. *Cape Cecil in 3 degrees and a halfe.*

Upon Wednesday morning, having the winde large at Eastnortheast, wee layd it away upon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the rivers mouth in two fathoms: over the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote, and lesse in many places. And this river of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line. *The river of Wiapoucou almost in 4 degrees North.*

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnesse by night, wee got some eight leagues up the river. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker, wee were on ground upon a rocke, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Upon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by many, yet were there more still one above [III. 694.] the other. So that finding no Indians in this river to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice us to come to so short allowance, as wee must have done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it over hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the river againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our selves of the river and bay. This river from the mouth to the falles is some 16 leagues, in many places a mile over, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the rivers upon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to have put with our pinnesse: but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shallope wee durst goe in. *Cawo.*

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker under one of the 7 Islands: upon which going on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

The 7 Ilands.

Upon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to us, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seven men, which had every one of them a knife to goe backe to the river of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to us. So upon Thursday the 17 wee stoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to us with their canoas, which brought us great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselves very kinde and loving, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by us untill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all up to their townes againe, which was upon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

Aramatto a great towne.

The Caribes of Wias tractable people.

Chiana a river and bay.

After that they had made knowen their mindes of the desire that they had to have the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, having by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the rivers mouth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, & passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, beeing a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in five fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And upon Saturday standing to the Westward, wee stopped against the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Westward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to us as before with such things as they had themselves in use, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed upon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

The Carenes.

Maware.

And passing by the rivers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small river, and is shoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and five fathoms, wee stood into the river: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which river goeth into Amana. Into which, (understanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people something pleasant, having drunke much that day, being as it seemed a festivall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the first sight of us, having seldome seene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to us and used us kindely, and brought us victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with divers canoas, & traded with us, and wee went in againe to them on shore, who made very much of us, and carried us from house to house, and made us eate and drinke in every house which wee came in. And the next day following

Marawinne a river.

Marrac, a towne.

being the last of March, having the captaine of Marrack with us, wee weyed and stoode into the river, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the river, a little short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe us come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, untill the captaine of Marrac which was with us in the boate, leaped overboord and swamme on shoare unto them, and told them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Quiparia a towne of the Caribes.

Upon whose report they came before night sixe or seven canoas aboord us, yet very fearefull, because there was never either shippe or Christian seene in that river before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to us, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnesse: so there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleven of us (Master Monax having the government of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the river farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some five leagues from our shippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we tooke up our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still unto the river, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelve leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

[III. 695.]

Macirria a towne.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this river about two in the afternoone: and having shotte up some of the rockes, wee went on shore upon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answere was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much labour, and the sight of that upper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should have victuals of us (though God knoweth wee had none for our selves) who seeing us so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canoas: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres upon the Island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but lave out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselves.

A rich countrey.

For seeing the countrey above was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should have taken the more paines, and have fared the harder, untill wee had gotten up in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary us up, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might have made shift to live, untill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also have reaped that, which might have done us good as long as wee had lived.

Bowes handled with golde.

But to returne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnesse to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and untill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was upon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindely used of them, and had victuals, and every thing we needed of them. *Pitch to trim shippes.*

And so taking our leave on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the river had provided and brought to us such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the stewarde sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to have done. *The river of Cusse-winne.*

On Fryday the fifteeneth of Aprill, wee put foorth of Marawinne, which is some foure leagues over, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and divers small rivers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South Southwest up, altering some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to have gone into Cuppanamo: but sending off our boat & finding uncertaine sounding, sometimes 3 fathomes and presently 9 foote, we stood along to Coritine, and came into it upon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne having hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle & came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like unto our deere in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this river we met a Barke called the John of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being *Marawinne.* *Sewramo.* *Coritine river.* [III. 696.]

both fallen downe within some five leagues of the mouth of the river, upon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with us) gave us, namely that the river Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes journey of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this river of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe up in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe up into the countrey, and to have discovered a passage unto that rich citie. So having concluded both shippes, we stood up into the river againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade untill we went up to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought up with Antonie Berreo could speak some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selves by signes, and drawing the two rivers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceive as much. Now comming downe with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went up with our ships to Mawranama, where wee morred them, and taking some twentie out of both, upon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canoas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went up the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a small river called Tapuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to have had Casavi and other victuals, which they were altogether unprovided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serveth themselves from hand to mouth, living in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going

The great lake Perima.

They bring their shippes up to the Mawranamo.

into this river, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before wee overtooke the bigger shallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casavi: whereof they baked good store for us being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell above the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses emptie. Upon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelve leagues beyond, and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the river; up some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going upon a rocke there came some nine canoas up the river to us, and would have gone up with us to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the Captaines and Master Monax tooke advise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that five dayes journey farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Wacchawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Ralegh should come thither, having occasion to use this river, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolved to returne, though I yeelded divers reasons to the contrary. So upon Tuseday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And upon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them given out to make our men that wee left in our shippes more carelesse, that they might the easier have surprised them in our absence. The next night wee had newes brought us to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to us in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to prevent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwarde tolde us, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Upon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the river, and upon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This river is much like unto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles, full of Islandes as the other: in which three rivers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi: with sixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And so clering our selves of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Islands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this countrey. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctial, so that the Sunne is twise a yeere over their heads & never far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in those partes. For besides that wee lost not a man [III. 697.] upon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was never better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company: for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of severall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very loving and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and upon our owne knowledge doe report. In the upper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more civill disposition, having great store of golde, as we are certeinely informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things

Great store of golde in Wiana.

which now wee have left among them. They keepe no order of marriage; but have as many wives as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casavi, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can cary any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were upon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the juyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew upon a round stone, having a still fire under it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off the eare, on the same stalke groweth another.

Passing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to have spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the rivers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of divers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoises egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though wee had but small time to search, because wee spent so much time in searching the rivers: yet wee have brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like unto steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, divers sorts of sweet gummes, & West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides divers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our

The commodities of Wiana.

countrey, and profit of the adventurers, who as yet having ventured much, have gained litle.

Now leaving the river of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica upon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, having lost the barke that came out with us the Wednesday before. Upon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Island, and having done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and untill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time having a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, wee passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Upon the ninth of June, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Corvo: and the eight and twentieth of June we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymmouth, blessed be God.

They lost captaine Leigh in ye John of London.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And upon the foureteenth of June 1597, there being divers whales playing about our pinnesse, one of them crossed our stemme, and going under, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we susteined any losse. Thanks be to him that governeth all things.

Written by Master
Thomas Masham.

[Certaine briefe

[III. 698.]

CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES

Concerning the mightie River of Amazones or Orellana, and of the most wonderfull downefall or cataract of waters at the head thereof, named by the Spaniards El Pongo: together with some mention of the rich and stately empire of Dorado, called by Sir Walter Ralegh and the natural inhabitants Guiana, and of the golden countrey of Paytity neere adjoyning, with other memorable matters: taken out of Josephus de Acosta his naturall and morall historie of the West Indies.

The first Testimonie out of Josephus de Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 6.

But when we intreat of Rivers, that which some men call the river of Amazones, others Marannon, others the river of Orellana, doeth justly put to silence all the rest, whereunto our Spaniards have gone and sayled. And I stand in doubt, whether I may cal it a river or a sea. This river runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite store of waters, of raine, and rivers, which runneth along, gathering it selfe together, and passing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean sea, and entreth into it almost over against the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth so broad, especially towardes the mouth, that it maketh in the middest many and great Isles: and that which seemeth incredible, sayling in the middle chanel of the river, men can see nothing but the skie and the river, although men say that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatnesse of the River. Wee understood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largenesse of this River, which justly may bee called the Emperour of Rivers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & sayled it wholy through, being personally present in all the successes of that strange enterance, which Pedro de Orsua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conspiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord delivered him, to make him one of our societie.

The second Testimonie out of Josephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 20.

AMong all the rivers not onely of the West Indies but also of the whole world, the chief is the River of Marannon or of the Amazones, whereof I have spoken in the second booke. The Spaniards have divers times sayled along this river, with determination to discover countries, which, according to report, are of great riches, especially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Juan de Salinas made a very notable entrance, although to small profite. It hath a salt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the most dangerous places in the world: for being restrained betweene two exceeding hie devided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth where the water with the great descent maketh such whirlepooles that it seemeth impossible but that it should sinke it self there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to passe the said El Pongo for the greedines to come to that so famous renowmed Dorado. They suffered themselves to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the river, and sitting fast in their Canoas or boats in which they sayled, although they were overturned in the fal, and they and

El Pongo.

their Canoas suncke downe to the bottome, yet they rose up againe above the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a maner escaped, saving a very fewe which were drowned: and which I most marvel at, they handled the matter so well, that they lost not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great travels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed up over one of those aforesaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping up upon their hands and feete.

Captaine Pedro de Orsua made another enterance by the selfe same river, and after hee was slaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the discoverie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a secular man was in al that expedition) that they entred up the River almost an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the fresh water & the salt meeteth, which is either almost under or very neere the Equinoctial line, the river is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the breadth of the Mediterran sea. Howbeit other in their descriptions make it not past 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

[III. 699.]

The third Testimonie out of Josephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

IN that part of America, whereof the coasts be throughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Brasil, and there are divers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and florishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or discoverie was made by the great river of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orsua, and afterwardes by others that succeeded him: and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther up in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without discovering Dorado (which they never found) and without that great province which they left.

A short description of the river of Marannon or Amazones, and the Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient Discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Havens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciza, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.

MArannon lyeth in seven degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great river, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this river within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde river a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incense, the trees be of a good height, & the boughs thereof be like to Plumtrees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this river were taken foure Indians in a smal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the river, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes journey going upward by the river, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaves made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine unto Marannon is a cleare coast & deep, but neer to the river are certaine sholds towardes the East part. And by the West part the river is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this river Marannon, unto the river which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues: this river hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth such abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it selfe with the salt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is devided into partes, the one going towards the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwest. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe up through it: & the tydes be so swift, that the ships have need of good cables. The river of this port is very good, and there have bene some that have entred 50 leagues within it, & have seene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey have their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, & through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares: & if any man aske of them where they had their gold, they answere, that going up by the river so many dayes journey, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would have it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this countery they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they have a smell of Chestnuts: they are to be eaten rosted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doves egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preserved for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with upper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also al their habitation is in the upper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leave open: and also they use certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house: and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee used in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do use to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they cover their houses with the leaves of date-trees, and of grasse. And from this fresh water sea [III. 700.] unto Paria, the coast lyeth West Northwest, and is so ful of sholds that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are from this river to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial toward the North, in seven degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria unto the Cape that lyeth towards the West, are 35 leagues, and from thence the coast turneth towardes the Northeast other 35 leagues, & from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulfe standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, & at this entery there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the Iland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not under subjection. Here the Indians do use to shoote with bowes and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially joyned a piece of wood very strong, unto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and every one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one upon the backe, another under every wing: but that which groweth upon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make staves of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popinjayes very great and gentle, and some of them have their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulfe of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

Navigations and traffiques both ancient and of late, to divers places upon the coast of Brasil: together with a Ruttier for all that coast, and two intercepted letters which reveale many secrets of the state of that countery: the rest of our voyages to Brasil which have bene either intended or performed to the River of Plate, the Streight of Magellan, the South Sea, or farther that way, being reserved for the generall heades next insuing.

A brief relation of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir John Haukins knight, late Treasurer of her Majesties Navie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisedome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages unto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the river of Sestos upon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriving on the coast of Brasil, he used there such discretion, and behaved himself so wisely with those savage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the savage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leaving behinde in the Countery as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arrived, was brought up to London and presented to K. Henry the 8, lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle marvaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great braverie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behaviour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

The second voyage of M. William Haukins to Brasil.

A king of Brasil brought into England.

[III. 701.] Having remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins according to his promise and appointment, purposed to convey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Savage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neverthelesse, the Savages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey.

Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnesse of Sir John Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was living within these fewe yeeres.

An ancient voyage of M. Robert Reniger and M. Thomas Borey to Brasil in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Have bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worshipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Brasil was ordinarily and usually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and divers other substantial and wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres past, that is to say in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one Pudsey to Baya in Brasil anno 1542.

ALso the worshipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southampton Esquire gave mee more particularly to understand, how that one Pudsey of Southampton, a man of good skill and resolution in marine causes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Brasil, and the seate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the bishop, and that he built a fort not farre distant from that place, in the foresaid yeere 1542.

A fort built in Brasil by the English.

[A letter

A letter written to M. Richard Staper by John Whithal from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of June 1578.

Worshipfull sir, and welbeloved friend M. Staper, I have me most heartily commended unto you, wishing your health even as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you understand, that whereas I wrote unto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes agoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well knowen amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better bestowed upon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth give with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make every yeere a thousand roves of sugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore my father in law doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with sixtie or seventie slaves, and thereof to make me factor for us both. I give my living Lord thankes for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

Mines of gold and silver newly discovered at S. Vincent.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Provedor and the Captaine, and they have certified me, that they have discovered certaine Mines of silver and gold, and looke every day for Masters to come to open the said Mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South side of the Equinoctial line, & almost under the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Moreover, I have talked with the Captaine and Provedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to have a ship with goods to come from London hither, which have promised mee to give mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serve this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safety the profite and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for every one commoditie delivered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the rove.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

[III. 702.]

I meane also to have a friend in London to sende mee a ship of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall give advise for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you have any stomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you espie out a fine barke of seventie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugal Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Brasil, bordering upon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write unto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ship of 70. or 80. tunnes is to be made.

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and Devonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordovan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orenge, tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black.

I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall go upon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to bee put into the saide colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheads of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred & fiftie jarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle sort.
Item, One peece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of sizzors of all sorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great knives which be made in fardles, of a low price.
Foure dozen of a small sort.
Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.
One very fine peece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Manchester-cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypresse.
Sixe dozen of course shirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canvas.
Three dozen of doublets of stitched canvas.
One peece of fine Millan-fustian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.
Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glasses of divers sorts.
Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.
Three dozen of frize gownes.

Foure hundred pound of tinne of the use of Portugall, most smal dishes and trenchers.
Foure pound of silke of all colours.
Twentie pound of spices, cloves, cinamom, pepper, and saffron.
Two kintals of white sope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karsies of divers colours.
Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.
Sixe Northerne dozens of divers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine stamell of tenne or twelve pound.
One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelve pound.
One fine blacke karsie.} {One fine stamell karsie.
Sixe yards of blacke velvet.
Three barrels of nailes for chests.
Two barrels of nailes for ships and barks.
Sixe kintals of Occom.
Two dozen of velvet girdles without hangers.
Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene. [III. 703.]
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and small billes to cut wood.
Foure mases of gitterne strings.
Foure hundred or five hundred elles of some linnen cloth that is of a low price to make shirts and sheets.
Foure tunne of yron.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale, or send any ship hither, have you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Provedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law & I shal (God willing) make a good quantitie of sugar every yeere, which sugar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie & good friend as you to deale with us in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write mee answere thereof, & send your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, & he wil convey it to me out of hand.

Besides the premisses send sixe yards of skarlet, parchment lace of divers colours.
Sixe yards of crimosin velvet.
Sixe yards of crimosin satten.
Twelve yards of fine puke blacke.

John Leitoan. Here in this countrey in stead of John Whithall they have called me John Leitoan: so that they have used this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it must remaine so. When you write unto me, let the superscription be unto John Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghost for ever.

If you send this ship, I would have you give order that she touch in no part of the coast of Guinie nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, John Leitoan.

Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent, if you send the ship.
Item, sixe or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend John Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Adventurers for Brasill sent to John Whithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London. Anno 1580. the 24. of October in London.

MAster Whithall, as unacquainted wee commend us unto you, &c. understanding by your friends, M. John Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother James Whithall of certaine letters that they have received of yours from Santos, which wee have seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire them to send a good ship to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promise that they should have good intertainment, but also should sell the saide commodities to make three of one outward at the least in every thing, and that for to relade their ship backe, they should have of the best, finest, & whitest drie sugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducket at the most. The premises considered, with the great credit that they and we doe give to your writing & promise, have caused us, whose names be hereunder written, to joyne our selves in company together, & to be at great charges purposely to send this good ship the Minion of London, not onely with such marchandizes as you wrote for, but also with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the country. And we crave of you, that we and our factors may have so much credite of you, as we have in you and of your letters, which is to beleeve us that we have taken this voyage upon us, with no other minde or purpose, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not onely have cause to rejoyce, and deserve thanks for our comming, but also you wil procure the magistrates there to be bound, as they use in Galicia, that we may be preserved and defended from all reprisals and imbargments of princes or subjects for any causes or matters whatsoever, whereby wee may bee incouraged by them, giving us this securitie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth: and for our parts we promise upon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other such peaceable marchants as we are, with their ships and goods.

[III. 704.] And to the ende that you and others shall know that wee meane as we say, we have given order to our factours to give you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we have sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing under the seales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not discredite by our behaviours for all the treasure that you have: and so we have written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you herewith enclosed in English. And if the time should fal out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said ship in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure Pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in their favours, and helpe our factours to have a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amitie, and shew them that the just cause of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you, if there be any store of waxe, or salt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld us as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the rove, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or silver or whatsoever else.

Wee have sent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other necessaries for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as wee have at your request bene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let us have lawful favour in like courtesie to further all our causes. And if any of our Mariners or passengers in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise would procure to tary and dwell there, and leave his charge and office, that then you will be a meane to the Justice that such fugitives should bee sent abord the ship as prisoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ship.

Wee have given order to our factours to use your counsell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendship shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes toward you, we have sent you a fieldbed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie else that may pleasure you or your friends, wee have given order that they shall have the refusing of it before any other, giving for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the foresaide things on our parts in every condition, we commit you to God, who ever preserve you with all his blessings.

Your loving friends { Christopher Hodsdon.
Anthonie Garrard.
Thomas Bramlie.
John Bird.} {William Elkin.

[Certaine notes

M. Stephen Hare was Captaine in this voyage.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of London aforesaid, in the yere 1580. written by Thomas Grigs Purser of the said ship.

THe thirde day of November in the yeere abovesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened until the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & use wee observed the setting of the Sunne, which was West southwest, we then being under the line Equinoctiall, where we found the air very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeast and East southeast. The same day we also observed the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

The yle of S. Sebastian. The first land that wee fell with upon the coast of Brasill was the yland of S. Sebastian, where we arrived the 14. day of January in the yeere 1581.

The yle of S. Catelina. The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with John Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who having received letters from thence to be delivered at Santos, came abord, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28. day wee arrived at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

Our course from S. Sebastian was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West southwest.

[III. 705.] This yland of Santa Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke osie ground.

Upon the yland there grow many Palmito-trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arrived before the towne of Santos, and were there well received and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people. *They arrive at Santos.*

The fourth day we tooke into our ship a beefe alive, which served for the victualling of the ship, and the refreshing of our men, and to make us the merrier at Shrovetide.

The eight day we delivered to M. John Whithall a bedstead with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came abord our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ships of warre, that had bene at the river of Jenero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driven from thence by their castles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requested us to lend them some armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie calivers, and two barrels of powder.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes. The 19. day our skiffe which we had sent to Alcatrarzas, and had bene away sixe dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde us that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we could have of the Palmito-tree.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell over our shippes side, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ship rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the river of Jenero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French ships were past to the southwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23. day the aforesaide Nicholas Gale, who fell overbord two dayes before, was found againe, and taken up three miles from our ship, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Justices of Santos wished us to tary in their road till the last of April, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we should have trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arrived at Fernambuck a shippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, and Portugall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both English and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25. day wee sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of Aprill our Master and Thomas Babington having some talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the River of Jenero) tolde them, that they were sorry for our banishment from the Church, and that the Ministrador had written from Rio de Jenero, that forasmuch as these twentie yeres or more the English nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of us should come to their Church: the Padres willed us herein to have patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Ministrador and to the Bishop at Baya, and further requested all our English company to have no ill opinion of them.

Their lading of sugars.

The 28. of April we laded sugars into our ships.

The 21. of May we tooke in fresh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of June wee gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victuals, and intertained him in good sort in our ship, and this day wee were promised to have a Pilot at Santos to cary us to Baya.

The 11. day we went to fish, to make provision for our ship and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ship of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee ridde at the yland of S. Sebastian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Master sent his skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to have brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the skiffe was going, William Euet being by the Rivers side, called to our pinnesse, and sent a letter to our *Master, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Ministrador was arrived at Santos from the River of Jenero, and would speake with our Master, but he willed that whatsoever Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be given to it. And further he wished us presently to depart for Sant Sebastian, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to sende backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would give his attendance to come abord.

Leaks in the Minion made by wormes.

**Whose name was Stephen Hare.*

[III. 706.]

As we rid two leagues a sea-bord the barre of Santos wee broke a cable in the open sea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

Their departure from Santos.

We arrived at S. Sebastian the 15. day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and halled our ship a ground to stop our leakes, & caried our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better have bene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our ship, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebastian.

The first day of July Thomas Babington came abord with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promise to cary us to Baya.

The things that we observed and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All such wares and marchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, their use is, to set a price upon the same, how they shalbe sold: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such marchandizes as doe owe custome there, the marchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and advantage that they can.

Some part of Peru but 12. dayes journey from Santos.

Concerning the province of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelve dayes journey from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or five dayes journey by water to the maine river of Plate.

From the head of the river of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they doe trade and trafique by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The saide river of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go up it, and not els.

The Portugales forbidden to use their mines.

The Portugales here cannot bee suffered to use their Mines of treasure in these parts, upon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Savages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendship with the Portugales, and they have continuall warres with certaine other Savages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Those Savages of Peru have store of gold and silver, but they knowe not the use of it.

Looke what Savages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portugales for knives, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles : they will sell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people have also continuall warres with the Spaniards : and this was tolde us by one of those Savages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales these seven yeeres, with his master called Sennor Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly have come with us for England.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrarzas and S. Sebastian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather shewe like the sailes of ships.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes, dangerous for rocks.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also five leagues to the East and by South into the sea off the yland.

At our comming up to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or lesse, but after you have runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall have it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of Francis Suares to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the river of Jenero in Brasill in June 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and Peru, by the way of the river of Plate, with small barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

SIr, we set saile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arrived here in this river of Jenero the twentie seventh of June next ensuing. And the same day the Visitadores did visit our ship with great joy, thinking that those commodities which wee brought with us, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooved to the contrary.

[III. 707.]

Wine solde at an excessive rate.

The pilot brought with him in the sayd shippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and solde by the Justice for foure and twenty reals every gallon. But I solde mine for two and thirty and sixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great store of wine, I should have made a great gaine of it: for I should have gotten eight reals for one.

The next day in the morning wee went all on shore, and gave God thanks for our prosperous voyage, and good successe which he had sent us. And because the governour of this countrey was gone from this Towne to another house of his, three leagues up into the river beyond the place where we rode at anker, I desired the captaine of our shippe after dinner, that we might take the shippe boat, and goe to the place where the governour did lie. And so going up the river, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the river, and going aboord our shippe; which canoa was laden with fresh victuals, and in the same was one Portugall, which met us, and tolde us that the governour of that captaine shippe had sent us a present, which we received very thankefully, and sent it aboord. And we went up the river, to the place where the governour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the rivers side, the governour came thither and received us very courteously. So we remained at his house two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the river.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-house by my selfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am selling them as fast as I can; and sell them very well, and to great profit: for I have solde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reason of the great utterance of them up into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the river of Plate. For here is passage every three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with sugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried up the sayd river of Plate in the sayd barks, and thence are conveyed up into Peru. And these barks are but tenne or twelve dayes going up the sayd river to Peru. And within foure and

A rich trade from the river of Jenero by the river of Plate into Peru, &c.

five moneths after, the sayd barkes come downe this river againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from those places no other commodities but treasure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this river and in this countrey. I am ashamed to write it, fearing that I shall not be beleeved. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelve hundred and fifteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene used but within this yeere. For wee can goe up to the mines of Potosi, which are the best and the richest mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not send nor venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as they doe. For up this river is a great deale the neerer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and river of Jenero, and bring with them fifteene thousand and twentie thousand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this river in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru are constrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good store of silks, and not these kinde of commodities which I did bring. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with five hundred ducats in five moneths space a man may get sixe thousand ducats. And this is no fable, but most true, and a great deale more then I can expresse. For a rapier which doeth cost in Spaine foure and twenty and sixe and twenty reals, is solde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horse is solde for fifteene ducats: a locke of a doore and the key is solde for ten ducats: a pound of benjamin is solde for fifteene ducats: a yard of velvet is solde for twenty and five and twenty ducats: taffataes are solde for sixe and seven ducats the vare: an ownce of muske is solde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one

The shortnesse of the returne of the voyage to Peru.

This rich trade was begunne in the yere 1595.

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thousand ducats for the laying out of one thousand.

thousand ducats of Spanish commodities will gaine tenne thousand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I have solde most of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The rest I will cary to Angola, to helpe to sell the rest of my commodities, which I cannot sell in this river. And I have solde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for five hundred and five hundred and fifty and sixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would have solde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and five hundred reyes, the merchants would have bought it all of me: but I would sell no more, because I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man shall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ship solde all his cloth for ready money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market: but he hath deceived himselfe. I solde six broad clothes for five hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered thirty thousand reys for a cloth. Vineger is solde for two and thirty, and sixe and thirty, and forty reals a jarre, by reason there is great store of limmons and orenges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more woorth. Olives are solde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to sell the hogshead for twenty thousand reys. In taffataes and velvets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great store, I could have solde it all at this rate. I have already gotten good store of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I must imploy some in meale, which is in the grinding. All the rest of my money I will send you by billes of exchange, and some part I will imploy in sugars: for I have sent order to Baia for that purpose. For from this place there is no shipping that doth go that way. So these letters I do send by the way of Fernambuc, and have directed

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

Broad cloth excellently well solde.

Vineger.

[III. 708.]

Olives.

Taffataes.
Velvets.

them to my cousin: for I do determine to settle my selfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this river of Plate, a merchant called Alonso Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelve thousand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ship to returne into Spaine; and there is come in his company a bishop. And thus Jesus Christ send you long health.

Your loving brother Francis Suares.

The well governed and prosperous voyage of M. James Lancaster, begun with three ships and a galley-frigat from London in October 1594, and intended for Fernambuck, the port-towne of Olinda in Brasil. In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy both by land and water) and also providently defeated their dangerous and almost inevitable fireworks. Heere he found the cargazon or freight of a rich East Indian carack; which together with great abundance of sugars, Brasil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

IN September 1594 the worshipfull M. John Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worship in the city of London, victualled three good ships; to wit, The Consent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and The Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. James Lancaster of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. John Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, having in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull provision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, untill we came into the West countrey, where we met with such gusts and stormes, that the Salomon spending her mast at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others having charge, she was shortly againe provided. Which done, having a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put foorth from Dartmouth the last of November following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the Salomon and the Virgin, by a storme of contrary winde that fell upon us: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consorts; which greatly grieved us.

Thence we went, bearing for the isle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed under the shore, was towing with their boat a head, having one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards seeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leaving the ship, sought to save themselves by flight: but our men pursued them so fast, that they boorded them, and brought them with their shippe to our Generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not unto us before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome in like maner wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her, and strooke off a propper yoong mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards having their free passage, and an

A shippe with 80 tunnes of wine taken.

Another prize with 40 tuns of wine taken.

acquitance for the delivery of their wines, were all set on shore upon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rere-admirall, whose men tolde us for very trueth, that the Salomon was returned for England: inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which when our men understood, they were all in a maze, not knowing [III. 709.] what to doe, and saying among themselves that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was lost, the one halfe of our strength, giving him counsell to beare up for the West Indies, and prove there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane overthrown. The captaine hearing this new novelty, as not unacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker the captaine is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet us, & it were no wisdome for us to divert our course, till we have sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diverting of courses is the overthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I have determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawen unto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we

Foure & twenty sailes of ships & of caravels taken by the Salomon.

met with the Salomon with no small joy to us all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and caravels, fisher-men, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had need of. Of these ships our captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serve. At this place he understood of one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies, was cast away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd upon the Arrazife which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and rejoyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before us.

Maio.

A gally-frigat carried out of England in pieces.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all joyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and so after some parle & making frolike for joy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all) we plied for Maio: where comming to anker, our generall & the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the place where we might in best safety set our gally-frigat together; which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our comming thither, you shall understand we had sight of foure sailes, which was captaine Venner in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth & her pinnesse: all which stood with us. But they seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellowes as we, did beare from us all they might; which our people tooke very unkindly, that being all friends they would neither enquire, nor tell us any newes of our friends, but without making any shew of kindnes would so depart. As before I have said, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigat, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered

The gally-frigat set up.

unto it by the generals good gifts bestowed among them, and kind usage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the safety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the countrey, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly used, and brought againe unto us: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would have proved Indies men, or some to have brought us what wee looked for: but they proved captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforesayd, who, seeing us at anker, ankered also; where spending some time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, consorted with us, & their bils, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to have three parts, & he the fourth, of all that should be taken, wherby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we stayd in this place before the gally was finished; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, having foureteene banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed unto M. Wats, an honest skilfull mariner.

From thence we put againe to sea, and went for the ile Brava, where we watered: which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for the place, making our first fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Augustine; from whence wee plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where some plied up and downe, holding that the best policy, to forbeare the entring till day might give them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ships being in safety well arrived, God was praised: and the generall in his boat

Cape S. Augustine.
Fernambuck.
The 29 of March.

[III. 710.]

went from ship to ship, willing them to make ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himselfe, with 80 men from his owne ship, imbarked himselfe in the gally, which caried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admirall spent all the night in giving directions to every ship to have their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leave his ships without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not adventure the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he provided five ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conveniently saile them, and no more, giving them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gave order to the men of these five small ships, which were not above 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, & to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen above halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconvenience unto us: so that before wee could get up againe, the ebbe was come upon us, and thereby we were forced to hover before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-colvering shot off: in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready hovering in the gally & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the

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mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselves out of the way of us. Our admiral was very joyfull, & gave great incouragement to all his men: for, to passe these three great Hollanders, he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the governer of the towne sent a Portugall aboord the admirals ship, to know what he would have, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answere: That he wanted the caracks goods, and for them he came, and them he would have, and that he should shortly see. In this processe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, & perceived us to be enemies, gathered themselves together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some sixe hundred at the least. These came to the fort or platforme lying over against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gave expresse order to all that had charge of governing the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore, that they should be all cast away without recovery, and not one man to stay in them, whereby our men might have no maner of retreat to trust unto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the rest of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance upon the galley and the boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for us to make any stay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley upon the shore right under the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence, that we brake her backe; and she suncke presently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presently cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arrivall, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seven pieces of brasse, to discharge them upon us at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see us land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so steepe downewards with their mouthes, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not above a coits cast at the most betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: so that they only shot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to us a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well levelled, a great number of us had lost our lives at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Upon them, upon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensignes of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certeine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to us. This day of our arrivall was their Good-friday, when by custome they usually whippe themselves: but God sent us now for a generall scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waved to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himselfe taking order in leaving certeine men in keeping the sayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about some foureteene score from the fort: in which towne

The fort of Fernambuck taken.

[III. 711.]

lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the same, the people imbarking themselves in caravels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of above an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil-wood, sugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloves, mase, nutmegs, with divers other good things, to the great comfort of us all. The admirall went up and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the same captaine Venner and his company, himselfe and his company in the midst of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giving great charge, that no man upon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should breake up or enter into any warehouse, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as ever any was kept, where so great spoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or warehouse broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be observed in such an action: for common mariners and souldiers are much given to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same then of their shares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the rest of the captaines, went about the towne, and gave order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found provision in the towne, sufficient store for it. Now it is to be understood, that this towne is environed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a river that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage not above forty paces over at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it five pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming into the harborow. Now we having the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought up in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne cariage. At his first comming aboord of them, they seemed to stand upon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he used himselfe so, that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was above 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from any shew of violence or injury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would fraight them for England, if they would be content with fraight reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their owne choise whether to go or not, he would not force them, unlesse it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were so satisfied, that they went thorow with a fraight: and then we joyned with them, & they with us, and they served us as truely & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and all other services. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe upon us with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had provided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horse and his rider slaine both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some five or sixe score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had divers hurt. What was lost of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ships & 2 pinnesses, the pinnesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinnesse, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one captaine John Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the iland of Mona in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away, comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, & was not ungratefull for his former [III. 712.] benefit shewed unto him. This captaine desired of our admirall to bestow upon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gave him a caravel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefits he gratefully received. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being distressed for want of water, gave him some, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed from him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen us; for our admiral appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch upon the river by night with their boats, every boat having in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well provided. This was for feare

Abraham Cocke going for the river of Plate, met withall.

of fired ships or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care unto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulsers, at all advantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put us out of the harborow; giving commandement to us that watched in the towne, that what fires soever we should espy or see, not one man to start from his watch or quarter, unlesse we were by himselfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and having viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our selves sufficiently fortified, we began to unlade our ships, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with so good merchandize. And this order was taken about the unlading of them, and also the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were divided into halves, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes those that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none stept far off or wandred from his colours, and those that wrought had all their weapons in good order set & placed by them, so that at an instant every one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked unto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off upon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and sayd that from the bishop, themselves, & the rest, they would have some conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a small season; and when he had muzed a while, he answered, I must go aboord of the Flemings upon busines that importeth me, and therefore let them stay if they will: and so he went & sate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this space divers messengers went to the admirall, to come away, for these gentlemen stayd. To whom he gave this answere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better sort of our men marvelled, and thought much, because he would not vouchsafe to come and have conference with such men of account as they seemed to be. But the admiral made them this answere, Sirs, I have bene brought up among this people, I have lived among them as a gentleman, served with them as a souldier, and lived among them as a merchant, so that I should have some understanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot prevaile with the sword by force, then they deale with their deceiveable tongues; for faith and trueth they have none, neither will use any, unlesse it be to their owne advantage. And this I give you warning, that if you give them parle, they will betray us; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieve me most to be overtaken by this nation & the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they understand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be satisfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what shall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we have gotten already that we came for, should we venture that we have gotten with our swords, to see if they can take it from us by words and policy? there were no wisedome in so doing. You know what it hath cost us, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from hencefoorth I give this commission, that if any be taken, he be sent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approch us from henceforth, he shalbe hanged out of hand: and other course then this I will not take with them. Which course was followed, for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were never troubled with spies; and although divers slaves came running from their men to us, by which we understood much of their working & pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for seeing us so busie, about sixe nights after our comming in, they privily in the night cast up a trench in the sands about a sacar shot from our ships, minding there to plant ordinance, which would have offended our ships greatly; & they would not have bene able to have rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, [III. 713.] about 3 of the clocke in the after noone marshalled our men, and he and all the rest of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals & Indians perceiving our comming, began to withdraw themselves within the trench, meaning (as it should appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no stand, neither did it behove us, but presently approched the trenches with our muskets & pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finished: so that by Gods helpe we entered them. And the Portugals & Indians left the place, & left unto us 4 good peeces of brasse ordinance, with powder and shot & divers other necessaries, and among the rest 5 smal carts of that countrey, which to us were more worth then al the rest we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waters side: for without them we could not have told what to have done, much of our goods being so heavie, that without carts, we were not able to weyld them: all these things we brought away & destroyed al those platforms that they had made, and then we had rest with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deviding our marchandize with captaine Venner according to our consort, and went daily lading them abord, every ships company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three Dutch ships: for the goods being put into their

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boats their owne companies laded themselves. And this farther good chance or blessing of God we had to helpe us, that assoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ship with some 60 Negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to us was a very great ease. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great travell in.

In this towne there is no fresh water to be had, and therefore we were every 5 or 6 dayes compelled to passe over the river into the maine land to get fresh water, which after the first or second time the Portugals kept and would have defended our watering, so that we were driven to water of force, and at severall times some of our men were hurt, and onely two or three slaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they molested us in our watering, so they slept not in other devises, but put in practise to burne our ships or remove them out of the harbour. For within some 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Caravels and filled them with such things as would best take fire and burne: these they brought within a mile or little more of our ships, and there set them on fire, for neerer they could not well come because of our watch of boates, for as is above said, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch above halfe a mile from the ships for feare of such exploytes as these, which was the cause they could not fire them so neere the ships as they would have done. But these fired Caravels had the tide with them, and also the little winde that blewe was in their favour; which caused them to come downe the streame the faster: which our boats perceiving made to them with as much expedition as conveniently they could, but the tide and wind both serving them, they approched toward the ships with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in some feare of them, yet no man mooved or started from his quarter more then if there had bene nothing to doe. Also the masters and such as were aboord, were somewhat amased to see 5 so great fires to be comming downe among their ships, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being provided afore hande & judging that some such stratagems would be there used, the river being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with us & our best defence in this voyage; by whose assistance we performed this so great an attempt with so small forces. Our companie in the boats so played the men when they saw the fires come neere our ships, that casting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as every boat had one for that purpose, some they towed aground, and some they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, & so we were delivered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Within some 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in & abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driving downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugest fires that I have seene. These were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched them thinking to clap their grapnels upon them, as they had done upon the Caravels the night before, they were prevented: for there stooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into them: & yet they had this inconvenience worse then al the rest which most troubled us. There stooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with such provision of fire-workes that they ceased not still (as the fire came downe to those trunks to set them on fire) to spout out such sparkles, that our boats having powder in them for our mens use, durst not for feare of fyring themselves with their owne powder come neere those sparkles of the raftes, but seeing them to drive neerer & neerer our ships, they wet certain clothes and laid upon their flaskes and bandelers and so ventured upon them, & with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and so towed them on ground, where they stooke fast & were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diverse logs and timbers came driving along by our ships, and burning, but with our boats we easily defended them. And thus (God be praysed) we escaped the second fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gave us to understand, but this we prevented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certainetie, that this firing should be such as we should never be able to prevent, and assuredly these fires be dangerous things and not to be prevented upon the sudden, unlesse it be afore prepared for and foreseene. For when it commeth upon the sudden and unlooked for, and unprovided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in rivers in their enemies countrey be sure to looke to be provided before hand, for against fire there is no resistance without preparation. [III. 714.]

Also it is a practise in these hot countreys, where there be such expert swimmers, to cut the cables of ships: and one night it was practised to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the bwoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, seeing then our good watch, they never after attempted it.

While all these things passed, our ships (God be thanked) thorow the industry of our governours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the best marchandize conveyed aboord our ships, so that our Admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or else on the next day at the farthest, and so warning was given to all men to make themselves readie. Our Admiral being aboord his ship ye same morning, espyed in the sands right against the place where the ships rode, that there was a small banke of sand newly cast up, under which he perceived now and then some people to be: presently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about some pretence right against the ships, consulting whether it were best to sally out & see what they were doing, or depart that evening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, saying it was but folly to seeke warres since we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to see what they did, least the winde might be contrarie and the ships not get out, and so our enemies may build upon us to our great disadvantage. Well, said the Admiral, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this sally, for where they worke it is within Falkonshot of the ships, and if any power should come against you, the ships may play upon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the least, so that a bird cannot passe there but she must be slaine. I am somewhat unwilling you should go, for I have not bene well these two dayes, and I am not strong to march upon those heavie sands: they answered all at once, you shall not neede to trouble your selfe for this service, for you see it is nothing and of no danger, being so neere the ships, doubt you not we will accomplish this service well ynough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall answered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you shall goe out strong for feare of the worst. And so the Admirall marshalled them 275 men French and English, which were under the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march upon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were sent unto: in the brodest part betwixt the sea and the water on the other side, it is not above a stones cast, for it is a bank of sand lying betweene the river & the sea, so they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their sides, and before them could no man come, but he must passe by all the ships which no company of men were able to do without present death.

The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he sent them to, and so he himselfe went aboord the ships and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worst, not knowing what might insue, although he saw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were sent unto, being right over against the ships: out of which place came some dozen shot, which seeing us come, discharged and ran their wayes with such as were working within the said platforme. So that we came into it and perceived they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance upon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any such thing, to burne the plankes & returne in againe, which we might have done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to have performed the service committed them in charge, but would needes expresly & against their order march on further to fight with certaine Ensignes almost a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ships, & where lay the strength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere those Ensigns of men, the Ensignes seemed to retire with great speed, which our men followed with such great hast that some outrunning other some, our order was broken, and those ensignes retyred themselves into the force of the whole countrey, so that our formost men were in the midst of their enemies yer they were aware, which were slaine yer the rest could come to succour [III. 715.] them. The enemies incouraged by this, came also upon the rest, which presently began to retire, & the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ships, where they were beaten off and left their pursuit. In this conflict were slaine captain Barker captaine of the Salomon, captaine Cotton ye Admirals Lieutenant, captaine John Noyer a French captaine of Diepe, and another French captaine of Rochel, with M. John Barker & other to the number of 35: for these were the formost and hottest in the pursuit of the Ensignes aforesaid, and by their forwardnes came all to perish. At our returne into the towne the Admiral came to us much bewayling the death of so many good men as were lost, wondering what we ment to passe the expresse order that was given us. With this losse our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was sometimes to win and sometimes to loose. And therewithall he wished every man to prepare & make himselfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ships were readie and laden, and he would not stay any further fortune. The evening being come, the ships began to wey & go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodnesse toward us who sent us a faire wind to go foorth withall, so that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in safety. The enemies perceiving our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and shot at us in the night, but did us no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 sailes, that is, 3 sailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure sailes of french & one ship which the Admiral gave the french Captain, 3 sailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 sailes of our Admirals fleete, all these were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We stayed in this harbour to passe all this businesse but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with skirmishes and attempts of the enemie 11. times; in all which skirmishes we had the better, onely this last excepted. To God be the honour and praise of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in safety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gave order to the whole fleete to saile toward Peranjew a harbour lying some 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in fresh water and to refresh themselves: and

Peranjeu 40. *leagues northward of Fernambuck.*

to make provision for refreshing, our Admirall had sent thither some 6 daies before two French men in a smal pinnesse, which Frenchmen he had provided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpose. For both these two spake the Indians language very perfectly: for at this port of Peranjew and an other called Potaju some 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen have had trade for brasil-wood, and have laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who have fet it for them some 20 leagues into the country upon their backs, 3 or 4 ships every yere. Thus we all sailed toward Peranjew, at which place we arrived in the night, so that we were forced to lie off & on with a stiffe gale of wind, in which we lost the most part of our fleete, & they not knowing this coast put off to the sea, and so went directly for England. Our Admirall and some 4 saile more with him put into the harborow of Peranjew, and there watered and refreshed himselfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly provided before his comming: this is a very good harborow where ships may ride and refresh very well. But, as I am given to understand since our comming from thence, the Portugals have attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and have put the French from their accustomed trade. Here having watered and refreshed our selves, we put to the sea, plying after the rest of our fleete which were gone before, which we never heard of till our arrivall in England at The downes in the moneth of July, where we understood the rest of our consorts to be passed up for London, Captaine Venner & his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ships to be safe arrived at Diepe, which to us was very great comfort. At our setting sayle from The downes, according as the custome is, finding the Queenes ships there, we saluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being carelesse, as they are many times of their powder,

Peranjeu a very good harbour.

in discharging certain pieces in ye gunner roome, set a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ye gunner roome, blew up the Admirals caben, slew the gunner with 2 others outright, & hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made such a smoke in the ship with the fire that burnt in the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the first wist what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to cast water into the gunner roome in such abundance (for the Queenes ships now & also the other ships that were in our company came presently to our helpe) that (God be praised) we put out the fire & saved all, & no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be seene that there is no sure safety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came upon us, then we suffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be praysed for ever, which delivered us out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in fresh men (God be praysed) we came to Blacke-wall in safety.

[III. 716.] A speciall letter written from Feliciano Cieza de Carvalsho the Governour of Parajua in the most Northerne part of Brasil, 1597, to Philip the second king of Spaine, answering his desire touching the conquest of Rio Grande, with the relation of the besieging of the castle of Cabodelo by the Frenchmen, and of the discoverie of a rich silver mine and diverse other important matters.

The king of Spaines resolution to proceed in the discoverie & conquest of Rio Grande.

I Received your Majesties letter bearing date the ninth of November 1596. whereby I understande that your Majestie doth determine to proceede in the discoverie and conquest of Rio Grande, according to the relation which was sent your Majestie by Don Francisco de Sousa, Governour generall of this realme of Brasilia:

together with a copie of a letter, which your Majestie sent unto us, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreover I received another letter from your Majestie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may please your Majestie to understand that there are diverse Gentlemen in these countreys of as good abilitie as my selfe, which seeke to live at home onely for their ease and pleasure, and are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, lives, and goods so often times in your Majesties service as I have done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not spend nor wast them as I have done, and dayly doe so wilfully: yet neverthelesse being spent in your Majesties service, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are alwayes readie at your Majesties commandement.

The Captaineship of Parajua standeth in sixe degr. 45 *min. of Southerly latitude.*

And as concerning your Majesties commandement in commanding me that I should put to my helping hand in the conquest of Rio Grande: although this Captaineship of Parajua and countrey where I doe governe doth want abilitie for that purpose, yet neverthelesse your Majestie shall alwayes finde me readie to doe your Majestie the best service I can: for it is very well knowen how forward I have bene alwayes and am in this conquest, and still doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Majestie doth understand by a letter which I wrote to your Majesty by my sonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Majestie may understand what good service I have alreadie done therein, and alwayes will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the said enterprise.

It may please your Majestie to understand that the third of July there was brought unto me a Frenchman a prisoner, who presented himselfe unto me. And I examining of him, he tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ships men of warre, which came upon this coast: and he tolde me that he had served your Majestie in the warres of France. Likewise he told me that he left me seven great ships Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in Rio Grande, and that there were 13 french ships of warre more, which had given battery to the castle of Cabodelo, and landed 350 soldiers all in white armour, and the battery continued from Friday untill the Munday following both by sea and land, and great store of Frenchmen were slaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our side the Captaine of the castle was slaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the castle, and five pieces of ordinance. They ment to have kept the castle, and to have traded with the Indian people. So seeing they could not take the castle, they hoysed sayles, and went from thence to Rio Grande: and being altogether they are in number 20 saile at an anker in Rio Grande. And some of them determine after they be new trimmed and drest, and have taken in fresh victuals, and stayed there untill Easter, then to depart from thence to the Honduras, and so to burne and spoyle some townes thereabout.

The castle of Cabodelo besieged by the French.

I certified Manuel Mascarenhas of these informations by my letters, requesting him to send me with all expedition those souldiers which were in garison in Fernambuck to ayde me, and to defende this Captaineship from the enemie. But the Friers of The Covent would not consent thereunto, nor suffer them to be sent unto me. So I was forced to make shift with those souldiers only which I had in my government and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, and upon Whitsunday in the evening about three of the clocke, having in my company a Negro of the countrey of Petiguar, which was our guide, he brought us where the enemies campe was; and presently I did assault them, and slew great store of them, burning

The garison of Fernambuck.

The countrey of Petiguar rebelleth against the Portugals.

the villages and countrey of those rebels, which did joine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them prisoners. So they told me that there were ten great French ships of warre which were at an anker in Rio Grande.

A rich silver mine found at Copaoba within sixe dayes journey of Parajua.

Likewise I was informed, that there is a Frenchman called Daurmigas, which hath discovered and found great store of silver in a place called Copaoba. The silver hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine silver, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of this hath beene in the mine, and hath seene it tried and melted. And I have bene my selfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes journey from this Captaineship.

[III. 717.]

Furthermore this Frenchman told me that one Monsieur Mifa a french Captaine, and a kinsman of the governour and Viceadmirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes strooken off at the siege of the castle of Cabodelo; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Januarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, because of the great store of silver, which they have alreadie found here.

Moreover I am enformed that a noble man of France called The earle of Villa Dorca doth intend to come upon this coast with a great fleete from Rochel. It were good that your Majestie would send into France to knowe the certainetie thereof.

All the Canibals of Petiguar joyne with the Frenchmen against the Portugals.

The Frenchman likewise told me that all the Canibals of Petiguar have joyned themselves in companie with certaine Frenchmen, which were cast away in two ships upon this coast. The one of these ships which were cast away was one Rifoles, and the other ship was this mans. And those Frenchmen which came upon this coast did joyne themselves with those Canibals which did rebell, and did divide themselves into two squadrons. So I sent presently to Manuel

Mascarenhas that he should send me aide and munition. But he sent me word againe, that he had none to spare, and that he did purpose with all speede to goe himselfe to Rio Grande; and that he was not able to furnish himselfe so well as he could wish, nor to bring his souldiers into the field, for lacke of shot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

Hereupon once more the 29 of July I with my souldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there joyning battell with the Indian rebels, which were joyned with the Frenchmen that were their leaders, I did set upon them, and slew great store of them, and tooke foureteene of them prisoners. They doe report the very same newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ships which were in the harbour of Rio Grande; and how their pretence was to have come and have taken us, and spoyled the countrey.

French ships laden with great store of silver oare.

But now being put to flight and having received the overthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their shippes: which hath bene the cause that they are mightily hindered in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt us. And the Indians are so dismayed, that in haste they will have no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by these meanes of necessitie the Indians must submit themselves unto us, considering they are quite spoyled and overthrowen for a long time. Likewise they have enformed me touching the silver mines which are found, that it is most true. For those french shippes which were in Rio Grande have laden great store of the oare. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Mascarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe every thing did stand; wishing him to make readie foure ships and three hundred souldiers, and so to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleered and voyde of the enemie: and to search out the situation of the place, and where were best to fortifie and to build some fortes for the defence of this river, where neede shall require. Hereunto Mascarenhas sent me word, that when he went himselfe, and found it true which hath beene reported touching the silver mines, that then he would send both men and ships. Therefore your Majestie must give order, that the rest of the Governours shall ayde and assist me in these warres: otherwise of my selfe I am not able to doe more then I have alreadie done in defending of this countrey against our enemies which are many.

It may please your Majestie to be advertised, that from time to time I have written unto Don Francisco de Sousa Governor general of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning these Frenchmen of warre: but he will not answere me to any purpose, because I do write unto him for such things as I doe want, which are shot, powder, men, and munition requisite for your Majesties service & safegard of this captaineship. For here are neither shot, powder, nor any thing els to defend us from our enemies; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, & the service of your Majestie. And therefore it were needful that your Majesty should commit the charge and government into the hands of Diego Sierva, with expresse charge that all the captaines & commanders upon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and assist him in your service. Otherwise this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, having so great warres continually as we have, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierva is a very good souldier, and hath good experience; and is fit to governe this countrey. Your Highnesse is also to send him Commission with expresse commandement to follow these wars; otherwise this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they will rebell. For here are none that will serve your Majestie so justly as he will do: who wil have a great care in any thing which shal concerne your Majesties service touching the [III. 718.] estate of this countrey. For the Governour Sousa doth spend your Majesties treasure in building his owne Ingenios or sugar-milles.

The conquest of Rio Grande.

Two Forts to be builded at Cabodelo.

And those Captaines which your Majestie intendeth to send hither must bring with them shot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and safegarde of this countrey, and for the conquest of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occasion should serve. It were also good that your Majestie should send order for the building of a couple of Forts or Castles at Cabodelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemie, which dayly doth warre against this Captaineship. For that man which shall governe this countrey, if he be no more fortunate than I have bene hitherto, shall not misse one time or another, but he shall loose all the countrey. If Don Francisco de Sousa had sent mee those two hundred and fiftie souldiers which I did send for, which were in garison in the castle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but spend your Majesties victuals and treasure, and had not sent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, these warres of Petiguar had bene ended long agone, and had saved your Majesty a great deale of charges which you had spent in folowing of this conquest of Rio Grande. I have chosen one Captaine John de Matas Cardoso to be Governour of Cabodelo, who is a very sufficient man.

The countrey of Parajua in danger dayly to be lost.

The warres of Petiguar.

A new captain appointed in Cabodelo.

A great controversie touching the government of the Indian townes.

Furthermore, it may please your Majestie to understand, that the chiefest Friers of this Monasterie of S. Antonie have complained on me to the lord Governour generall, and have caused great strife and debate betweene him and me touching the government and rule of these Indian townes. For the Friers would command and governe both the Indians and their townes as well in Ecclesiasticall as Temporall causes, as touching the punishment of the bodies of such as are offenders. But I have resisted them in your Majesties name, and have alleaged, that none but your Majestie must rule and governe them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Majestie, and not unto the Friers. But the Governour hath written a letter unto me, signifying that he hath pronounced a sentence against me in the Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our master hath sent a decree and certaine statutes touching the good government and orders to be executed and kept in those Indian townes: and that upon sight hereof I shall presently banish all the Mamalukes and white men which dwell in any of those Indian townes with all speede, and that none of them from hence forward shall enter into the said villages, without commandement and consent of the said Friers. So this sentence was presented unto me by the Reverend father Custodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Brasil, with a further postscript of the governour importing these words; I doe likewise charge and commaund you the Governour of Parajua, that presently upon sight hereof you shall restore those villages and houses which you have burned and destroyed in the last warres, and likewise the towne of S. Augustine, and that you shall build them againe at your owne proper cost and charges: for the Friers alleage that these townes were given them, by a decree sent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the said Friers should governe and rule them.

The towne of S. Augustine.

On the other side I have pronounced another sentence against the said Friers, in your Majesties name, and for your Majestie, alleaging that those townes, villages, and subjects appertaine and belong unto your Majestie, and that in temporall causes I am to punish those offenders, which shall rebell against your Majestie: and as touching ecclesiastical causes that the Vicar of this Cathedrall church shall rule, governe and instruct them in the Christian religion. So we both have appealed unto your Majestie herein, and your Majestie may peruse all our writings, and then determine that which shall be best and most profitable for your Majesties service and enlargement of your crowne. For through these broyles the inhabitants of this Parajua forsake their houses

& dwelling places, and so doe some of the Friers, because they cannot be suffered to rule & governe.

Also the Indians have complayned against me, because I have burned their villages in this last rebellion. Wherefore if your Majestie doe not send some order for this countrey and see into these cases, it will breed great dissention and rebellion among us, and we shall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the service of your Majestie and quietnesse of this realme, to certifie your Majestie the truth of the whole matter; hoping in short time that your Majestie will send some good order to qualifie these broyles: for there is great hatred and malice among us. Jesus Christ preserve and keepe the royall person of your Majestie with long health, as it pleaseth him. From the Captaineship of Parajua this present 20 of August. 1597.

Feliciano Cieza de Carvalsho.

[III. 719.] A special note concerning the currents of the sea betweene the Cape of Buena Esperanza and the coast of Brasilia, given by a French Pilot to Sir John Yorke knight, before Sebastian Cabote; which pilot had frequented the coasts of Brasilia eighteene voyages.

Memorandum, that from Cabo de buena Esperanza unto Brasilia the Sunne hath the like dominion over the tides there, as the Moone hath over our tides here.

And that whensoever the Sunne is in any of these signes he governeth the tides as followeth.

$$\text{The Sunne being in}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Taurus}\\ \text{Gemini}\\ \text{Cancer}\end{array}\right\}\begin{array}{c}\text{the tide hath his course}\\ \text{Northwest.}\end{array}$$

The Sunne being in	Leo Virgo Libra	no current.
The Sunne being in	Scorpio Sagittarius Capricorne	the tide hath his course Southeast.
The Sunne being in	Aquarius Pisces Aries	no current.

A ruttier or course to be kept for him that will sayle from Cabo Verde to the coast of Brasil, and all along the coast of Brasil unto the river of Plate: and namely first from Cabo Verde to Fernambuck.

THe ship that goeth from Cabo Verde to Brasil, must goe Southsoutheast: and when she is within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial she must go Southeast and by South. And if she have the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou must go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee most. And take this for advise, that having the general winds, & if the wind be at South or Southeast, then go Southwest, or westsouthwest. And if the winde be South, then goe Southwest, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, because the more thou goest this way, the more will be thy trouble, because thou mayest not come neerer the coaste of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues unto the sholde called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this distance from the same, thou shalt cast about the other way towards Brasil, and the wind will be large.

Ye that will sayle to Brasil, must not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coast of Guinea.

Thou shalt understand that the ship that keepeth this course to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Isle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou commest to 8 degrees, or 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$* then thou shalt go West and beare with the land. Thou must take this for a warning, that if going West in 8 degrees thou see land, then looke to the Northward, and thou shalt see certaine white cliffes. Then I advise thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee understoode from October forward, for then the time is most subject to Northeast and Eastnortheast winds. And if thou find thy selfe in the sayd height above mentioned, and seest cliffes, and seest a Cape to the Southward, and seest no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguoari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou hast sixe leagues, and hast a good port.

* *Of Southerly latitude.*

Thou shalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou see land lying all flat, thou mayest goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenne or twelve fadomes: And then thou shalt see a great grosse land along the sea-coast which is called Capitagua: And being East and West with this land, and, as I have sayd, in tenne or twelve fadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needest not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou shalt see the cape of S. Augustine: and looke to the North and thou shalt see a point, and to the Southeast a point called Punta de Olinda, where Aponiquay standeth. And the land from the cape to the poynt called Punta de Olinda lieth North and South.

[III. 720.] I advise thee that if thou be East and West with the cape of Saint Augustine, thou shalt see within the land an high hill, having as it were a saddle upon it like to a camel: And thou shalt see to the Southwards three hilles along the sea, and then presently thou shalt see the coaste to lie Northeast and Southwest.

The height of ye cape of S. Augustine, of Olinda & Fernambuck.

Thou shalt understand that from this cape of Saint Augustine, to the towne of Olinda, thou hast nine leagues to the North. And this cape standeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda standeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck standeth in eight degrees. And this course is to be understood to be observed and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or November.

Take this advise, that if thou depart in February or March from Lisbone, then thou shalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, because that from March forwards raigne most commonly Southeast and Southwest windes. And if by this height and course thou bring thyselfe nigh to the shore, feare not to bring thy ship into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coast is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but such as the sea doth breake upon.

In what height they shall seeke land that depart from Lisbon in February or March.

And if after thy fall with the land thou have occasion to goe to the Northward, and so going seest certaine sholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou shalt see the cape of Saint Augustine, which lyeth as it were sloaping to the seaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath upon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the sea coast much about the depth above mentioned, thou shalt see a little Island called Saint Alexio: And from this Island to the cape of Saint Augustine are foure leagues, and it standeth in eight degrees and three quarters.

How to know the cape of S. Augustine.

Isla de Santo Alexio.

The course that a man must keepe to the bay called A Bahia de Todos os Santos, that is to say, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the foresayd coast of Brasil.

IF thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou must keepe the course which I have already set downe, and shalt observe the time from March forwards, as also from October forwards. Thou shalt understand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos standeth in 13 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe.

The height of Bahia de Todos os Santos in 13 degrees and one third part.

And take this for a warning, that when thou seest a white land, and long bankes of white sand, which shew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou must go along from the North to the South untill this white land doe end: and thou needest not to feare to goe along the coast, for there are no sholds. Before thou be cleane past the white land or white sands, thou shalt have sight of an Island that standeth along the bay, I say on the Northside of the bay, which is called Tapaon: and here the land lieth West and by South.

The situation of the Isle of Tapaon.

When thou art so farre shot as Tapaon, thou shalt see a certaine great tree which is round, and standeth neere the sea upon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northside.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and seest no white grounds such as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward: then when thou seest none to the Southward, thou mayest bee bold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goest into Bahia to the Northwest, and seest the sea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou shalt have alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be sure of.

When a man may beare in with Bahia.

Thou shalt understand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would wish thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not seeing the white sands, thou shalt strive to goe to the Northward. And seeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou shalt have sight of an hill along the sea: And if thou be nigh the land. and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou shalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the sea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues.

The distance of O morro de San Paulo from Bahia.

Rio de Tinsare a very good river.

And here along this hill on the Northwest side there is a great river called Tinsare: and it is a very good river. And in the entrance of Bahia there are sixe or seven fadomes water in the chanell. And I advise thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous.

A dangerous bay in 13 degrees and a halfe.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I advise thee that thou take good heede of the coast on the Northeast and Southwest, and thou shalt goe East, if the winde will suffer thee to goe East: and so goe thirtie or forty leagues off to the sea.

I advise thee that thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, because that in 11 degrees thou shalt fall with the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris. Also if thou come from Portugal and fallest with the land in eleven degrees, beare not in with it, neither come neere it, for thou mayest hurt thy selfe in so doing: but thou shalt shunne it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou shalt bring thy selfe into some trouble.

[III. 721.]

The height of the bay called A Enseada de Vazabaris.

This Bay of All Saints standeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou hast a hundreth leagues: and the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas, that is, the river of the Islands the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

The course for Baia das Ilhas, that is, The bay of the Islands, which lie on the sayd coast of Brasil, & the marks for the finding of them.

IF thou goe for Baia das Ilhas thou must looke for it in fifteene degrees lacking a quarter.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

If thou be minded as I sayd to goe for these Isles, if it bee from March forward, thou shalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$, it is all the better.

And if thou have sight of certaine high hilles, that seeme to reach to the skie, these hilles are called As Serras Raiemores. Then having sight of these hilles, thou shalt goe along the coast; and feare nothing, for there are no sholdes along to the North. And when thou seest the Islands, thou mayest make accompt they be these which thou seekest, for there are no other on al this coast, and thou shalt see a round hil along the sea. Thou shalt understand that on the North side of this hill is the going in of the river. But if it chance that thou finde thy selfe in a time that will not suffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Islands giving them a bredth off. And thou mayest well come to an ankor hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou shalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayest goe into the river hard aboord the shore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Island, thou must keepe thy selfe from the land: and when thou hast brought it Eastnortheast, then thou mayest ankor two cables length from the shore: for all is cleane ground.

A round hill.

In what height a man must fall with this place in time of the Northeast winds.

Ciemana.

Mangues.

If thou chance to arrive on this coast in the time of the Northeast windes, thou shalt seeke to fall with the land in foureteene degrees. And if thou see a lowe land, thou mayest make accompt it is the land called Ciemana, and then thou shalt see Mangues: And also thou shalt come along this coast to the South: and when thou seest an ende of the low land, then thou shalt finde an high land along the sea like the other that I have made mention of before, that is, all sandie along the sea coast.

And thou must understand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little river called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it hath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Islands thou hast nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou shalt find a great bay within the land, & then thou shalt looke to the Westsouthwest, and shalt see another high land, which lieth as it were in the middest of the bay, and thou shalt there see certaine white houses which are the Ingenios or houses wherein they make sugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou shalt see the Isles being so farre shotte as Rio de Contas. And thou shalt see within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another copple on the South side.

The white sugar houses of Lucas Giraldo.

The course to sayle to Porto Seguro, that is to say, The safe haven, lying on the foresayd coast of Brasil, & the markes to know the same by.

IF thou goe for Porto Seguro and goest in the time of the Southeast windes, which is from March forwards, I advise thee that thou fall not in more degrees then sixteen and a halfe, because of the sholdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and stretch very farre into the sea. And also going West from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often sounding. And if thou chance to see the land, and an high hill and long withall, much like to The pike, it is the hill that is called Monte Pasqual. And from thence thou must goe to the North, and when thou hast brought it Southwest of thee, then thou mayest beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee.

To avoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

Monte Pasqual.

Marke when thou seest the land and commest to see a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward, and thou shalt see a great smooth coast along the sea, and then on the North side thou shalt descrie Porto Seguro. And going along the coast thou shalt see the towne of Porto Seguro standing upon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North side of the sayd rocke there is a very hie land. I advise thee that when thou art East and West with the sayd land, I meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and

[III. 722.]

The place of comming to an ankor before Porto Seguro, which standeth in 16 deg. & one third.

thou shalt see certaine rocks lying two leagues off into the sea, whereon the sea doth breake, and to the Southward of them thou mayest come to an ankor against the towne, and hast a good place to ride in thirteen fadomes in sight of the towne.

16 degrees.

A dangerous river in 16 degrees.

Baixos de Santo Antonio.

And if it be thy chance to arrive in the time of the Northeast winds, and commest in the height of fifteene degrees and two third parts, and seest not certaine hilles, then thou must goe along the coast being in 16 degrees, and under the first hie land that thou shalt descrie, thou shalt see certaine sandie bayes along the sea coast: And if thou have sight of a river in this height, put not thy selfe into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many sholdes. And off them lie certaine sunken grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Porto Seguro.

I advise thee that going along the coast to the Southward, and seeing such sholdes, and the sea to breake upon them, as the other which I last spake of, thou shalt runne along them a sea boord of them: and when thou art at the end of them, then the towne will beare West of thee: and then thou mayest goe to thine ankoring place as is abovesayd, giving these sholds a good birth.

The course to the haven named Baia do Spirito Santo, that is to say, The bay of the holy Ghost, lying on the sayd coast of Brasil, and the markes thereof.

THou shalt understand that the ship that goeth for Spirito Santo, when it hath doubled the sholdes Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it selfe in 20 or 19 degrees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, and in twentie. And the sayd shippe must goe in this height, because on this coast there are no Monzoins.

Monzoins are certaine set winds with which the tides set.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees ½ and seest lowe land to the Northwest off thee, then thou art on the North side of Spirito Santo, and thou mayest make accompt that it is the land lying over Criquare, and over the river called Rio dolce, that is the river of sweete or fresh water. If thou come along the land thou shalt find certaine high hilles: but trust not the first that thou seest only. For besides the rest thou shalt see a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which is called la Sierra de mestre Alvaro. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North and thou shalt see a river called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The river of the three kings. And comming to the Southward thou shalt see presently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end of this hill on the South side, thou hast a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron. And on the South side of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the middest of the bay thou shalt goe in westward.

Markes on the North side of Spirito Santo.

The situation of la Sierra de Mestre Alvaro.

Rio dos Reyes magos.

I advise thee that in going in thou take heede of a sholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay: thou must leave it to the Southward of thee, and then plie to double a certaine Island which lieth within, and thou must leave it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or Northeast, thou mayest come to an ankor: for all is cleane ground.

And if thou chance to come by this course, and fallest in 20 degrees, and seest many hilles, and one among the rest very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of Guaraparim, and seest another hill on the North side, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both these lie on the South side of Spirito Santo. And from these hils thou shalt see a little hill named Guaipel. And when thou seest these hilles, thou shalt see three little Islands together, lying to the Southward: And then from these thou shalt see another rockie, bare, and round Island: and to the land off this Island thou shalt see a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayest ankor

A Sierra de Guariparim in 20 degrees.

A Sierra de Pero Cam.

here safely. And if thou wilt go in, thou shalt bring thy selfe East and West with the hill, and so thou mayest go in. And thou shalt leave a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouso, that is, the Isle of rest: and this Isle lieth along the coast: and thou mayest be bold to ride betwixt it and the maine, giving it a breadth off.

A Ilha de Repouso.

From these three Islands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come to Spirito Santo, thou shalt see another Island, and shalt go a seaboord of it, and by & by the mouth of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay standeth in 20 degrees.

Spirito Santo standeth in 20 degrees.

[III. 723.]

The course from the bay de Spirito Santo to the bay of S. Vincent, and the markes thereof. Also the course from Saint Vincent to the river of Plate.

SAiling from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayest goe along the coast, keeping seven or eight leagues off, and must goe to seeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou commest toward Cabo Frio, thou hast a very great bay called Bahia de Salvador, that is, The bay of our Saviour. And from thence thou hast twelve leagues to Cabo Frio.

Baia de Salvador 12 leagues North from Cabo frio.

Two small Islands.

And before thou commest to Cabo Frio, thou hast two small Islands. Thou mayest go safely either a sea boord of them, or else betweene them. Thou shalt understand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Island in the midst of the face or shew thereof, that doth cut off the cape. Thou mayest ride safely on the West side thereof; for all is cleane ground.

The height of Cape Frio in 23 degrees.

Rio de Jenero.

Understand that Cabo Frio standeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Jenero are twelve leagues. And this river of Jenero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Islands. And if thou wilt go into this river de Jenero, thou mayest well goe in betweene two Islands which stand in the entrance of the river on the South side: neere unto this river there is a great hill seeming to bee a man with long haire.

The situation of an hill like a man with long haire by Jenero.

And take this for advise, that if thou be in the height of this river, thou shalt see certaine high hilles within the land, which be like unto organs. And when thou seest these organs, then make accompt thou art right against the river: and comming neere the land thou shalt see a certaine Island very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou must know that the mouth of this river standeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this river to Angra, that is to say, The open haven, thou hast 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except necessitie compell thee.

The organs certaine high hilles.

Angra.

I advise thee, that from this river that I spake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou must goe West-southwest, and Southwest, and West and by South. And thou shalt see a great Island called Isla de San Sebastiano, and to the Southward thereof another small Island very high, called the Island of Alcatrarzas, that is to say, The Island of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous shoalds. And from hence thou mayest go West, and so thou shalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou shalt see an Island. And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou must leave this Island to the Westward. And understand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou shalt see many other Islands, and one among the rest to the seaward. And having these sights, thou hast the best markes that bee for these Islands, that I have told thee of: and this Island lieth Northwest and Southeast with the mouth of S. Vincent.

A Ilha de San Sebastiano.

The Isle of Alcatrarzas.

Saint Vincent in 24 degrees.

Many Islands about ye mouth of S. Vincent, & one out to the seaward.

[The course

The course from Saint Vincent to the river of Plate.

Cananea.

Rio de San Francisco.

FRom S. Vincent to Cananea thou hast 40 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest and by West. From Cananea to the river of Saint Francisco are fifteene leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest. There is a little Island, which hath as it were two bayes, and a good rode, and is in 26 degrees and a quarter, and towards the maine it is hie and craggie.

Boca de Overniron.

From San Francisco to Boca de Overniron are 26 leagues, and the coast lieth North & South. Also thou must marke that the river of San Francisco hath a great entrance, and 3 small Islands, and to seaward it hath a good road; and the maine is high and craggie.

Ilha de Arvoredo.

From this Boca de Overniron to Ilha de Arvoredo thou hast no great markes be observed: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Island, and is a good road, and hath many Islands, and standeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Island under the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is under the Island.

SantaCatalina a great Island.

Porto de Patos.

Porto de Don Roderigo.

Laguna.

From hence thou shalt have sight of the Isle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Island about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by even with this Iland is Porto de Patos, which standeth in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Roderigo are ten or eleven leagues: and the coast lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all winds, except the Northeast wind.

Rio de Martin de Sousa.

From the Laguna to the river called Rio de Martin de Sousa are 42 leagues. And the coast is somthing high, & lieth Northeast & by North, & Southwest & by South: and it hath an Island 2 leagues into the sea, where ships may ride well. And from the river of Martin de Sousa to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest. [III. 724.]

Rio de S. Pedro.

From this river of San Pedro there lieth a point of sand a good league off and more, and it lyeth on the Southwest side of the port. And from thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and all is lowe land.

Cabo de Santa Maria.

Also on the Southeast side of Cabo de Santa Maria there lyeth an Isle two leagues off into the sea, and it hath a good harborough betwixt it and the mayne. And note that the mayne is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria standeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Island a league into the sea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the sayd river of Plate to the Streight of Magelane.

THe cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. From thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other side of the river, are 30 leagues Northnortheast, & Southsouthwest. And this is the broadest place of the river. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke grosse land. And thou must marke that 25 leagues a seaboord the mouth of the river there lie certaine sands, which be called Baixos de los Castellanos.

Baixos de los Castellanos.

He that falleth with the Cape of Santa Maria must take good heede to go Southeast untill hee be in 36 degrees, and from thence Southsoutheast untill 36 degrees and a halfe, giving the sayd sholds de los Castellanos a breadth: and also taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when hee findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and russet sand, then he must goe Southwest and by South, untill he be in 40 degrees: where hee shall find great store of weedes, which come from the coast, and a man may go 20 leagues from the shore in this sounding.

Cabo de Arenas Gordas.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the Cape de Arenas Gordas are eight & forty leagues, and the coast lieth Northeast and Southwest, and by East, and by West: and in the first eighteene leagues is the river called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and sholds, give them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy selfe in forty fadomes to goe surely.

Rio de S. Anna.

Cape de S. André.

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues: it lieth Northeast and by East, and Southwest by West: I meane when thou art in the middest with an equall distance from them both. And betweene both the capes are many bayes and rivers, but all full of sandie sholdes.

Baia Anegada.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The sunken bay, are 30 leagues Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. It standeth in 40 degrees, rather lesse then more.

Punta de Tierra llana.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. This point lyeth in 41 degrees and a halfe. And from this point to Baia sin fondo, that is to say The bottomlesse bay, are 35 leagues Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. This bay standeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather lesse then more.

Baia sin fondo.

Cabo redondo. Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia sin fondo to Cabo Redondo, & Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, somewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compasse about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, so thou mayest passe through the Baia sin fondo along the shore: for there is water enough.

Note that from the river of Plate to this place is never a good harbour for great shipping.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees & better.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coast is cleane, and a man may come nigh unto the land:

And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after hee bee in 43 degrees or more, hee must have a care to looke out for certaine small rockes which lie neere the land, and lie North of the harbour.

Take good heede of these little rocks.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or The cape of shrubs, are 30 leagues North & South, halfe a point to the East and to the West: and betwixt them there is a great bay very long: And to the Northwest 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a river lying East and West: and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The river of shrimps. You shall know when you fall with this river, by seeing many white spots upon the water, and they are small shrimps.

Cabo de Matas.

Rio de Camarones.

From this river to Cabo redondo the coast lieth Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

Cabo redondo in 45 *degrees & a halfe large.*

From this sayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to say, to The white cape and white cliffes are 32 leagues lying North and by East and South and by West: and they stand in 47 degrees.

Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas in 47 *degrees.*

[III. 725.]

From this Cape the coast lyeth towards the North side Northwest about three leagues all full of white cliffes steepe up: and the last cliffe is the biggest both in length and height, and sheweth to be the saile of a ship when it is under saile. These white cliffes are 6 in number. And this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that sheweth to bee an Island afarre off: and it hath certaine poynts of rockes hard by it. And two Cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. Above these white cliffes the land is plaine and even: and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wish thee to take good heed.

People to be taken heed of.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the first fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which shewe themselves. And on the South side of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the middest.

A good harbour.

From Cabo Blanco to Puerto de San Julian are 37 leagues, and the coast lyeth North and by East and South and by West. This harbour of S. Julian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which afarre off seeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the chanell is deepest in the middest: and thou must borrow neerer the North side then to the South. Within the harbour are two Islands: thou must come to an anker hard to them. This haven lyeth in 49 degrees. And betweene Cabo Blanco and this harbour are The Islands of Ascension, and they be eight. From this said harbour to the hill of S. Yves are 35 leagues; the coast lyeth Northeast & Southwest: it is a low land and even and hath onely one hill, and it is a plaine from one part to the other, and hath certaine cliffes to seaward, and to the Southward, and to the South side it hath certaine little copples: it standeth in 50 degrees large.

The port of Saint Julian.

Ilhas de Ascensaom.

Morro de Santo Yves, in 50 degrees large.

From the hill of S. Yves to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeast and Southwest: and on the Northside of the river it hath a very high land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad, layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both sides hath as it were saddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the sea: and when thou hast sight of this land, it is good for thee to keepe from it a good bredth off. And going from thence thou mayest runne in sight of the land in 25 fathoms.

Rio de Cruz.

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeast and Southwest; and it standeth in 52 degrees and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the highest of the sayd land it is plaine, and to the Northeast it is a pike up, and hath certaine white cliffes: and on the toppe and something downewarde it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eastward thereof it hath certaine steps like a lather: and to the sea it hath a sharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almost halfe a league. To the Southward of this Cape where the lather is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance

Rio de Galegos and the marks thereof.

of Rio de Galegos, it ebbeth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man must have a great care how he goeth in here for the cause abovesaid: but he must keepe himselfe out and not anker in it.

In the mouth of Rio de Galegos it ebbeth and floweth 12 *fathomes.*

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coast lyeth Northnorthwest & Southsoutheast: 8 leagues unto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white cliffes with certaine blacke spots in them; and they be caused with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayest come to an anker hard aboord the shore, and hast a good defence for a Southwest wind. And the Cape it selfe is the highest land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the East side a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of sand, with divers sands which shewe themselves at a lowe water: thou must take great heede heere and give them a good bredth halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, until thou bring the Cape Westnorthwest, and then thou mayest stirre away Southwest. And when thou commest to the lower land and into tenne or twelve fathoms, then art thou over against la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Jesus was builded, East and West with the sayd cape right against a cliffe, which commeth from the sayd Cape, and goeth within the Streits. This Cape standeth in 52 degrees just.

Cabo de la virgin Maria.

Ciudad de Nombre de Jesus called by M. Candish Port Famine, because he found al the Spaniards famished, and the towne it selfe utterly abandoned, and ruined. Where Nombre de Jesus stood.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that commeth neere this Cape, and passeth by it as I have said with the wind at Northeast, or any other wind off the sea inclining to the Southeast, must not come to anker, but presently be sure to passe by; because in Sommer this place is much subject to Southwest winds, which blow right in: and they put a man from his tackle, & make him to loose his voyage. And from March forwards there blow favourable winds from the sea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits, from this said Cape the Streits go in to the Northwest 14

Southwest winds raigne much here in Sommer.

From March forward the winds are favourable for the Streits.

[III. 726.]

leagues: and the chanell waxeth narrower and narrower unto the first Streit which runneth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest. And comming out of the mouth thereof a man must keepe himselfe a poynt to the Northward, because there be rocks and shoalds. And if you see beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them: and after you be past this Streight you must stirre Westsouthwest 8 leagues unto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the Northwest to the Southwest. But men must beware and not trust the Indians of this Cape: for they be subtill and will betray a man.

Cabo de San Gregorio a good roadstead for any winds from the Northwest to the Southwest.

The Indians about Cape de San Gregorio in the Streits are very trecherous.

From this Cape beginneth the second Streit which is called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest 3 leagues. And comming out of this Streit thou shalt see 3 little Islands, lying West off this Streit: thou mayest go betweene them, for there is no danger: provided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both sides, lest thou bee imbayed. And from these Islands thou must keepe forwards in the chanell Westsouthwest two leagues: and then the coast lyeth North and South unto 53 degrees and a halfe, unto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the Northwest thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou must come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art past the castle and a great tree.

The second Streit called Nuestra Sennora de Gracia.

Punta de Santa Anna in 53 deg. and a halfe.

Rincones.

La Ciudad del don Philippe: which is now utterly ruined.

TWO VOYAGES

Of certaine Englishmen to the river of Plate situate in 35 degrees of southerly latitude: together with an exact ruttier and description thereof, and of all the maine branches, so farre as they are navigable with small barkes, by which river the Spaniards of late yeeres have frequented an exceeding rich trade to and from Peru, and the mines of Potossi, as also to Chili, and other places.

A report of a voyage of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastian Cabota, intended for the Malucos by the Streights of Magellan, but perfourmed onely to the river of Plate in April 1527. Taken out of the information of M. Robert Thorne to Doctor Ley Ambassadour for King Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, touching the discovery of the Malucos by the North.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot discovered the river of Plate, 1526. *Two Englishmen went with Cabot in this discovery.*

IN a flote of three ships and a caravell that went from this citie of Sivil armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partner have one thousand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the sayd fleete, principally for that two Englishmen, friendes of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same ships, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the navigation of those seas, and there to have informations of many other things, and advise that I desire to know especially. Seeing in those quarters are ships and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much unlike ours: that they should procure to have the sayd cards, and learne how they understand them, and especially to know what navigation they have for those Islands Northwards and Northeastward.

The Islands of the Malucos.

For if from the said Islands the sea doth extend without interposition of land to saile from the North point to the Northeast point one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to The new found Islands that we discovered, & so we should be neerer to the said Spicerie by almost 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugall are.

The New found Ilands discovered by the English.

An extract out of the discourse of one Lopez Vaz a Portugal, touching the fight of M. Fenton with the Spanish ships, with a report of the proceeding of M. John Drake after his departing from him to the river of Plate.

UPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the streits of Magellan, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ships in England preparing for the same streits, he commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23 ships, and 3500 men to stoppe the passage of the Englishmen.

There went in this fleete the governour of Chili, with 500 olde souldiers that came out of Flanders: but this was the unhappiest fleet of ships that ever went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away five of the fleete and in them above 800 men, and the

Five ships of this fleete cast away on the coast of Spaine.

[III. 727.]

rest came into Cadiz. But the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so there went out on the voyage 16 of the shippes, for two more of their fleete were much spoyled by the storme which they had.

In these sixteene shippes Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee governour in the straites, and had assigned unto him 500 men to stay there with him, and hee carried with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other necessaries, with great store of ordinance and other munition.

This fleete wintred in the river of Jenero.

This fleete because it was late, did winter on the coast of Brasil, in the river of Jenero: and from thence they went when the winter was past, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it up and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee lost one of the best ships he had, which had in her 300 men and 20 women, that went to inhabit the Streits: and in this ship also was most part of the munition which should have bene left in the Streits, so in the end the storme grew to bee so great, that the ships were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe unto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were some fryers going for the river of Plate: which friers told him of two great English ships, and a pinnesse, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships.

M. Fenton took these fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and choosing 10 ships of the 15 that were left, hee left two ships which were not in case to goe to sea at the Island, and into the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme hee put all the women and sicke men in all the fleete, and sent them to the river of Jenero, and he with the other 10 returned again for the Streits.

The three ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ships before mentioned.

A fight betwixt our 2 English ships & three Spanish ships.

They victual at Spirito Santo.

They woulde have had the English men to have gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these three ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might have sunke another, if the Englishmen would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Englishmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey.

The cause why these English shippes under the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the streits, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

John Drake proceedeth on to the river of Plate.

But the pinnesse of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine John Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the pinnesse came into the river of Plate, and within five leagues of Seale Island, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands shippes did take in fresh water, shee was cast away upon a ledge of rockes: but the men were saved in their boat, which were in number 18, who went ashore on the Northside, and went a dayes journey into the land, and met with the Savages which are no men-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaves.

Richard Faireweather remayneth in the river of Plate.

But the Englishmen fought with them and the Savages slew five of them, and tooke 13 alive, which were with the Savages about 15 moneths. But the Master of the pinnesse, whose name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and having knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the river, he in a night called John Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, & so passed to the other side of the river, which is about 19 leagues broade, and were three dayes before they could get over without meat: and comming to land, they hit upon an high way that went towardes the Christians: and seeing the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house where there was corne sowed, and there they met with Indians servants unto the Spaniards, which gave them meate, and clothes to cover them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Englishmen; so the Captaine sent foure horsemen, who brought them to the towne behind them.

John Drake sent to the Viceroy of Peru.

[III. 728.]

This Captaine clothed them, and provided lodging for them, and John Drake dieted at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purposing to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru having newes hereof, sent for them, and so John Drake was sent to him, but the other two were kept there, because they were married in the countrey, so that I know no more of their affaires.

Upon this comming of the Englishmen, there were prepared 50 horsemen to goe over the river to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and also certaine Spaniards that were among the savage people, but I am not certaine, whether they went forward or not.

[A ruttier

A ruttier which declareth the situation of the coast of Brasil from the Isle of Santa Catelina unto the mouth of the river of Plata, and all along up within the sayd river, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is navigable with small barks.

The Isle of Santa Catelina. Rio Grande.

FRom the Isle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) unto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This river by another name is called Ygai. The Island of Santa Catelina is sixe leagues in length: It hath two small Ilands on the North side betweene the maine land and it: and on the South side it hath a shoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere unto the poynt of the Isle. You are to passe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Isle.

Puerto de Biaza, or Laguna.

From Santa Catelina to the haven of Biaza, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelve leagues: it is a good haven within: but you must stay the full sea to enter into it, because it hath shoaldes in the mouth, and it may be knowen by a small Island which lyeth a league into the sea which is called La Isla de Raparo, that is The Island of succour or defence, and you must ride there to search the chanell.

Isla de raparo.

Rio Grande.

From this harbour unto the river before named there is no haven for a ship to harbour it selfe. And Rio Grande hath many shoalds in the mouth thereof. It is a river that none but very small shippes can enter into. And this river divideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guavaes. And from this river unto the entrance of the mouth of the river of Plate it is al a plaine land, and very low: you must saile all along two or three leagues into the sea from the shore, untill you come to certaine Islands which lye twelve leagues from the mouth of the river of Plate.

Certaine Ilands 12 leagues distant from the mouth of the river of Plate, which are 3 in number.

From Rio Grande unto these Islands are 68 leagues. And from these Islands unto the Cape of Saint Marie the coast runneth Northeast and Southwest, somewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Islands are three, and may be knowen as you come from the sea by two poynts, which shew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betweene them and the maine.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Island which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the sea. You may sayle betweene the maine and that Island, because there is above 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary standeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The Cape of S. Marie.
An Island a league an halfe from Cape Saint Marie.
Isla de Lobos.

The Cape of Santa Maria upon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which standeth over against the Isle of Seales. From this coast of Santa Maria you must coast along the land alway on the North shore, and along the same are certaine Bayes. From the Cape unto the river of Solis are tenne leagues, the coast runneth East and West. There standeth an Island over against the mouth thereof. From this river of Solis unto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes unto the Isles of Saint Graviel are other 8 or 9 leagues more: all this distance runneth East and West. These are five small Islands: to ride here you must keepe somewhat neere the maine within an harquebuze shot halfe a league before you come at the Islands, and straightway you shall see a crosse ✛ standing on the said land, and there is an harbour for some winds.

The way to enter into the river of Plate.
Rio de Solis 10 *leagues within the Cape.*
Los tres Mogotes 3 *leagues.*
Saint Graviel 8 *leagues.*

From Saint Graviel unto the river of Sant Juan going along the same coast, I say on the North shore, are three leagues: it is very well knowen by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this river is very dangerous: because it is shallow, and none but very small shippes can enter into the same: the entrance thereof is on the West side very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this river unto the Isle of Martin Garzia are three leagues: it

Rio de S. Juan 3 *leagues.*
The Isle of Martin Garzia 3 *leagues.*

is one Island alone, and you must sayle along the coast on the North shore: and after you be come unto the Island, I say, over against the same, you shall have three fathoms water, and on the West side it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

Rio de Buenos Aëres on the south side of the river of Plate.

[III. 729.]

He that desireth to crosse over the river of Plate unto the river de Buenos Aëres from the Isles of Saint Graviel, must shape his course Southwest: and the cut over is sixeteene leagues and upon his arrivall on the South shore of the river, hee must seeke a chanell of three fathomes water, and straite he must goe along the coast untill hee come to a broken cliffe and a poynt like unto the firme land, which is distant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou seest this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here upon this river of Buenos Aëres was the first Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoza planted. This river lieth very much hidden: because it is not seene, it is very shallow at a low sea, wherefore you must come in with the first of the flood.

The first Spanish colonie was planted in the river of Buenos Aëres.

The Isles of San Lazaro.

From the Isle of Martin Garzia unto certaine small Islands which are called the Isles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, these are shoalds: and to goe thither you must goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be passed on the North shore, and with small barkes, and with good heede.

Rio Uruay.

Parana is the great river.

From the Isle of Martin Garzia to the mouthes of the river are eight leagues in passing along on this side to seeke one of the mouthes of the river Parana, as it is hereafter described. But you had need first to harbour in a bay, which is in the very cliffe or Barranca, and you must stay for the full sea. And if you fall into the mouth of the river which is called Uruay, you must leave it on the right hand, I say on the North side. And foorthwith leaving the said mouth forward toward the West, you may enter into the first mouth although it seeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine river.

And hee that desireth to goe from the Isle of Martin Garzia to the river of Palmas, which is the best of all these armes, or mouthes to speake more properly, is to shape his course to the West, and comming over to the other shore, and sayling along the coast Northnorthwest hee shall discover the mouth of this river of Palmas: and hee must enter hard by Los Juncales, which lye on the South side: and afterward within is very deepe sounding. All these mouthes of this river which are 5, are full of sholds towards the East above the space of two leagues. And if the course of the water were not swift there, you could not enter into them, as I have already sayd, and you must passe all along with much heede and foresight.

Rio de las Palmas.

And if peradventure you have passed Cape Saint Marie and are come over to Cape Blanco, consider it, that it is so even and smooth a land, that you can scarcely discerne it a league from the maine, unlesse it be a very cleare day: and after this sort the coast lieth low unto the river de Buenos Aëres. And from thence the coast lyeth somewhat high unto the entrance of the river de Palmas: all the coast runneth as I sayd before. And all along this coast are naughty people, which eate those which they kill, and many Tygers.

Cape Blanco on the South side of the mouth of the river of Plate a very low and even land.

Man-eaters upon the south shore.

From the Isle of Martin Garzia unto Sant Salvador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Island which standeth two leagues within the first mouth: where Sebastian Cabota tooke possession. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you must beware of all these people: for they are your deadly enemies. The most Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is sixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The river of palme trees: and forthwith it entreth into the river Parana, as soone as these sixteene leagues are finished. All the other armes containe likewise sixteene leagues in length, saving one small or narrowe arme, which is called The river de los Beguaes; for this containeth fortie leagues in length. From this

Sant Salvador an Island ten leagues off. Sebastian Cabota.

16. *Leagues.*

Santo Spirito 50 leagues from Rio de Palmas.

you must enter by the mouth of the river of Palmas unto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to passe still along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the West shore up this river there are many Isles, lakes and small rivers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

Los Tenbuis a people. 15. Leagues.

The Quiloacas 20. leagues.

From Santo Spirito unto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fifteene leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they passe into the river Parana: it is the more because it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme upward unto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all up this river is great store of people.

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna, 15. leagues.

The Mequaretas a people. 20 leagues.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now have builded a towne, are fifteene leagues. From this towne unto the people called Los Mequaretas is twentie leagues. Here are many sholds which continue thirtie leagues. All these thirtie leagues are sunken landes: where are many Isles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

The Mepenes 30 leagues.

8. leagues.

From the Mequaretas unto the people called Mepenes are these thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coasts of the firme land unto the mouth of the river Paraguai; saving that there are eight leagues more of sunken ground.

The river Paraguai.

The 7. currents.

[III. 730.]

The towne of Piquiri or Picora 170 leagues up the river of Parana.

From the Mepenes unto the mouth of the river of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a river that cannot be mistaken although it hath many armes and Islands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the East side, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediatly above these currents there is an Island as you passe up the river over against the poynt aforesaid standeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found in seeking whereof a man cannot be deceived. From this mouth the river of Parana is divided, which is a very great river: and it goeth unto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and seventie leagues: and it runneth all this space

North and South, and in the way are many flats and shoalds; and great store of people, which are a bad nation, although they bee divided. From the place where these two rivers are divided, that is to say, from the mouth of Paraguai are sixtie leagues unto the citie of Assumption. This is a good river, and better to sayle then all the rest of the rivers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xaraes are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of divers nations, which serve the Spanyards.

The citie of Assumption, or Ascension 60. *leagues from the mouth of Paraguai.*

200. *leagues from Assumption subject to the Spaniard, to the citie of Xaraes.*

THE TWO FAMOUS VOYAGES

Happily perfourmed round about the world, by Sir Francis Drake, and M. Thomas Candish Esquire, together with the rest of our English voyages intended for the South Sea, the kingdomes of Chili, Peru, the backe side of Nueva Espanna, the Malucos, the Philippinas, the mightie empire of China, though not so happily perfourmed as the two former: whereunto are annexed certaine rare observations touching the present state of China, and the kingdome of Coray, lately invaded by Quabacondono the last monarch of the 66. princedomes of Japan.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of five ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth haven in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke us, as few men have seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut over boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and having recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The Isle of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a javeling, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping over rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away: so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting [III. 731.] along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gave chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Caravels and tooke them also.

Januarie. The 17. day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we tooke of the Fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld us, and leaving heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with us one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with us one of the Portugall Caravels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

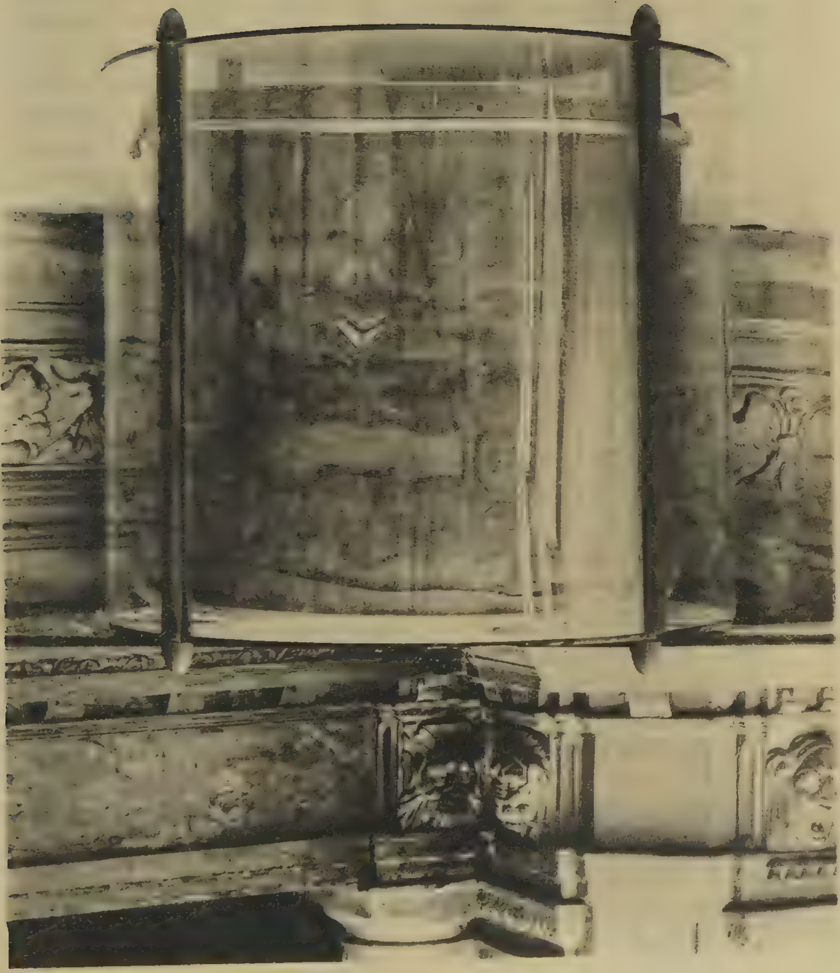
The Isle of Mayo. The master or Pilot of that Caravel did advertise our Generall that upon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of January, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with us, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) having travailed to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day breake, we arrested our selves to see day before us, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

Here we gave our selves a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded us: and that season being with us the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith over their heads, by meanes whereof they have two Summers, & being so neere the heate of the line, they never lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites have their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, save onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it.



DRAKE'S DRUM

The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big every severall fruite as a mans head: but having taken off the uttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall have a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selves with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of *Cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our provision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Or goates.

The Isle of S. Iago.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three peeces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who having bin slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

[III. 732.]

Being before this Island, we espied two ships under sayle, to the one of which wee gave chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeelded unto us

A prize, and Nuno da Silva a Portugall Pilot taken. good store of wine: which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnesse, giving them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The isle of Fogo. The same night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Island: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Island, because the Portugals have built, and doe inhabite there.

Upon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke upon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave Island. From the bankes thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no convenient roade for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was never found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Brava are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subject to divers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast *Aprill.* of Brasil, which we saw the fift of April in ye height *33. Degrees.* of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils, about which they use conjurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay upon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds in every place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have bene divers experiments.

The seventh day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleventh day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Joy, where every ship tooke in some water. Heere we found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but traveiling further into the countrey, we perceived the footing of people in the clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selves betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and upon this rocke we killed for our provision certaine sea-wolves, commonly called with us Seales.

The Cape of Joy.

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entred the great river of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 55. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Bay wherein were many, and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the

Their entrance into the river of Plate.

Abundance of Seales.

least have laden all our Shippes, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of divers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receive any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast upon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very active.

May. The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to have a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore indevouring to seeke the Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, [III. 733.] came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. or 300. in the space of an houre.

The Flie-boat cast off and burnt. Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the provision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, saving only about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, every man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of

The people of the countrey.

warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receive any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

Having dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly upon our setting foorth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gave her over neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of Good hope.

June.

The next day after being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selves againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

Port S. Julian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went ashore to the maine, and in his companie, John Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliver the Master gunner, John Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie having in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Savages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly have bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his private affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the private respect of one man: so that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee having embraced our Generall and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes majestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made divers speaches to the whole company, perswading us to unitie, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receive the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his businesse.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

August.
The streight of Magellan.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Julian, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The 21. day we entred The streight, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleete recovering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could. [III. 734.]

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narow river or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselves above their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are covered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, even as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The bredth of the streights of Magellan.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narowest place hath a league over.

Abundance of foule in the streight.

The 24. of August we arrived at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selves throughly therewith.

September.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seventh day wee were driven by a great storme from the entring into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seven fold.

57. *Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude.*

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of severing of friends) wee were driven backe to the Southward of the streights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anker among the Islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entered traffique with us for such things as they had.

Botero writeth that another hath found this place all Islands.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

M. Winter separated and returned.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

The trending of the coast of Chili.

Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall Maps have described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto discovered, or at the least not truely reported for the space of 12. degrees at the

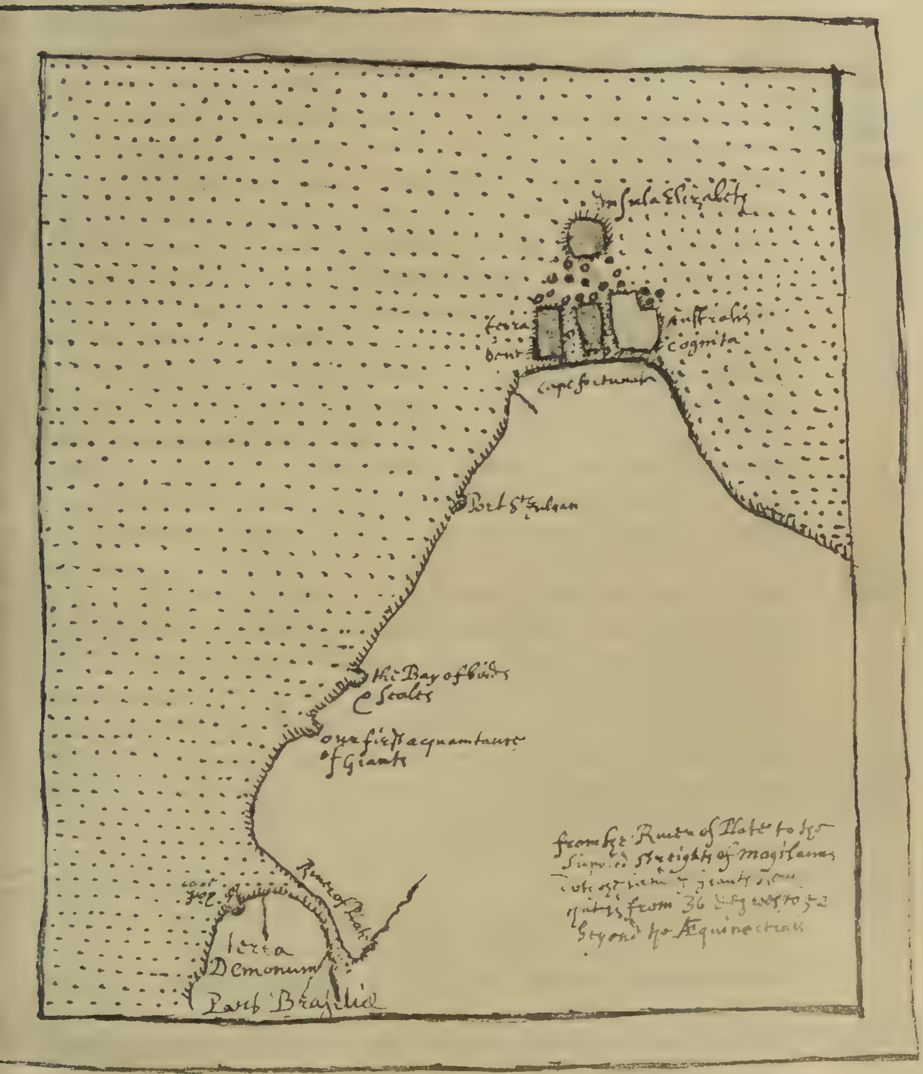

Insula Elizabeth
terra bona
australis cognita
Cape fortunate
Port St Julian
the Bay of birds & seales
our first acquaintance of Giants
River of Plate
terra Demonum
Pars Brasiliae
from the River of Plate to the
supposed Streights of Magellanes
[illegible] giants [illegible]
which is from 36 degrees to 52
beyond the Æquinoctiall

CHART OF CAPE HORN

least, being set downe either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of November with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselves in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to us to the water side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to us potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall received and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to shew no favour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

The Isle la Mocha in 38. *degrees and* 30. *minutes.*

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards, came to us and tolde us, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gave him [III. 735.] divers trifles, wherof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

The port of Valparizo in 33. *degrees* 40. *minutes.*

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed us with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to us: but as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spanyards, and sayd unto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards

Wine of Chili.

seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them under hatches all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrivall.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

They of the towne being not above 9. housholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher his minister.

Wine of Chili.

John Griego a Pilot taken.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with us, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the haven of Lima.

Gold of Baldivia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees 30. minutes.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and above. So going on our course, wee arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200 footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

Tarapaza.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaza, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of silver, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish; we tooke the silver, and left the man.

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses; every of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine silver: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of silver.

Arica in 18. *deg.* 30. *min.*

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would have ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

Lima in 11. *deg.* 50. *minutes.*

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the haven, we found there about twelve sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, having all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, having never bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to have found her: but before wee arrived there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her 80.li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe [III. 736.] of gold with goodly great Emerauds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

The rich ship called the Cacafuego taken.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoever could first descrie her, should have his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that John Drake going up into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her Misen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of silver. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

Cape de San Francisco in 1. degree to the North.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of silver, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Senior Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needes have one of them: which the Pilot because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our Generals ships.

When this Pilot departed from us, his boy sayde thus unto our Generall: Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretie speach of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed.

China-silks, and Porcellan.

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

Guatulco.

This Pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told us, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this haven, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, being associate with three other officers, upon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges & prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other jewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugal Pilot set on land.

The Island of Canno.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugall: and having set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

A ship with a governour for the Islands of Philippinas.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Governour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas: wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, hee being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the streights in the South sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoalds and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Islandes of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

Upon this resolution, hee beganne to thinke of his [III. 737.] best way to the Malucos, and finding himselfe where he now was becalmed, he saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June.

June.

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backside of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude.

The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

38. *Degrees.*

A description of the people and Countrey of Nova Albion.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set upon them, joyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, have the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselves: where one appointed for speaker wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

A long oration.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to us with a princely majestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marveilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of divers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are

Chaines like those of Canada.

stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & having in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete, continuing halfe [III. 738.] an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guarde, and every degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and daunce, saving onely the women, which daunced & kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that hee would take their province and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to perswade us the better, the King and the rest, with one

The King resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majestie he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The like they did in Hochelaga.

The common sorte of people leaving the King and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of every person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and oyntments, agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greevous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorow. They intreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his company travailed up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

Great herdes of Deere.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Abundance of strange conies.

Our Generall called this Countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Nova Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken up, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold or silver.

Golde and silver in the earth of Nova Albion.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Their departure.

October.

Certaine Islands in 8. degrees.

Strange Canoas, like those of Java.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, having in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. [III. 739.] Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, having a prowe, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a braverie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

This people have the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Islands. Leaving this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

Wee continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamom.

November. The 14. of November we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (having directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his Canoa to us without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee *The Isle of Ternate.*

should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to doe with us, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our General resolved to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a velvet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffique: whereby the King was mooved with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should have what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreover that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we served. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at present.

The king of Ternate offreth himselfe and his kingdome to the service of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in every one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, having over their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a covering of thinne perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reedes for the same use, under which every one did sit in his order according to his

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, divers of whom beeing of good age and gravitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also divers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in every of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, calivers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also every Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde upon a stocke set upright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning with great gravitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that ye king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

[III. 740.]

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marveilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

Sagu a kinde of meale.

At length the King craved leave of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send us such victuals, as were necessarie for our provision: so that the same night we received of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloves.

The King having promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the King's brother, reserving the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were received of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

A castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. grave personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsel. There were besides 4. grave persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12. launces covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shooes, made of Cordovan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof

Romanes and Turks Ligiers in Ternate.

The majestie of the King.

were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire jewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moove it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counsell.

Ternate the chiefest of the Maluco-isles.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, observing certaine new Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

A litle Island to the Southward of Celebes.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yeeld us: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine litle Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graved our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26. dayes. This Island is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, save onely in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose bodies beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if every twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one

Fiery worms.

Bats.
Cravishes.

whereof was sufficient for 4. hungry stomacks at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselves holes in the earth like Conies.

When wee had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Malucos: but having at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie wee recovered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and lives. For of all other dayes upon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly upon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indevour to save our selves, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selves most happily of the danger.

Januarie in anno 1579.

[III. 741.]

Their danger upon a rocke.

We lighted our ship upon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloves, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

Cloves.

The helpe of a current in the deliverie.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateve, having in the meane time suffered

Februarie.

Barateve Island.

many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a civill behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releeve our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, saving their heads and privities, every man having something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are covered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets upon their armes, for some had 8. upon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece.

Linen-cloth good marchandize.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Nutmegs and long Peper growing in Barateve.

Their fruits be divers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with divers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened upon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Commendation of the Island of Barateve.

At our departure from Barateve, we set our course for Java major, where arriving, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is governed by 5. Kings, whom they call Rajah: as Rajah Donaw, and

Java major.

Rajah Mang Bange, and Rajah Cabuccapollo, which live as having one spirite, and one minde.

Red & greene clothes much esteemed.

Of these five we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of silke, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The manners of the people of Java.

The Maluccians hate that their women should bee seene of strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the kings themselves.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well provided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They have an house in every village for their common assembly: every day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, having a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that every person sitting at the table may eate, one rejoycing in the company of another.

A strange fashion of boyling rice.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they have ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make divers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

[III. 742.]
The French pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawen out. Not long before our departure, they tolde us, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

The Cape of Buena Esperanza not so dangerous as the Portugals have given out.

From Java Major we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, untill we came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, never without intolerable stormes and present danger to travailers, which come neere the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

Sierra Leona.
Oister-trees.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessarie provisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters upon trees of one kind, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arrived in England the third of November 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Java at the time of our English mens being there.

Raja Donaw.
Raja Rabacapala.
Raja Bacabatra.
Raja Tymbanton.
Raja Mawgbange.
Raja Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Java, learned and observed by our men there.

Sabuck, silke.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.
Larnike, drinke.
Paree, ryce in the huske.

Braas, sodden ryce.
Calapa, Cocos.
Cricke, a dagger.
Catcha, a looking glasse.
Arbo, an oxe.
Vados, a goate.
Cabo, golde.
Gardange, a plantane.
Hiam, a henne.
Sevit, linnen cloth.
Doduck, blew cloth.
Totopps, one of their caps.
Gula, blacke sugar.
Tadon, a woman.
Bebeck, a ducke.
Anjange, a deere.
Popran, oyntment.
Coar, the head.
Endam, raine.
Jonge, a shippe.
Chay, the sea.
Sapelo, ten in number.
Dopolo, twentie.
Treda, no.
Lau, understand you.
Bayer, goe.
Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Suda, ynough.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called Nuno da Silva for the Vice-roy of new Spaine, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugall-Indies: wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake that tooke the aforesayd Nuno da Silva at S. Iago one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and caried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Haven of Guatulco in new Spaine, where he let him goe againe. 1579.

NUno da Silva borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of November in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his course to Cabo Verde, or The greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe close by the Haven of the Island of Sant Iago, one of the Islandes of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of

[III. 743.] January in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the Admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboord the Admirals shippe, leaving some of his best men aboord his ship: and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or five times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who having done, set saile from thence to the Island of Brava, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nuno da Silva: being there, they filled certaine vessels with fresh water: from thence holding their course inward to sea, having first with a boat set the men of Nuno da Silvas ship on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silva in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silva saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Brava, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried upon the first of Aprill, under the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, *Rio de Plata.* they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is, The river of silver, lying under five and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and provided themselves of fresh water.

From thence they helde on their course till they came under nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silva being one) till they came to the Bay called *Bay de las Islas.* Baya de las Islas, that is, The Bay of the Ilands, lying under nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discovered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of June they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with skinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtill, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they leapt on land, foure of the Indians came unto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gave bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde upward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saved themselves in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seventeenth of August, upon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and five and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or five dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred.

The description of The streit of Magellan.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe: And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the Streight lieth Westward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay covered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a [III. 744.] harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, having nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side in some places having plaine and even land: and there they sawe not any great rivers, but some small rivers that issued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoas or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, upon the sixt of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force drave them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelve dayes with few sailes up: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driving till the last of September.

The 24 day of the same moneth having lost the sight of one of their shippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoised saile because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seven dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seven dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed Westsouthwest.

This was the Elizabeth M. John Winters ship.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silva was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were under seven and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a haven of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small unhabited Island, where being arrived, they stroke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

They were driven unto 57. degrees of southerly latitude.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course Northnortheast, and North, to another Island lying five or sixe leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelve fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelve Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals: and being landed upon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things,

The Isle of Mocha in 38. deg. 30. min.

brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe unto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelve men being harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell upon the two Englishmen and tooke them: which they in the boat perceiving, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones & arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the Captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with an other arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the haven called Sant Iago, and put into another haven, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoa, giving him linnen and butchers chopping knives, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their shippe called Felippe, and he spake Spanish, he gave the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the haven of Sant Iago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd haven of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seven hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which having done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine sackes with meale, with whatsoever they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two

Sir Francis Drake wounded.

men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that haven, which lyeth under 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came under one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

The haven of S. Iago in 32 degrees and a halfe.

[III. 745.]

And comming under thirtie degrees, they found a very good haven, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right over against a river, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelve men upon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceived certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30. leagues, where they entred into a desert or unhabited haven: yet they went not on land, for every day they saw people upon the shore, & there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces wherof they brought ready framed out of England, and having prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called John the Greeke, (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the haven of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Having sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two Canoas who told them that on the firme land they might have fresh water, but they understanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leaving the fishermen with their Canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were upon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiving, presently entred into his pinnesse, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe of the fish that lay packed upon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leaving the said Indians within it, who by night unbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses upon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leaving the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of silver, (every pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seven Indian sheepe, and hennes, & tooke al whatsoever they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the haven called Arica, where they found *Arica.* two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seven and thirty barres of silver, which are peeces of ten or twelve pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said haven, with about seven and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceived on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

The next day in the morning they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship wherof they had intelligence: and having in that maner sailed about five and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a haven, who about two houres before had bene advertised of an English pirate or sea-rover, and had discharged eight hundred barres of silver out of her, and hidden it on the land, which silver belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which silver the English- [III. 746.] men had received some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed up all her sailes and let her drive, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let drive, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Calao de Lima.

Being seven or eight leagues from the haven of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seventeene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the silver, but when answere was made them, that the silver was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arrived a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the silver. Assoone as the ship of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing sent a man on board, who climing up, light upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, used to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee judged it to be a rover, and therewith cutting her cables, shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiving, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they overtooke: which they of the shippe perceiving hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leaving the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sayled on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie, and not long after they perceived two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the shippe of Panama drive, therein leaving John the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe upon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let drive. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and having sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of silver, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they understood should be laden with silver, but the one Pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ship, but to the pinnesse, wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Two dayes after, they came to the haven called Payta, *Payta.* where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boorded, and tooke without any resistance: for assoone as the Spaniards perceived the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship, which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of Panama, which they presently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of silver, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate [III. 747.] to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship drive, following on their course.

A pretie device to make their ship saile more swiftly.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with silver, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heavie before, whereby it sailed not as they would have it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better: and the shippe that sayled towardes Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that used to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece hee shotte her mast overboord, and having wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of silver, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the silver belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the sixt of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at five fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Upon the which day there passed a Frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigat was laden with Salsaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The English Captaine went on boord, and cast the Salsaperilla on the land, leaving all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and having made provision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and having sailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure sailers, that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among

The Island of Canno.

The first sight of Nueva Espanna.

They calke and trimme their ship at the Ile of Canno over against Nicaragua.

the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the governour of the Philippinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselves in their course.

Sea-charts of the South sea taken.

And so sailing untill the sixt of Aprill, about evening they discovered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell upon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one Don Francisco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they woulde, setting therein the two saylers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the haven of Guatulco, where they put in, being upon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and having ankered, they stayed there till the sixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course Westward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silva goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the haven of Guatulco.

They arrive at Guatulco. Aprill 13. Stilo novo.

Nuno da Silva set on land.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperanza, and so to England, as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuno da Silva was with them.

[III. 748.] Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by sir Francis Drake (being in the South sea of New Spaine, in his ship called The Pellican or the Golden Hinde with the ship of Sant John de Anton, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said before: The contents whereof were these:

Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we have made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I have promised to be: Beseeching God, the Saviour of all the world, to have us in his keeping, to whom onely I give all honour, praise and glory. What I have written, is not only to you M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed us, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in adversitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preserve you from all danger, and bring us to our desired haven, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praise for ever and ever. Amen. Your sorowfull Captaine, whose heart is heavy for you: Francis Drake.

[The voyage

The voyage of M. John Winter into the South sea by the Streight of Magellan, in consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight also he returned safely into England the second of June 1579. contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gave out, that the said passage was not repasseable: Written by Edward Cliffe Mariner.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the river of Thamis over the lands ende one good and newe ship called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse being 12 tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The sayd ship with her pinnesse arrived at Plimmouth: in which haven were three ships more, one called the Pellican in burthen 120 tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary provision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15 of November, but were put into Falmouth by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which divers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length the 13 of December wee set forward from thence upon our voyage.

They set forward from Plimmouth the 13. of December.

Cape Cantin.

Asaphi.

The five and twentie of December we had sight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes upon the coast of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Asaphi. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape Southsouthwest about 18 leagues, wee found a little Island called Mogador an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we understood by our men that the haven was without danger, having five fathomes of water fast by the rocks entring in upon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde us: whom our Generall, M. Francis Drake espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captive in the countrey, and partly understoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting up their eyes to heaven, and after looking downe upon the ground, as though they had sworne by heaven and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

Mogador an Island on the coast of Barbary.

These two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and received certaine gifts of our Generall went to shore againe, and our man came aboord also. But the craftie slaves having devised to betray us, came the next day along the sea side with certain camels as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with us: to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giving charge that none of them should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore one of our men more hastie then wise lept to shore; whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set up a Pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought 4 loose out of England: which being finished, the last of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the

[III. 749.]

Foure loose Pinnisses brought out of England.

island, the same way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, having but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doves upon it.

Mogador in 31 degrees and an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Januarie 1578, at which time a more favourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course Southsouthwest, till on the 7 of Januarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinnesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouthwest, carying the sayd Cantars along with us, till the 10 of the sayd moneth, at which time wee found our selves in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Westsouthwest from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by West, untill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinnesse tooke a Portugall caravel. The 15, the Marigold took a caravel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coast being low sandie land, till wee arrived at Cape Blanco. This Cape sheweth it selfe like the corner of a wall upright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is elevated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be 4 starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly under the uppermost; and being so taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwards of the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be just 30 then you be directly under the line.

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees. 4. min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees. 30 min.

Within the sayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, save two. We brought this ship with all the rest which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of Januarie, leaving all the Spaniards there with their ships, saving one Cantar, for which our Generall gave them the Benedict. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, untill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole raysed 15 degrees 15 min. having the winde Northeast or Eastnortheast, which is common on that coast. For it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore: and we kept the sayd course, untill wee came neere the island Bonavista, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till day light the 27 of Januarie: from which time wee ran Southsouthwest, untill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the island of Mayo, being high and hilly land, saving that the North part of the island stretcheth out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker under the West part of this island the 28 day of Januarie, and stayed there untill the 30 of the same. During which time, our General appointed M. John Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe over to the East part of the island with 70 men, to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house having a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds, and melons, in the most dead time of our Winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, having within the utter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleaving fast to the shell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure

The isle of Maio.

Ripe grapes in Januarie.

The Cocos tree.

and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, marveilous comfortable. As we passed through this island the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could have no talke with them.

But we understood by the Portugals which came with us, that they were but servants to those of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none saving some yong kiddes: wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded every man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne over to Sant Iago the same night, being 10 leagues distant from thence: which [III. 750.] seemed to bee a fruitefull island and well peopled. For wee sawe 3 townes on the shore: two of which shot at us, as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the island, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This island hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The isle of Fogo. From hence wee ran Southsouthwest to the isle of Fogo, so called, because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole island being one high mountaine. Two leagues West *Brava.* from the isle of Fogo, is another island called Brava, where the sea is above 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giving unto them our Pinnesse which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of their *Nonnez de Silva.* companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silva. The 2 of February wee set off from Brava, and directed our course Southsoutheast, running so untill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and divers times great showers of raine.

The 17 day wee were right under the line, which is the most fervent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we susteined such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stove, or hote-house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediatly they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, untill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

Flying fishes.

Continuall raine at certaine seasons neere the Equinoctial.

From hence wee directed our course towards the Southsouthwest untill the 5 of Aprill; at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the same day. This land is very lowe neere the sea; and hie mountaines up within the countrie.

Land in 31 degrees. 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial.

From hence we ran towardes the Southsouthwest, untill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little island, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the river of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. From this island wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker under a Cape, which our General called Cape Joy. Here every ship tooke in fresh water. Then we

Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the River of Plate.

departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the West-southwest, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously under the same for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there untill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne over to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the river of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southsouthwest and Northnortheast, and is shold 3 or 4 leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

From hence we ran toward the Southwest, having much foule weather and contrary windes, untill the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our General, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so tooke up the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a Southeast winde, that they were not able to recover their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other stayed untill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode under the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, saving that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles upon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with [III. 751.] certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not understand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the same place againe: but hee had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Ostriches, and other sea foules, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of divers colours, which together with the victuals our General brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, save the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran without the cape to the Northwardes, & sent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leaving the Marigold and the Canter to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which lost us the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly-boat, and ran her upon the maine, where we broke her up for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set

Ostriches and sea foules.

The description of certaine Savages.

themselves in array very orderly casting their companie into the forme of a ring, every man having his bow and arrowes: who (when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, shewing themselves very pleasant, insomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them having their faces spotted with divers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certeine skinne (wherein they wrap themselves) not reaching so low as to cover their privy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, saving that they weare certaine roules upon their heads, whose ends hang over their shoulders. Every one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, having heads, framed very strangely & cunningly of a flint stone. They be much given to mirth and jollity, and are very sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew above 200 in the space of one houre upon a litle island.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we discharged our Canter and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with our Prize the 19 of June, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which Magellan named Port S. Julian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against Magellan, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore upon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons, having bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our men making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and having a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force of our bowes, with the which shot his string broke: whereupon the Patagons presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. Gunner, who had a caliver ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he levelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had stript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes under his head, and so left him untouched, saving that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I have seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peradventure the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would have come thither so soone to have disproved them in this & divers [III. 752.] others of their notorious lies: wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world. The last of June M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answere, was accused, and convicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of July

The port of Sant Julian.

Two of our men slaine by the Patagons.

The execution of M. Thomas Doughtie.

1578, whose body was buried in the said island, neer to them which were slaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had such weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed up our ships, and made provision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with 3 ships the 17 of August about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discoverer thereof. Wee found the mouth of the streights to be 52 degrees ½ Southward of Equinoctial. In this streight, we found the sea to have no such current as some do imagine, (following the course of the primum mobile from East to West) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as upon other coasts, rising 5 fathoms upright. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth it selfe so far into the streights, that it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the West-north-west into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 degrees and ⅓. 30 leagues within the streights there be 3 islands. To the greatest our general gave the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, because we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the 3 he named S. Georges island. Here we staied one day & victualled our selves with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that isle, and whose flesh is not farre unlike a fat goose here in England: they have no wings, but short pineons which serve their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat blacke mixt with white spots under their belly, and about their necke. They walke so upright, that a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the island is full. So that to take them we had staves with hookes fast to

The entrance of the streight of Magellan.

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the streight.

Abundance of sea foules on S. Georges island in the streight of Magellan.

the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of us was able to handle them alive. The land on both parts is very high: but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hills and craggy rocks do exalt themselves, whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of strange and unknown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made provision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Deseado into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly against us, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs which continued so more then 3 weeks, that we could beare no saile, at which time we were driven 57 degr. to the south pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipsed, & began to be darkened presently after the setting of the sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The said ecclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we lost the Marigold, the Generals shippe and the Elizabeth running to the East-ward to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we lost company of M. Drake the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the shore, to the end that if M. Drake should come into the streights, hee might finde us. After wee went into a

High hils on both sides of the streight.

Cape Deseado where they entred into the South sea.

They were driven to 57 degrees Southward.

They loose M. Drakes company.

sound, where we stayed for the space of 3 weekes and named it The port of Health, for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold, and evill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recover their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being 20 inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

The voyage given over.

We came out of this harbour the first of November, giving over our voiage by M. Winters compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to have winds to serve his turne for Peru, as also of M. Drakes safetie. So we came backe againe through the streights to S. Georges Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

They returned out of The streight the 11 of November, having entred into The south sea the 6 of September.

[III. 753.]

And thus wee passed by Cape Victorie out of the streights the 11 of November, directing our course to the North-east, till the last of this moneth. What time wee arrived at an island which lyeth at the mouth of the river of Plate. Upon this island there is such an infinite number of seales, as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were upon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set up a Pinnesse, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then give place, unlesse mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

Sant Vincent in Brasil in 24 degrees.

When our Pinnesse was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and afterward departed the first of Januarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arrived at an island which lieth on the coast of Brasil, neere to a towne called sant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almost under the Tropicke of Capricorne. Here, by reason of fowle weather we lost our Pinnesse, and 8 men in her, and never saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast us upon the shore before wee were aware, insomuch that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fal another anker; in weighing whereof our men were sore spoiled. For the capstan ranne about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and divers others were sore hurt. At last wee gote up our anker and set sayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade under an island and tooke in wood and water.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Brasil.

And while we stayed here, there came 3 Portugals aboord us in a canoa, to knowe what wee would have, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answere: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with us: whereat they greatly marveiled. For they saide that they never heard of any English ship to have bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, having one of our men with them to speake with the Governour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboord us with one Portugal and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two small Oxen, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: also Pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gave to them, linnen cloth, combes, knives, and other trifles. In the meane time the Governour of the towne sent word that we should have nothing, unlesse we would bring our shippe into the haven. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to have gotten us within their danger, nevertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our ship, as though wee would have gone in; but we never meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iland called the isle of Sant Sebastian; where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed us, if a Brasillian one of their slaves had not bene. For he stole from them, & shewed unto us by signes, that the Portugals were comming with their canoas to take us, as it fell out in deed : for the next morning they shewed themselves with 12 or 16 canoas, some of them having 40 men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had sight of the Cape of sant Augustine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the isle of Fernando de Loronha. We crossed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

The isle of Sant Sebastian about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Augustine.

The isle of Fernando de Loronha.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of Weedes, about the space of 100 leagues, being under the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence wee kept our course towards the North-east, untill wee had the pole raysed 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne Eastnortheast. The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze; having the North pole raysed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had sight of S. Ives on the North side of Corne-wall, and the 2 of June 1579 we arrived at Ilfoord-combe in Devon-shire.

The sea of Weedes, neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

Their arrivall at Ilfoord-combe in Devonshire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in having passed The streights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and having bene driven with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring us safe into our owne native countrey to enjoy the presence of our deare friendes and kinsefolkes, to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Edward Cliffe,
Mariner.

Instructions given by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counsell, to M. Edward Fenton Esquire, for the order to be observed in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

[III. 754.]

First you shall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and government of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonaventure, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinnesse.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200 able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which sayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea-men; and shal distribute them into every vessel, as by advise here before your going shal be thought meete: Provided that you shall not receive under your charge and governement, any disordered or mutinous person, but that upon knowledge had, you shall remoove him before your departure hence, or by the way as soone as you can conveniently avoide him, and receive better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take unto you for assistants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Evans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not provided for in these instructions touching this service now in hand. And in all such matters, so handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that convenient alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4 of them, the matter having bene debated, and so assented unto, in the presence of your

said assistants. And in case that such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaid Assistants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued upon, shall rest to bee put in execution in such sort as you shal thinke most meetest, having the assent of any 4 of them, as aforesaid. And if any of these Assistants shal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Survivours to joyne with the General captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very convenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then the Generall with halfe the Assistants Survivours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall bee brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolved on, and by whose consent, who dissented there from, and for what causes. In which book he shall in the beginning of the note of every such assembly, set downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the persons then present, and upon what occasion the sayd consultation was appointed or holden, and shall have to every acte, the handes of the General, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other upon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to bee exhibited unto us, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this service, of what calling or condition, hee or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt privatly or publikely, any treason, mutinie, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie under you, whereby her Majesties service in this voiage might bee overthrowne or impugned: we will therefore, that upon just proofe made of any such

treason, mutinie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same shalbe punished by you, or your Lieuetenant, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Provided alwayes, and it shall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieuetenant to proceede to the punishment of any person by losse of life or lim, unlesse the partie shall be judged to have deserved it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before expressed, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelve men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the observation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Provided, if it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offender, then it were better to convince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, untill the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the maner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you shall not remoove Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such service as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councill, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but upon just cause duely prooved, and by consent of your Assistants, or of foure of them at the least. [III. 755.]

M. Carlile upon occasion was not in this voyage.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall, governour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeede in his place one after the other, which are severally written in parchment, included in bals of waxe, sealed with her

Majesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three severall locks, whereof one key is to bee in the custodie of Captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the Minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two severall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonaventure in the custodie of the Viceadmirall: the same two coffers upon any such casualtie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall overlive, to bee opened, and the partie therein named to succeede in the place, who shall thereupon take upon him the charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed unto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in every respect, as they will answer to the contrary. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such neede, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliver backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, unlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

The governour of this companie.

8 You shall make a just and true inventorie in every ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the provisions whatsoever, and one copie thereof under your hand, and under the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earle of Leicester, and the other to the governour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the sayd ships and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall have bene spent or lost.

They are injoyned to go by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

9 Item, you shall use all diligence possible to depart from Southampton with your sayd ships and vessels before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de buena Esperanza, not passing by the streight of Magellan either going or returning, except

upon great occasion incident, that shall bee thought otherwise good to you, by the advise and consent of your sayd Assistants, or foure of them at the least.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of the Malucos for the better discovery of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do wel to be inquisitive, as occasion in this sort may serve.

11 Item, you shall have speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course, as that your ships and vessels lose not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And lest if they happen to sever the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shall not bee amisse, that you appoint to the Captaines and Masters certaine places, wherein you will stay certaine dayes. And every ship passing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ships, to leave upon every Promontorie or Cape a token to stand in sight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall have charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharpely to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enjoine you, and consequently all the rest imployed in this voyage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Majesties friends or allies, or any Christians, without paying justly for the same, nor that you use any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne

defence, if you shall be set upon or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie to the nations you shall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall goe with you, that whensoever you or any of you shall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, [III. 756.] you and they so behave your selves towards the sayd people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courtesie, then to move them to offence or misliking, and especially you shall have great care of the performance of your word and promise to them.

Strange people to be brought home.

14 Item wee will, that by the advise of your Assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fit, you settle if you can a beginning of a further trade to bee had hereafter: and from such places doe bring over with you some fewe men and women if you may, and doe also leave some one or two, or more, as to you and your Assistants shall seeme convenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and secrets of the countreys, having diligent care that in delivering and taking of hostages, you deliver not personages of more value then you receive, but rather deliver meane persons under colour of men of value, as the Infidels do for the most part use. Provided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shall be expedient for good exchange of the wares presently carried with you.

15 Item you shall have care, and give generall warning, that no person of what calling soever hee be, shall take up, or keepe to himselfe or his private use, any stone, pearle, golde, silver, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you shall come, but hee the said person, so seased of such stone, pearle, golde, silver,

or other matter of commoditie, shall with all speede, or so soone as he can, detect the same, and make deliverie thereof to your selfe, or you Viceadmirall, or Lieuetenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, upon paine of forfeiture of all the recompense he is to have for his service in this voyage by share or otherwise: and further to receive such punishment, as to you & your Assistants, or the more part of them shal seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it shalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any other, shall have any apparell, jewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoever, which may bee desired in countreys where they shall traffique, that it shall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or sell any thing thereof for their private accompt: but the same shall bee prized by the most part of those that shall bee in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value, as it may bee reasonably worth in England, and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in adventure for those to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your selfe shall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the same shippe another, wherein shall bee a just accompt kept, aswell of the marchandise carried hence, as of those you shall bring home. And aswell at your setting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange shalbe made, you shall set your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order shal you see that the Captaine and the Factors in the Edward Bonaventure shall use in their ship, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other vessell.

18 Item you shall give straight order to restraine, that none shall make any charts or descriptions of the sayd voyage, but such as shall bee deputed by you the Generall, which sayd charts and descriptions, wee thinke meete that

you the Generall shall take into your hands at your returne to this our coast of England, leaving with them no copie, and to present them unto us at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in those countreys.

19 Item you shall at your returne so direct your course, that all the ships under your government may come home together, and arrive here in the river of Thames, if it may conveniently be. And wheresoever in this Realme you, or any of the shippes shall arrive, you shall give speciall and straight order, that no person of what condition soever he be, shall unlade, or bring on land, or forth of the vessels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the sayd vessels, untill we being certified of your or their arrivall, shall give further order and direction therein, under the penalties and forfeitures expressed in the fifteenth article, against such as shall retaine any thing to their private use, as in the sayd article is further expressed.

20 Item, to the intent that all such persons as shall go with you in this voyage, may better understand what they ought to do, and what to avoid, we thinke it requisite, that aswell out of these, as otherwise with the advise of your Assistants and Masters of the ships, you shall cause some convenient order to bee set downe in writing for their better government both at sea and land, if they shall happen to goe on lande any where: and the same to bee openly read and made knowen unto them, to the intent they may understand how to behave themselves, and upon any fault committed, not to have any excuse to pretend ignorance, and so to avoid such punishment as it is requisite to have ministred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happie and prosperous successe, you shall have an especiall care to see that reverence and respect bee had to the Ministers appointed to accompanie you in this

voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to see such good order as by them shall be set downe [III. 757.] for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be severely punished, and the Ministers to remoove sometime from one vessell to another.

22 Provided alwayes, that the whole direction and government of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fift article, and the course of this voyage, shall bee wholly at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latitude, wherein you shall follow directions set downe in the nine and ten articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, and other captaines, wherin you shall followe the order appointed in the sixt article: Provided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to bee upon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile shall have the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

M. Carlile upon occasion was not in this voyage.

24 And finally wee require you and every of you to have a due regard to the observation and accomplishment of these our instructions, and of all such other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this service committed to your charge.

[The voyage

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall: Written by M. Luke Ward his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, begun Anno Dom. 1582.

THe second of April I departed with the Edward Bonaventure from Blackwall, and the 19 of the same arrived in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leicester: and so remaining there till the first of May, wee set saile thence in the forenoone, being of us in the whole fleete foure saile.

1 The Gallion Leicester of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the yonger lieutenant Generall in her, and Christopher Hall, Master.

2 The Edward Bonaventure of 300 tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Master.

3 The Francis of fortie tunnes, whereof was Captaine John Drake, and William Markam Master.

4 The Elizabeth of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skevington and Ralph Crane Master.

We spent by meanes partly of businesse, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May upon the coast, and then leaving the land wee put off to sea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: untill the moneth of August following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all navigants, but about the beginning of August aforesayd, being somewhat neere the coast of Guinie, upon the shooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffreis, our Master & Pilot

A.D. 1582.

with me, where the generall counsel was assembled to consider of two points, viz.

The first, whether it were necessarie to water presently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and so concluded.

The second, where the best and aptest place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coast of Guinie, which was also concluded, and by the Master and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeast, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeast and Eastsoutheast, till sixe a clocke at night that wee sawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeast of us about 12 leagues off, which seene, wee sounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Master and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debatements concluded to run in Northeast by East, and at eleven at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeast by East.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee were within 2 leagues of the lande, which bare off us Northeast, which rose like a hill full of woods, and on each side low land: wee being perswaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went in Northeast untill we were within an halfe league of the shoar, and had brought the South point Southeast by east off us. At eleven a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and stoode along West by North and West larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinnesse rowed in, and went on land upon the South side of the bay, and the Elizabeths boate with her. [III. 758.] They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh killed; also a lake with plentie of fresh water, and fresh-water-fish in it had by the sea side: they found drie pomegranates, and pease like nuts, with other unknowen fruites under the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankered within Faulcon shot of the shore in seven fathom oaze, where they tooke fish with hookes, while hee stayed for the boates.

The 4 all the afternoone wee ran along the coast (which lyeth Northwest and by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the lande under our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewise.

They arrive in the river of Sierra leona.

The 9 at three a clock in the morning our Admiral shot off a peece, and at foure wee weyed and went hence Northeast. At five in the morning wee saw the land along, and the Island which wee saw the night before, and divers other Islands about it, & so ran in Northeast untill we had brought our selves thwart of the river, and then ran in East about sixe at night, being a league within the river. Our Admirall shot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathom sand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would have gone aboord the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent so strong, and she rode halfe a mile beneath us in the tyde, but we had no tyde.

Trees hung with oysters.

The 10 in the morning at five a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watring place: in the meane time at sixe a clocke we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat untill ten, and then ankered a mile short of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my skiffe to finde timber to fish our maste, and searching along the shoare we found a good watring place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of divers sorts, wee found Limmon trees full of fruits: also trees growing by the water side with the stalkes hung full of oysters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongst them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruits unknowen to us. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, having a gale at West, set saile, and ran up and ankered in the rode before the accustomed watering place.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with us before, came down and brought some other Portugals and Negros with them in a shippe-boate, wherein they brought us 80 mewes of rice, 500 and odde weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gave the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee solde them, with all her tackle and sailes, having neede of the rice, because our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 bushels, which is a mewe and a halfe: the Francis had 5 bushels, and the Gallion had the rest. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and sixe pound. During this time we sent our skiffe with the Admiralls pinnesse up the river to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had sent for fresh victuals for us: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboord with the Admirall, and after their dinner and supper wee ended our businesse, and returned aboord, having had many good speaches with the Portugals.

Their trafique here with the Portugals.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, Captaine Drake, M. Evans, M. Hoode, and others came aboord and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner we went on shoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but saw him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, and then came aboord, and supped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

This night I was very sicke, (and so were all they that were on shoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite in the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof some did eate foure, some five, some sixe, and more, but wee vomited and scoured upon it without reason.

Sicknesse by eating some fruite in Guinea.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Francisco came aboord to me, with request that hee might have the Francis boate to goe up for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, untill five of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his consent, and sent themselves in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Master, and his Negro: In the meane time I sent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I sent my skiffe with the Admirals pinnesse down to the west point to fish, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fish as all our companies could eate.

The Portugals presents.

During the time that our boates were a fishing, came downe the river a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they presented the Generall and mee with: and also the rest of the rice due to us for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. [III. 759.] After dinner M. Evans began to barter away certaine of the ships commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other untill hee had done, whereof grewe more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of marchandise appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had two of the Portugals to supper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

M. Evans one of our marchants.

They search the countrey.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my skiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinnesse, went downe to the West point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furnished, and searched the woods, plaines and plashes, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and soyle of many newly done, yet wee saw none of them. Wee saw hogs, goates or fawnes, and divers sorts of fowles very wilde: and having travailed about 2 leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had beene at sea, and taken plentie of good fish: there wee refreshed our selves with such victuals as wee had, and came aboord our severall ships, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after supped aboord with mee.

The 2 of September we set saile at sixe of the clock in the morning, & went out West betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a pretie gale at East til 8, then it waxed calme, wee being shot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blewe up at Westsouthwest a good gale, so wee stood off Northnorthwest, and Northwest till 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point West by North.

They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 3 day about eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboord to mee, complaining that his maine crosse-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blewe: at 12 at noone wee set saile, and went in Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and Southsoutheast, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Westnorthwest.

Trafique with 3 other Portugals, viz. 1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here above 20 yeeres. 2 Matthew Fernandos Captaine. 3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

The 12 day came downe the river a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the General bargained, to let them have 3 barrels of salt for 5 barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals with him: after dinner I went on shoare to the oven, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there supped with mee the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and seven Portugals: after supper each man returned to his place.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboord me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them up the river in my skiffe 12 barrels of salt, and gave them a bottell of wine for one of the savage Queenes.

They enter up to search the countrey.

The 15 after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other travelled over a great deale of ground to finde some cattell, but found none: and comming home thorow the Oyster bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together rosting of oysters: and going from them, Thomas Russell one of my companie sawe a strange fish named Utelif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there slewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whose nose is a bone of two foot long like a sword with three and twentie pricks of a side, sharpe and strange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

A sword-fish killed.

The 30 and last day of September the Francis cooke came aboord about seven a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fish, a Sea-calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles upon him, being seven foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who having viewed the beast, which was ougly being alive, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, prooved an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, rosted, sodde and baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day.

A strange fish taken.

The first day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make up our full complement of rice twentie barrels for the twelve barrels of salt, delivered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about sixe a clocke in the morning, wee set saile having little winde: the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboord me, complaining that the carsey by them received for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gave them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselves well pleased, departed away in the Gundall, and we having little winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence Southwest by West till two in the afternoone then being little wind: at five wee ankered sixe leagues Eastsoutheast of the Southermost [III. 760.] part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blewe, and sometime was little winde, and so continued all night.

The first day of November in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine saile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came up by us, and desiring mee with my Master, and M. Blackcoller to come aboord to him about certaine conference, hee sent his boate for us, where by him was propounded, whether it were best for us to stand on with the coast of Brasil as wee did, or else to stand about starboord tacked to the Eastwards: whereupon divers of their charts and reckonings were shewed: by some it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by some a hundred and fiftie leagues, by some a hundred and fortie leagues, and some a great deale further short of Brasil, next hand Northeast of us: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, some to the North, some to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by most consent to stand on for the coast of Brasil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather should compell us. In this consultation, wee had speaches of courses, and places of meeting, if by misfortune wee should bee separated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we should speake every night with the Admirall, if wee conveniently might, and so to appoint our course from time to time, if wee lost companie, to stay fifteene dayes in the river of Plate, and from thence to go for the streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ships.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, and others came aboord to visite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox who remained with M. Walker here aboord.

This night M. Maddox and I, behelde many constellations in the firmament, and set downe certaine newe starres raised to the Southwards. All day and night wee went South, and South by East among.

The seventeenth day in the afternoone wee shot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Majestie. This day after dinner came master Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leave of Master Walker, as I with all my company had done before, supposing him past hope of recoverie. At foure of the clocke, finding our selves in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the shoalds called by us Powles, wee went hence South-southwest all night following.

19 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboord, and visited M. Walker: which done, they dranke, and departed aboord againe. All this day and night, we went our course Southwest by South, with a franke gale.

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire fresh and temperate, as in England in June, when a fresh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of the day, but the evening, the night, and the morning are more fresh and colder here, then it is in England either in June or Julie.

Cold evenings.

The first of December, about sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee sawe lande on the coast of Brasil, in the height of 28 degrees or there abouts, which bare

Northwest, and was eight leagues from us very high land. Wee stood in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found divers Islands: and seeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead us, wee stood in with the shore, and sounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Westnorthwest to the Northnorthwest of us, and so stoode still till it shoalded orderly into seven fathom, within a mile of a headland: then perceiving a breach over our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare up roome, and our Admirall after us, whom wee haled: then hee tolde us hee would seeke harbour to leewards, requiring me to go ahead. Then seeing the barke was asterne I hoised out my skiffe, and set her maste and saile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my Masters mates with mee, and ranne before the shippe, sounding in 15 fathom faire sand, leaving a ledge of rockes asea-boord of us: so the ships and the barke looffed up under a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, having brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southsoutheast off them, and the North land Northeast off them.

Divers Ilands.

The latitude of 27 degrees 50 minutes.

I stoode on with the skiffe, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooved not so: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord I met with a rocke in the sea, where we landed, and killed good store of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I presented him with fowle, and returned aboord to supper.

In this time our boates had beene aland, and found water, ballaste, and two decayed houses, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked fresh-fish. This night wee rode quietly.

[III. 761.]

The second, being Sunday, our masters moared our ships further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeast off us, and the North land Northeast: and so rid.

A bay.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wels. In the meane time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and divers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two rivers of fresh water, and a good fishing place. Presently I sent aboord for my net, with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets, and 5 great basses; the like draught was never seene with so small a net: with which we went aboord, giving to the admirall 240, to the Francis 80, and the rest our company spent, and gave almighty God thanks for his great goodnesse.

Wels made by our men.

An exceeding great draught of fish.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The woods set on fire by our men.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without boord, and the master and others tooke up all the merchandize in the stearne sheets to the keele, and there put downe a boats loding of stone: and seeing the merchandize well conditioned, stowed the same againe. In the meane time, my selfe, and others in our boats, scraped off the wormes, and washed the rudder, and part of one side of our ship.

After dinner, the master, pilot, and I, went ashore, and observed the Sunne at noone, which being past, with our net we drew plenty of divers sorts of fishes, and went from that bay to the watering place: from thence, aboord the generall, which had taken physicke, and gave them and the Francis fish for their companies, and so went aboord, where our company had romaged aforemast: so that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of stones afore mast.

The sixt day in the morning, before sixe of the clocke, we saw a saile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not having knowledge thereof. I went aboord, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker

A saile seene and taken.

and some of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals skiffe with us: so we gave her chase, and tooke her sixe leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the sea. I intending to come away in the pinnesse, and leave the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a stout gale, and raine; so that about sixe of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ships rid.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboord, we had much talke with them before they came to the ships; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried abord the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the governour of the river of Plate, named Don John de Torre Vedra.

Richard Carter an Englishman taken in the prize.

We found an Englishman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouse, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yeres, and hath bene nere twelve yeres dwelling in the river of Plate, at a towne named Ascension, three hundred leagues up in the river, whither they were now determined to go & inhabit, having two women, and two yong children, seven friers, the rest boyes, and sailers, to the number of one and twenty persons.

The number of 21 in the prize.

The olde frier was had in great reverence among the rest: insomuch that they called him the Holy father. He was abiding in no place; but as visitour he went visiting from monastery to monastery.

The substance of all the speeches was, that the Spanish fleet was before the streights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed sixe weeks past from the river of Jenero, where they had beene seven moneths to refresh and Winter, and that these were not of that company, but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of fourescore tun, and fourescore persons, of purpose for the river of Plate.

The friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito santo, like to be lost: therefore the old frier bought this small barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito santo, in Brasill; and so divided themselves: and comming from thence, lost company at sea: but they thought they were before at the river of Plate. After his speeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugals sailes away with me, and came aboord, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 day in the morning the generall sent for me; where he shewed me and M. Maddox certeine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spanish fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be discovered by the way of the river of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the rest: after whose comming it was debated, whether it were best to take the boat & people with us or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

[III. 762.] Then was it determined to passe by the streights, notwithstanding the Spaniards were there, but not to set up forge, nor to build pinnesse, but water, and so thorow.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboord the admirall to dinner, where was determined to discharge the Spanish barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the English man, and John Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the river of Plate. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to see them all set aboord their ship, and to receive from them certeine necessaries, which willingly they imparted with us, and to leave them satisfied. Which done, I returned aboord.

The Spanish barke dismissed.

The 9. day, being Sunday, in the morning, I sent M. Shaw and M. Geffries aboord the admirall, to peruse the Spaniards letters: wherein they found the estate of the fleet which was in the streights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboord of me. The generall began to reproove my quarter master for grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was answered: and he well satisfied. Then sent I for the olde frier and Don Francisco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards having received the canoa, which was suncke, aland, and stones to ballast them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall also departed, and his company, who being gone, I divided the sugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gave us: and after spent the day in ordinary businesse.

Spanish presents.

The 10 day in the morning, our skiffe went a fishing, whereof we eat as much to supper as served the company: the rest we salted for store, and to prove if they would take salt or not.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our skiffe went againe to fish, and tooke great plentie. About seven of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the master, and others of our best men, to the number of 22 persons, & travelled to the place where our people before had found many great jars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of sweet wood. From that place we saw over the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the request of the master and the rest, I went with them to see. We passed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the supposed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the lowest part thereof higher then any of our heads, and so mossy under foot, that we slipped to the knees many steps, which so wearied us, that for my part, I was very sicke, and so hasted aboord, leaving the master with 15 men, which cut a tree of sweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboord.

Things found in the island.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being ashore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and so rid by it with one anker all night.

They leave the harbour in 27 degrees and 50. min.

The 12 day about five a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the catt-rope, stopper, and all brake; so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boat and skiffe to wey the same. After we had stood out a good way, the admirall was under saile: then cast we about and went roome with the admirall which weaved us, who sent in his pinnesse and the Francis to helpe out our boats; so by the helpe of the admirals pinnesse, with her saile, we had our boat the sooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, skiffe, & all, and put out all our sailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by east. About sixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we lost sight of the land, being foure leagues off or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our course South by west.

The 13 day about seven afore noon, the wind blew at Southsoutheast, & was very foggy; with which gale we stood in larboord tacked West, till ten a clocke the same forenoone. Then had we sight of the land ahead, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it sheweth a farre off like white cliffes, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side. At one a clocke after noone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the shore, where we saw severall fires made by the Indians to give warning to the other people within the land, as we supposed. Then we cast about, and stood off Southeast by east till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our course South by west till next morning.

The 14 day we went our course South by west, having sight of the land at sixe a clocke in the morning about seven leagues off: and so went till sixe at night, that wee saw land againe seven leagues off West, and the winde shifted to the South. Then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast at seven at night for a while: then came up the winde at Northwest, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not; and being little winde we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after noone: then we hayled [III. 763.] her, and stood in betweene the Southsouthwest and the Southwest till sixe at night, that the winde was variable, and foule weather. Then we cast about, and sounded in 23 fadome soft oaze, and stood off a while Northeast; and presently cast about againe, and went South by East larboord tacked, and Southsoutheast, among all night: finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome sand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, the two merchants, and my selfe, being directed so to doe by the Generall. Upon our comming the generall was going to dinner, where wee also dined with him. Having dined, the generall called us his assistants into his cabbin, and there delivered to us in writing two demands, to be by us considered upon, and he to have our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were these.

1 Whether it was best for us to adventure our selves to passe the streights of Magellan or not; considering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before us: and also that our determination was there to set up our pinnesse, make yron hoops, carene our ships, and do all our necessary businesses for the full acomplishment of our voyage.

2 If that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for us to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had passed the streights and knew the harbours, and likest places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, & the three masters with them. Their opinions were as divers as their names; & as much differed, as before this time they were wont usually to doe: onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impossible for us to passe the streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships, although the fortification of the land did not annoy us: which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three masters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the generall received the opinions of us his assistants, beginning with the yoongest in authority first: which when he had heard them all over, and being set downe in writing under our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to give his determination.

When we had all supped, then he sent for us downe into his cabbin, and delivered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furnish our selves on this coast, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The river of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be chosen.

Richard Carter the English man taken in the prize, caried along with them.

For the better deciphering of the river of Plate, & the commodities thereof, was called before us, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not assure us of any wine, except we could stay foure moneths for it: but other victuals plenty. The river is shoale and dangerous, the road seven leagues from any towne, or place of commodity: which considered with the trechery that might from thence be used, into the streights by sea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited by Portugals, and where in honest sort we might conveniently have all our businesse done.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

With this resolution we tooke our leaves about eight a clocke at night, & being come aboord, presently bare up, and went roome, having all the day before beat up the winde larboord-tacked Eastsoutheast till at night: after it was a little winde all night we went North next hand.

The 21 day, after service, I declared unto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were well satisfied, being before doubtfull that we should not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till six at night, then we went Northwest by west till eight at night, and then we cast about, and stood off Eastsoutheast, and East by south all night with a good gale.

The 22 day in the morning we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

John Drake in ye Francis went to the river of Plate, wherein his ship was cast away, but the men gat to land, and lived 15 moneths among the Savages.

The 25 day, being Christmasse day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a fresh gale, with which wee went our course Northnortheast. In the afternoone it was lesse wind: yet went we our course North by east, and Northnortheast, and North, and North by west, till midnight. Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay Southsoutheast, and Southeast by south, an houre; and seeing our admirall came not after us, we cast about backe againe, and presently met him: so we went both together next hand Southsoutheast all the rest of the night. This afternoone we saw the skim of fishes so thicke in the sea, that it seemed a water troubled with trampling of horses; which was thicke, and slimy: for we had taken up some of it.

Infinite number of fish.

The 17 day of January, about seven a clocke, the master, M. Blaccoller, and I went in our skiffe, and rowed, and sounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a stones cast hard aboord the shore, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes, and strange wormes: we saw a faulcon, and one other small bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the East side, which lieth close to it, and it is in sight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we set saile, with winde Southeast, and ran in Northeast a while, till the

[III. 764.]

A small Island which our men called Faulcon isle.

winde scanted: then we went in Northnortheast, till we were in seven fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of shore: then we cast about, and stood off Southsoutheast all night, till sixe a clocke the next morning.

The 18 day about three a clocke, afore day, we saw our admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

Citron isle. The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the master, the pilot, and my selfe, rejoycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their evill road, where they lost an anker, a cable, and a haulser, and how the day before, their pinnesse was ashore on the same iland, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boat and pinnesse for more water, where I know they had small store.

I also taking captaine Parker, the master, and M. Wilks with me, went ashore, and travelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high grasse, but evill water, and little on it, but yoong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I having set the isles, and headlands about in sight with a compasse) came a small gale at Southsoutheast; then our admirall shot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in Northnortheast and Northeast till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the isle, entring before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was upon the barre to go out. *Their arrivall at S. Vincent.*

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinnesse came in to the shore, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing three canoas, with ech at the least twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the rest Portugals, they returned aboord again. The canoas came with a flag of truce within, calling of our ship, and we shewed them the like, asking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall sent a letter to the governour, craving a pilot to bring in *Three canoas of Portugals & Indians.*

our ship of courtesie, and to have traffique. About noone, having the winde at South, we bare in Northwest, and so to the Northeast, as the chanell trended: but comming into seven fadome water, we ankered, untill our boats had sounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

After I had stayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we published unto all my company very good rules for their behaviour and profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his assistants he conferred of divers particulars of our voyage: by which time the boat being returned from sounding, we departed, and set saile, following our skiffes and with our ships got within the barre into seven fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a sandy bay, wherein stands a castle and houses: we rid within musket shot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

A castle.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe unto a further point, sounding along. Before my returne, the generall had sent for me to supper; and thither I went: but being ready to sit downe, there came out to us a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Christians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall: who came aboord, and there received a small banket, declaring their comming was to understand our intents, and what we sought: who being satisfied, departed with a farewell of three great pieces from ech ship.

A canoa with ten Indians and two Christians, whereof one was an old Genouois.

The 21 day about three a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Joseph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeves, and Steven Repose a Portugall, and brought a letter from the governor, and withall, answere of feare and doubts of us, &c. After many speeches and requests, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinnesse with his musicke, & trumpets; and I in my skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor and pipe, accompanied them a mile up the river: at going

John Whithall an Englishman which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Joseph Dories daughter.

off, we saluted them with a volley of three great pieces out of ech ship: and after us came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine shot in the same, to attend on the generall.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the sending of some token and present to the governor, which was by all the assistants determined to send him three yards of fine skarlet, & three yards of fine murry-cloth; and to Joseph Dory the old Genouois, Steven Repose the Portugall, and to Paul Badeves the Fleming, ech of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went up to Santos withall in the admirals skiffe, about nine a clocke aforenoone.

Santos.

[III. 765.] Also this forenoone, we being minded to goe up higher with our ships into harbour, I advised them to goe view the place, and sound the road before we went up; which we did: where were found the place both unconvenient, and the road woorse: and so we returned, and left the first determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-mast, and all the shrowds.

About two a clocke after noone our merchants returned with their presents, not having beene at the towne, because Steven Repose by the way met them on the river, and advised them to stay untill there had beene word sent to the governour, who was unwilling to speake with them yet, but shortly would send their answere.

The rest of this forenoone we spent in communication about the appointing of a purser for the Edward. Also we signed an assent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule speeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde custome.

The Indians presents.

Then went wee to supper: and being at supper, certaine Indians came aboord, and brought the generall a strange crow, and potatos, and sugar canes, to whom he gave looking glasses, great pinns, and biscuit: and so we departed, being late. Also this afternoone I ran over towards S. Vincent, and sounded the bay a league over,

The chanell of S. Vincent sounded.

and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboord againe within two houres, having a good gale of winde.

The 23 day our skiffe went ashore to fish, and tooke prety store: we sent our main-top ashore to be mended, and many of our men to wash their cloaths; also I went my selfe with them aland, to take order that no man should any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the generall with all the rest of the chiefest gentlemen, came ashore, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fittest roome to set up our smithes forge, and ovens to bake our biscuit, and place for our coopers to trim our water caske.

Portable ovens to bake in.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North shore, to whom I sent my skiffe, who brought aboord one named John Whithall, an English man, which is maried here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I enterteined untill I sent word to the generall to prepare himselfe to receive him: in which time he and I talked of many severall particulars.

John Whithall.

About sixe a clocke I conveyed him aboord the admirall: there he discovered unto us what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and sending their wives away, &c. advising us to receive no more delayes, but to come up presently before the towne with our ships.

Good counsell by the foresayd Englishman given to our men.

About ten a clocke came a canoa, and brought downe Joseph Dory and Steven Repose, who tolde us that on Saturday the governour would meet our generall, and talke with him, praying us in the meane time to use our ordinary business of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fishing, and washing, &c. but not to set up forge, nor oven, untill speech had with the governour. After this answere, we dined together aboord the gallion: after dinner we left the messengers sitting in the cabbin, and went upon the poope; where the generall demanded the advice of his assistants, whether it were not best to stay these men while we had them or not, or whether it were best to go up with our ships to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man paused to make answere: wherefore I delivered my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to use violence to any nation for trade.

The Minion of London sometime in Brasill for traffique.

Secondly, I considered that divers of our nation, worshipfull merchants, and now adventurers in this voyage, had set out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be spoiled, and our nation brought in hatred.

Lastly, that with force we were not like to atteine so much commodity, as we were in possibility to have with courtesie.

Heereupon all was concluded, and they suffered to passe away: to whom the generall gave the three cloake-clothes, to Joseph Dory, to Paul Baudevese, and to Steven Repose, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and so friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

Three Spanish ships discovered.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we saw three saile of ships come bearing in about the point, which assoone as they saw us, ankered upon the barre, and put themselves in readinesse, sending from one ship to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take us: and we before night, getting our men and other necessaries from the shore, which were busie on land, armed our ships to defend our selves. Then went I aboord the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to set his watch in warlike sort; and so he did: for after the trumpets and drum had sounded, he shot off a great piece, as they before had done; and presently the viceadmirall shot at me, whom I answered with another, and so ceased. We then set up our main-top, and top-mast, rigged before eleven of the clocke the same night. In the meane while they let slip their ankers and cables, and came driving and towing with their boats in upon us, meaning to have boorded us: and being neere our admirall, he halled them; who refused to tell of whence they were, thinking by spending of time to get [III. 766.]

aboord of him: to whom I called still to beware, and to shoot at them in time. At length he let flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable slip to avoid them: then came they all driving downe thwart my haulse, so that I was faine to let slip an anker and cable to shun the gallion. All this while the ordinance and small shot plied of all parts, and I was faine to send the gallion my skiffe with a haulser to ride by, for shee was loose, and with the flood drave up within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad side, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder spent in vaine to shoot at him, he was so torne, and broken downe by us. About foure of the clocke it rained so fast, that we could scant discerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a little ahead of us: during which time, we paused, and made ready all our munition.

The fight betwixt the English & Spanish ships at S. Vincent.

The 25 day, by day-light, we saw the viceadmirall sunke hard by us, so that his yards which were hoised acrosse, and his tops, and that over head, was above water: most of their men were gotten away in their boats, saving about fourtie persons which hung in the shrowds, and toppes, whom I advised our generall to send for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinnesses; but being upon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not suffer them to goe. There were three of their boats also going for them from their ships; at whom I shot, and made them to retire, and leave them upon the shrowds. At length our generall sent for two of the men away: which his pinnesse brought to him; the one was heaved over boord, because he was sore hurt, not like to live; and he was a Marsillian; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boatswaine of the viceadmirall: the rest of the men, some swam away upon rafts, some were drowned, and some remained still hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to

The Spanish viceadmirall sunke by the English.

This Greeke told the Generall that there were 600 *and odde in the* 3 *Spanish ships.*

wey, and drive downe to them, who required mee to goe first and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not so nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, spending shot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admiralls anker would come up; during which time I had some spoile done; but when our admirall came, she had her part, and eased me very well.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me, set saile, and began to stand out into the sea: I went aboord of him to know his pleasure. Who determined to get out of shot; but could not, because the winde scanted on them. The Edward before she could get up her ankers, endured many more shot, after the gallion was further off a good way then she, and sometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone: the rest of this day and part of the night, we spent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would have bene with us.

The 26 day in the morning we could not see them, because they were gone up the river: wee manned our boats and pinnesses, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let slip the night before: as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and so we lost that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelve hundred, and a good cable of eleven inches, and we had an anker about sixe hundred, with a piece of a basse cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to sea, and thither I caried Senor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliver, flaske, and touch boxe, to goe with us, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him aboord to the admirall. Hee tolde us that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and also landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certeine Spaniards gone over thorow the woods to looke after us. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and master Maddox came aboord of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my shippe, both men, shippe, and tackle; and I also went aboord him to peruse his hurts, who had but one man, a sailer, slaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Ashe, of a hurt; who departed very godly. This day we stood to the Northwards: and in getting in our ankers and skiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid still.

Where the gallion and the Edward Bonaventure were severed, and never met afterward.

[III. 767.]

The 29 day in the morning, seeing my selfe put to sea from the admirall, I assembled master Walker, master Shawe, master Jeffries, the master, the masters mate, and the pilot, to whom I shewed that I was desirous to goe backe to seeke our admirall, whereunto the master, pilot, and masters mate answered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very unlikely and to us dangerous many wayes, aswell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee shoare: whereupon all the rest advised me to stand off into the sea, whereunto I assented, remembring withal, that time spent consumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten up and downe in the same bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker should set downe each mans opinion, and wee set to our handes, and from hencefoorth hee to keepe a Register of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did abord the Admirall.

The first day of February, wee went East by south, and East southeast with a stoute gale: and went the same course the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following.

M. Walker the preacher dieth.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloodie flixe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and prised them, and heaved him over bord, and shot a peece for his knell.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot, shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries: whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for us to returne to our countrey, with as litle losse of time and expense of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe upon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning having much raine, wee saved above two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

Variation of the Compasse.

The 18. day I observed the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compasse of London.

The second day of March the Master, Pilot, & I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we saw the land, which was sandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, wee sawe foure men, which weaved to us with a white shirt, and we weaved to them with a flagge of truce: At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the Sea talking with us, almost an houre: in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian-tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came abord swimming: wee delivered them certaine barricos to fetch us them full of fresh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceived us of our barricos. Whereupon

Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day wee sailed to a place where boats might land, & I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In the meane time our boat went ashoare, and our men with some of the Indians brought us twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee manned our boat and Skiffe, and tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arrivall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging and wondering about us: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gave them a knife, and a smal looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russel, Marke Thawghts were still on shoare, and would not tarry abord: In the ende, fearing some treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from mee, I called our men away, and suddenly they layed handes on our men ashoare, and with their bowes shot thicke at us in the boats, and waded into the water to us, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie delivered us from their hands, with the losse of five men slaine, and others hurt.

Treason of the Indians.

Thus we got abord with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogsheads of water: and I caried a Frenchman abord with mee, named Jaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began.

Jaques Humfrey a Frenchman saved.

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of April, wee went our course, sometime with raine, and sometime with variable windes, & so til the 4. of April: which day we saw 4. birds with long tailes, which hovered about the ship, and in the afternoone we saw and tooke up many weedes which drave thicke in the sea, which we judged to be driven with the East windes from the yles of Cape verde.

[III. 768.] From this day till the 11. day we went our course sometime Northeast, sometime Northwest according to the winds: upon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, having the night before broken up the hold, and stolne wine, and drunken himselfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept overbord out of the beake head and so drowned himselfe.

A desperate act.

The 12. day wee spied our foremast to be perished in the hownes, and durst not beare our foretop saile upon it, but went hence with our sailes, next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeast and by North. This day I observed the variation of the compasse: and I noted that the South point of the compasse caried more then halfe a point to the Westwards.

Variation of the Compasse.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the East northeast, and the Northeast with a small gale till five a clocke in the afternoone: then had we sight of land, which rose ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about five leagues off: that yle bare Northeast by North of us, and the Northermost part bare North by East of us, with a rocke a sea bord: we then sounded and had fiftie and five fadome grey sand, and maze great store in it: so wee stood in Northeast till eight a clocke, and then behelde it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee coulde not make it, for some thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, some judged it the yle of Ussant: then we sounded againe in 55. fadome browne sand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and stoode off South southwest one watch, then the wind shrinked to the Southwest, that we could

A.D. 1583.

lye but South southwest sixe glasses, so that at three a clocke wee cast about, and lay Northwest sixe glasses, and North northwest a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee coulde betweene the North and the North northeast, and saw the same land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now East Northeast of us: and wee stoode on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and lesse, wee cast about and stoode off Southwest, because wee could not double the uttermost rockes: when we were about we drave to the Southwards very faste, for the ebbe set us West southwest, and being spring tides, it horsed us a pace to leewards, for the space of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we drave againe to windewards: at twelve at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee stoode about larbord tacked, South southwest one watch, then at midnight wee cast about and stoode over North till foure aforenoone.

The yle of Sylly.

The 27. day having brought the land East southeast of us, we made it to be Sylly being before deceived, and went hence East by North to double Grimsbie, leaving The bishop and his clearks to the Southwestwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we sawe the lands end of England, which bare East by North off us, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

We came to Plimmouth.

The 29. day at sixe a clocke, beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of us, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeast next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: so that at eleven a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by mistaking of a sounding, our ship came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there sate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furnished away P. Jeffries, M. Symberbe, and William

Towreson with letters, after dined at M. Blaccollers, and made many salutations with divers gentlemen.

1583. The 31. I wrought abord all day, and put our ship, and things in order: Afternoone I having pitie of some poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purser, which rid in Cawson bay, I consented to goe out with the Edward in company of a small shippe which they had furnished to bee their Master, so about five of the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundreth men of theirs abord of mee: About twelve a clocke wee set saile, and by three afore day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee set saile, and went hence to the Eastwards, and outsailed us, because our consort would not come neere him: after a small chase which we gave him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and there moared the ship about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe ashore from mee. And thus I ended a troublesome voyage.

[III. 769.]

The voyage set out by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yere 1586. intended for The South sea, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44. degrees to the South of the Equinoctial, Written by M. John Sarracoll marchant in the same voyage.

THe 26. day of June, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queenes majesties raigne, wee departed from Gravesend in two ships; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costs and charges of the right honourable the Erle of Cumberland, having for their masters two brethren, the one John Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of July wee came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerly winds, to stay till the 17. of August, wee then departed with another ship also for our Rear-admirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinnesse also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleghs. We foure being out in the sea, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of hulkes in the Sleeve, who named themselves to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come abord to him onely to know some newes of the countrey, but hee refused to do so, onely stroke his flag & tooke it in. The vice-admiral of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flagge nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of Ordinance, which they repayed double, so that we grew to some little quarel, whereupon one of the sternemost hulkes, being as I suppose more afraide then hurt, stroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him abord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giving chase to the Windermost men, thinking our Admirall would have come up againe to us, to have made them all to have stroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not up but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had borded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some provision that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe againe like a goose with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee espied 5. sailes more, which lay along to the Eastwards, but by reason of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at last we hailed one of the biggest of them, & they tolde us that they were al of Hamborough: but another saide shee was of Denmarke, so that indeede they knew neither what to say, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more desirous to folow his course, then to linger by chasing the hulks, called us from pursuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or else wee would have seene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day because of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of us, and taried there seven dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the first to have runne along the coast of Spaine, to see if wee could have mette with some good prize to have sent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the best course at the last, but rather kept off in the sea from the coast. And upon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coast of Barbarie, and the 18. halled in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteventura. In running alongst this yland, we espied upon a hill by the water side, one waving with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and sent them towards the shoare, to understand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaves and one horseman, and they tolde us that Lanzarota was taken, and spoyled in August by the Turkes: when we saw they had nothing else to say, we left them, and proceeded on our course, and fell againe with the coast of Barbarie.

Lanzarota spoiled by the men of Algiers.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, standing just under our Tropike: we anckered in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues over. And the next day our Captaine with the boate searched the river, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues up, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, saving that there

Rio del Oro, in 23. degrees and a halfe.

came downe two poore men, and one of them spake good Spanish, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen used to come thither, and laded some oxe hides, and goats hides, but other commoditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, & the last day of the moneth being calme we went abord our General, & there consented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreeme hot weather, much lightning, and great store of raine. This 10. day we sounded, finding a great current as we supposed by the ripling water, which after wee found to bee an ordinary tide, the flood setting to the Northwest, and the ebb Southeast, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee seene: it was on the Southermost part of the showles that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling South off againe, it presently deeped unto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeast and by East, and East southeast, we sounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Trade of the Frenchmen in Rio del Oro. [III. 770.]

The 21. of October wee fell with land upon the coast of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land over Sierra Leona. Wee drewe in to the land, and found neere the shoare more water then in the offing: at the Northern end of the high land we anckered about a mile, and somewhat more from the shoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbor of Sierra Leona we did borrow upon the South side, having no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the shoare.

Sierra Leona.

Upon the Northside of this harbour is very shoale water, but on the Southside no feare, more then is to be seene.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an ancker in the bay of fresh water, and going ashoare with our boate, wee spake with a Portugal, who tolde us that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giving to the king a Botija of wine, and some linnen cloth, hee would suffer us to water and wood at our pleasure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to give any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and presently went and landed in another place, thinking to have fetcht a walke, and so to come to our boats againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were suddenly and unawares upon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they strooke up their drumme, giving withall a great showt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. caleevers, and 20. with our weapons, which wee also let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt we did, we know not.

A towne of the Negros.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleasure, and reasonable store of fish, and amongst the rest we halled up a great foule monster, whose head and backe were so hard, that no sword could enter it: but being thrust in under the belly in divers places, and much wounded, hee bowed a sword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewise the yron of a boare speare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of small stones, to the value of a pottell.

A strange monster.

The fourth of November wee went on shore to a towne of the Negros, which stoode on the Southeast side of the harbour, about a Sacar shot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houses, and walled about with mightie great trees, and stakes so thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly upon a port which was not shut up, where wee entred with such fiercenesse, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to bee finely built after their fashion, and the streetes of it so intricate, that it was difficult for us to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houses and streets so finely and cleanly kept, that

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

it was an admiration to us all, for that neither in the houses nor streets was so much dust to bee found, as would fill an egge shell. Wee found little in their houses, except some matts, goards, and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houses being covered with reed and straw.

A towne burnt.

After this wee searched the countrey about it, where wee found in divers plaines good store of rice in stacks, which our men did beate out, and brought a bord in the huske, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ships.

Rice in stacks.

The 17. day of November wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our course for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour divers of our men fell sicke of a disease in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of small continuance. Wee founde also in divers places of the woods, images set upon pinnes, with divers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round shot of stones, and divers other things, such as the barbarous people had to offer up.

Idoles.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing so hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reason of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. day of November one or two of our men died, and others also were sicke of a Calentura. [III. 771.]

The second day of January we had a little sight of land, being about the height of 28. degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day wee fell with the shoare high and bold, being in 30. degrees, and a terse, little more or lesse. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did presently faile, and was a very low land, and all sandie. About sixe leagues from the shoare wee sounded, and had about fifteene or sixteene fathome water, and blacke sandie oze. We thought to have gone to the shoare, and to have watered, but we

They fall with an high land in 30. degres $\frac{1}{3}$.

could not discerne any good harbour, and therefore we cast off to seaward againe.

The 12. day wee found our selves in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Nativitie of Christ, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere unto us, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, & not so hot but that a mans shoulders might well disgest a frize gowne, and his bellie the best Christmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but such as might content honest men.

A Portugal ship taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Englishman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the shoare, and a little short of the River of Plate, it was my good happe to espie a saile, which was a small Portugal bound for the River to a towne called Santa Fee: and from thence by horse and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to bee transported into Peru. This shippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, wee tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Master or Pilote an Englishman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the rest concerning the state of the River, and they told us that there were in the River five townes, some of 70. housholds, and some of more. The first towne was about 50. leagues up the River called Buenos Ayres, the rest some 40. some 50. leagues one from another, so that the uppermost towne called Tucaman is 230. leagues from the entrance of the River. In these townes is great store of corne, cattell, wine, and sundry fruits, but no money of gold or silver: they make a certaine kinde of slight cloth, which they give in trucke of sugar, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which were the commodities that this shippe had.

Five townes upon the river of Plate.

They had abord also 45. Negros, whereof every one in Peru yeeldeth 400. duckets a piece, and besides these, there were as passengers in her, two Portugal women and a childe.

The 11. day wee espied another saile, which was the consort of this Portugall, and to him also we gave chase, and tooke him the same day: Hee was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good store of sugar, Marmalade, and Succats, with divers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ship also we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or five friers, of which one was an Irish man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women also, which were borne in the river of Jenero. Both these ships were bought in Brasil, by a yong man which was Factor for the bishop of Tucaman, and the friers were sent for by that bishop to possesse a new Monasterie, which the bishop was then a building. The bookes, beads, and pictures in her, cost (as one of the Portugals confessed) above 1000. duckats.

Another Portugal ship taken.

An Irish frier taken.

The bishop of Tucaman in the river of Plate.

Of these ships we learned, that M. John Drake, who went in consort with M. Fenton, had his Barke cast away a little short of the River of Plate, where they were taken captives by the Savages, all saving them which were slaine in the taking: the Savages kept them for a time, and used them very hardly, yet at the last John Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and escaped, and came to the first towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but John Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ship, and was living, and in good health the last yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals they tolde us that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the River of Plate these 30. yeeres.

The newes of M. John Drake.

Richard Faireweather.

The 12. of January wee came to Seale yland, and the 14. day to the Greene yland, where going in we found hard abord the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and never lesse then five fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the yland and the maine, so that you must bee sure to borrow hard abord the maine, and leave the ledge on the larbord side.

Seale-ylands and Green-yland.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with us in our shippe seemed to bee a man of experience, and I entred into speach with him concerning the state of the River: hee tolde mee that the towne of Buenos Ayres is from the Greene yland about seventie leagues, standing on the Southside of the River, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100. leagues, standing on the same side also. At which towne their shippes doe discharge all their goods into small Barkes, which rowe and towe up the River to another towne called Ascension, which is from Santa Fee 150. leagues, where the boats discharge on shoare, and so passe all the goods by carts and horses to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

Buenos Ayres.

Santa Fee.

[III. 772.]

The towne of Ascension stands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twise in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Ascension and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats; a looking glasse a foote over is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Westward, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale yland to make provision of Seales, where a storme arose, which put us in some danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew so colde, that wee much marveiled at it, considering the height of the place. I must needes in this place finde fault with our selves and the whole company, that riding in this River 16. dayes, the chanell was not sounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day wee tooke into our ship one Miles Philips, which was left in the West Indies by M. Hawkins.

The first of February I tooke the Sunne in 38. degrees. And the 3. day of February I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41. degrees.

The 7. day of February our Captaine master Lister being in one of the prizes, hoysed over bord his Gundelo, and went abord the Admirall, and being there they sent their Gundelo abord us, for our Master, master Collins, and my selfe, & at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were set in counsell for matters touching the state of our voyage, these men whose names are under written.

Master Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admirall.
Master Christopher Lister Captaine of The barke Clifford.
John Anthonie, Master of the Admirall.
Thomas Hood, Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthonie, Master of the barke Clifford.
David Collins. Tristram Gennings.
Master William Withrington.
Master Beumond Withrington.
Master Wasnes. Master Norton.
Master Wilkes. Master Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The master Gunner:
And Alexander Gundie, his mate.
John Sarracol.

M. John Anthonie.

This company being all assembled together, the Master of the Admiral declared that the cause of our assembly was to determine after good advice, what course or way were best and most likely to all mens judgments to be taken. First for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men, and lastly the safegard of our shippes, and further shewed his minde to us all in these wordes, as neere as I could cary them away.

MY masters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not unknowen unto you all, having appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by us for the South sea. But for as much as wee doe all see the time of the yeere to bee farre spent, as also the windes to hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread so consumed that we have not left above two moneths bisket, our drinke in a maner all spent, so that we have nothing but water, which in so cold a countrey as the Streights, if we should get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the overthrow of the voyage: These things considered, both our Captaine, Master Hood, and I doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and safetie of our ships, to goe roome with the coast of Brasill, where by Gods grace wee shall well victuall our selves, both with wine which is our greatest want, and other necessaries.

Besides, it is given us here to understand by the Portugals which we have taken, that there is no doubt but that by Gods helpe and our endevour, wee shall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleasure, which if wee doe put in practise, and doe not performe it, being somewhat advised by them, they offer to loose their lives. And having by this meanes victualled our [III. 773.] selves, wee may there spend upon the coast some three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen upon some good thing to content my Lord, and to purchase our owne credits: otherwise, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and so proceede, according to my lords directions. And assure your selves (by the assistance of God) wee will not returne without such benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can give better course and advise, then this which I have delivered, let him speake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counsell, and followe it.

A resolute and worthy speech of captaine Lister.

To this speech of M. Anthony, M. Lister our captaine answered in this sort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthony,

A.D. 1587.

both, you know, that the last words that my lord had with us in such a chamber were, that in any case we should follow our voyage only for the South sea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with such a purchase, as that wee might returne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I see no safetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being so neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil consent unto it, except we be further forced, then yet wee are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excused for the next, and I rather choose death, then to returne in disgrace with my lord.

Hereunto both the captaine and master of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithstanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better possibilitie to bee performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Julian, all things considered And so agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined presently to beare up.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and divers speeches on each part concerning the altering of our course, some would continue for the Streights, and other some would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ships of victuals, and reasonable store was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the best necessaries that were in them, and so cast them off, and to plie for the Streights.

All this time wee held on our course, and the 15 day wee found our selves in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, wind, cold, and other untemperate weather, continuing in that sort five or sixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42 degrees.

They returne being in the latitude of 44 *degrees.*

[illegible]

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being something to the leeward of us, and the storme somewhat ceased, put aboord his flag in the mizen shrowds, as a token that hee would speake with us, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and having halled one another, captaine Withrington shewed the disposition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coast of Brasil, then to lie after that sort in the sea with foule weather and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other side shewed the contrary disposition of his men, and company, willing notwithstanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the shippes fell asunder, and our captaine sayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I must be content, though against my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome still, we supposing hee would have taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconveniences that would arise by deviding our selves, and losing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their course, and yet not without the company of the Admiral. And then wee began to cast about after him, and at the last bare with him, and he tolde us, that upon a second viewe of the victuals, hee found their store so slender, and their want so great, that there was no remedy for them but to seeke some meanes to be relieved, which was the onely cause that hee bare Northward. This speech made us of the barke to enter into a new consultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our calievers not serviceable, and the Smiths that should mend them to be in the Admiral. We considered also, that by breaking of company, eche ship should be the more weakened: wee continued in this consultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found master captaine Lister more desirous to accomplish, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any case to turne his ship, but that the desire which we all had to continue in consort with our Admirall, made us to thinke well of his company, and in fine an agreement and conclusion was thus made on all sides, to follow the Admiral, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final resolution to returne.

The 10 day of March, it fell out so unfortunately, that Samuel Teller our masters mate, fell overboord, and so perished, we being not able by any meanes to recover him.

March.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee espied a saile, which wee judged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, we lost her very unluckily, and the next day could have no sight of her.

[III. 774.]

The fift day of April we fel with the land of Brasilia, in the height, as I judge, of sixteen degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then aboord the Admirall, where they concluded to sende the pinnesse and our boate on shore for fresh water, because wee stoode in neede of it, which did so with eighteene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caske. They were from us till the eighth day in the morning, at which time we espied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa aboord us, and one of the chiefest Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleasure, having almost no man able to resist us, but some of our Portugals stole from us in the Canoa.

The rode of Camana.

The 11 day wee entred into the haven of Baya, where wee were received at the point comming in, with two great pieces of Ordinance, which discharged bullets at us five times a piece, but they lost shot and powder, and did us no harme. After wee had passed the point, wee halled in for the roade as close as the wind would permit us, but could not come so neere as we desired, and therefore we came to an ankor a faire birth off the towne, not without great store of shotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe.

They come into the river of Baya.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ships and one caravel, of the which one was a hulke or double flie boat of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes, having in her 24 pieces of good Ordinance: shee with the rest of the ships, together with the towne, gave us shot, and shot, but not one touched so much as any of our sayles. And least wee should seeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for every shot of theirs, two or three sometimes at the ships and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to have halled in with the ships, and to have fetched out some of them: but the wind blew then off the shore, so that wee could not possiblie doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before, which went with caravel-sailes, into the roade, and accordingly performed the same, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie. The Moone did shine, and gave very good light, and in we went with our caravels and boates, and the shot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the rest perceiving us no whit at all to shrinke or be dismayed, forsooke their ships, & began to provide to save themselves, some with their boats, some by swimming, and so wee entred the ships with a great showte, and found few to resist us: but yet the shore not being a cables length from us, they did so plie both their great and small ordinance at us, that it much annoyed us: But yet for all that we made light of their shot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Viceadmirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ships of the like burden, and presently every one cut the cables in the hause, and so by the helpe of God in despite of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The least whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes.

They take 4 ships out of the harbour of Baya, notwithstanding the shot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke shotte at us many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the last comming by the hulke towing our new prizes, we halled them and demanded whence they were, they answered us of Flushing, and then we commanded him to wey ankor, and to come after us: And not daring to refuse it, he did so, and brought with him a caravel with fortie or fiftie buts of wine in her, and

A hulke of Flushing.

another small barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by us as one of our company, and was a ship of the burden of two hundreth and fifty tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter, either of marchandize or victuals in these ships, saving in one of them we found foure buts of wine, in another two, in another one, and some fish, and all the rest of their lading was on shore.

All this was done upon Easter eeve, and we gave thanks to God, that we had sped so well: and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant, and one Portugal, to offer some ransome for the ships, as they sayd, but as I judge rather to espie our strength: we kept them that night aboord, and the next day we sent them to our Admiral.

The next day being Easter day arose a very great storme insomuch that our caravel which we first tooke brake from us, and one of our new prizes also, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, slipt away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the sea troublesome, yet wee sent certaine of our men in our boat, to recover them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath caused us to leese both our men and prizes.

In the middest of this storme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the river of Plate, seeing us all busie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might escape our handes, and suddenly slipt both out of one of the cabbins windowes, and by swimming got a shoare, a thing which seemed to us impossible, considering the outrage of the weather. [III. 775.]

This storme continued long, and prevented us of making our intended attempt against the towne, having as much to doe as possibly we might, in keeping our ships and prizes from running ashore; and falling into the hands of those that stood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the storme being a little ceased, wee all weyed and came to an Island that lyeth next Northwest from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on shore, and our carpenters set up our pinnesse.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine upon us, and beset us round, and shot at us with their bowes and arrowes, but in short time wee caused them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had some of our men hurt with some of their arrowes.

The 24 day we received out of the caravel twelve buts of wine and foure barels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinnesse was lanched: and the same day came downe unto us a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we skirmished the space of two houres to their cost.

The second day of May the Admirals boate went a shore with 14 men to fill water, and presently being on shore, they were intrapped with two or three hundred Indians which assaulted them, and slew one or two of our men, but the rest escaped notwithstanding the number of the enemie, and came safe againe with water to the ship. We suffered this losse by meere negligence, & want of circumspection.

Grosse negligence.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himselfe tooke a small barke, his owne little caravel, our pinnesse and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on shore to get victuals, amongst the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone so farre, that they were out of sight. Which being perceived by the enemie, they presently made ready their galley for Admiral, with four caravels, with as many men in them as possibly could thrust in & stand one by another: and they bare over with the North shore to meete with our pinnesse and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Lister our captaine disswaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himselfe and us also, being so far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatsoever might happen: we in the barke Clifford,

A galley at Baya.

A.D. 1587.

although wee were weakely left, yet perceiving the Galley to make after our men, weyed and pursued the galley, as neere the shore as we could conveniently come for want of water: the hulke also weyed and came after us to follow the enemie, but the enemie with his oares got sight of our pinnesse and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being espied of our men, and they seeing no way to avoide them, made themselves ready (notwithstanding the great oddes) to fight it out like men, and to live and die together. The course that they tooke for their best advantage upon the sudden, was this: they went all into the pinnesse, and made fast the Dutchmans boate to one side, and the small caravel to the other side, and so waited the comming of the enemie, giving them first of all a piece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they presently repaied againe with a piece out of the prowe of the galley, and presently after, with three or foure small brasse pieces, charged with haileshot, and so giving a mighty shoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men received them so hotely, with small shot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almost a quarter of an hour, thinking to have devoured our men, pinnesse and all. And surely to mans judgement, no other thing was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the first thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giver of all victories, so blessed our small company, and so strengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemie having received a mighty foyle, was glad to ridde himselfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee esteemed them to bee no lesse then betwixt two hundred and three hundred men in the galley, we could scarse perceive twenty men at their departure stand on their legs, but the greater part of them was slaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, & she departed from our men, hanging upon one side (as a Sowe that hath lost her left eare) with

A marveilous defeate of the Portugals by a few of our men.

the number of dead and wounded men that lay one upon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great bravado, with drumme, shouting, and crying, they departed without either noise of drumme or speech.

We lost in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Master Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel, a proper yoong man of Hampton, and another that was master Benmans man. Some also were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleased Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to give victory to 50 [III. 776.] or 60 Englishmen, against sixe or seven hundreth Portugals and Indians, for which we ceased not to give such dutifull thanks to his Majestie, as so miraculous a victory required.

Now touching the purpose of our men, who made that attempt for fresh victuals, their labour was nothing lost, but in despite of the enemie they brought to our ships 16 or 17 yong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreshing. As for us that were in our ship, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to give them any aid, yet we suppose that the countenance of our ships was an incouragement to our men, and some maner of feare to the enemie.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians which were slaine, as aforesayd, was grounded at that time upon our probable conjecture, not being able otherwise to come to the knowledge thereof: you shall understand that the next night after the fight there came aboord us two Indians upon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their masters, and they told us for a very good trueth, that the gallie went out from the towne with foure hundreth men in her, but there came not backe to the towne again alive above thirty of them all: and I amongst the rest being desirous to know of one of them, what the newes was at the towne, he answered me with great laughter: Todo esta cacado en Tierra.

Above 360 Portugals & Indians slain.

A.D. 1587.

The twelfth day I was sent for to come aboord the admirall, about the hulke: where upon the complaint of the Dutchmen, master Withrington entred into bond to them for the paiment of their fraight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gave him my advise and counsell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine sent out of our ship certaine victuals unto the Admirall, as one butte of dight rise, two chests of clean rise, one barrell of oatemeale, one barrell of peason, and one barrell of oile, because they were somewhat scanted of victuals, and we at this time were to have out of the Admirall our part of five and twenty chests of fine sugar, and more, of eight chests, and sixe chests that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundreth and thirty hats, and other divers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the shore.

The foureteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongst us all, not to leave the towne of Baya so, but notwithstanding the time that they had to strengthen themselves and the towne, yet to give an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee provided our pinnesses, caravels, and boates for the enterprise: and as we were departing from our shippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our course, so that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ships: and to say the trueth, if the weather and winde had served, our attempt had bene very desperate, considering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of seven or eight thousand, and their artillery upon the shore, playing upon us: but neverthelesse we had proceeded, if the winds had favoured us.

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entered their houses without resistance. We found in their purging house 1000 pots of sugar, some halfe purged, some a quarter, and some newly put into the pots: so that every man tooke his pot of sugar for their provision, and set all the rest on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to see if wee could find there better sugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a caravel, which wee found driving with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinnesse brought away, and set the ship on fire. Dalamor in the small prize ran so farre in, that hee brought his ship on ground, where shee lay three or foure houres, till such time as there came from the towne five caravels full of men, which being perceived of us, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The caravels came within Faulcon shot of us, but durst come no neerer, lest they might have tasted of the like banket, that they received the last time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three caravels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and set sayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purposed to visit: but the night comming on, perswaded us to the contrary.

They return again to Baya.

The 19 day we set sayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinnesses, and a flag of truce, to see if we could recover our foure men, which remained alive of those ten, that perished in our boate, of whom we spake before, which foure were unfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, shot at us, and wee as ready as they, gave them in all 27 shot, and so ankored a little from the towne, to see what they would doe.

The 20 day riding still before the towne, our Admirall sent a Negro ashore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had prisoners aboord: the effect of which letters was, that if we might have our men released and delivered us, they should have theirs from our ships.

[III. 777.] The next day in the morning, in stead of their bloody flagge, they put up two white flagges, and sent a Gingatho off to us with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Governour; but they would not consent in any case that we should have our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captivitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ships too. The same evening we weyed, and came out of the haven, halfe a league to seaward.

An Island 12 *leagues to the South of Baia.*

The 22 we set saile to sea, and the 23 came to an Island twelve leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and sixe Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portugal confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portugal with us, to goe and seeke the same ship, but that night we could not find her.

A new Portugal ship taken in a creeke.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled up into a creeke, where a man would have thought a shippe boate could not have entred: wee found her indeed laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of sugar, of which two were in powder, and twelve in loaves. This ship was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ship, this being the first voyage that ever she made, and as the Portugall confessed, shee was fraighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya having great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coast: but it was our good hap to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbon.

The 28 day we devided the meale amongst us, according to the want of every ship.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to shoare, to fill water: and upon a sudden they were assaulted with fifty or sixty Portugals, and so many more Indians armed with shot and other weapons, and they slew their Master and Purser, and the rest were hurt, but yet escaped with their lives: a good warning for us to bee circumspect, and carefull in our landing.

A good warning for us to be circumspect in landing.

The last day of May wee cast off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other necessaries out of her, into them. The same day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the shore, and dared us to come on land: whereupon wee went into our pinnesses with fortie shot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water side: but master Lister with nine men followed them, and they fled still before them, and durst not stay their approch: so they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleasure.

June.

The third day of June our captaine master Lister, having a great desire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requested him to give him sixe buts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrells of flesh, and to have Thomas Hood and seven or eight seamen for some of our landmen, and by Gods help he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South sea: but admirall mightily withstoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requests.

An offer of captaine Lister to go with his one ship onely for the South sea.

The 7 of June, having no use at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and cast off another, and filled our owne ships with the necessaries of them.

The 8 day wee put off to sea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankoring place, because of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall sent for us to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde us that my lords voyage for the South sea was overthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it best to plie for some of the Islands of the West India, or the Azores, to see if they could meete with some good purchase, that might satisfie my lord. These wordes were taken heavily of all the company, and no man would answere him, but kept silence, for very griefe to see my lords hope thus deceived, and his great expenses and costs cast away. The common sort seeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee espied a sayle, whereupon our pinnesse and Dalamor gave her chase, and put her ashore upon the Island, where the men forsooke her, and ran away with such things as they could conveniently carie: our pinnesse boorded her, and found little in her; they tooke out of her nine chests of sugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and so left her upon the sands.

[III. 778.]

Another pinnesse taken.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the first of July fell with the land againe, where we fished, and found reasonable good store. I tooke the latitude that day, and found our selves in 10 degrees and 22 minutes.

July.

They returned Northward.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and wee came so neere it, that Dalamor (as he told us) espied some of the ships that were in the harbour: yet notwithstanding we all fell to leeward of the river, & could not after that, by any meanes recover the height of it againe: but we ceased not on all parts to endevour the best we could, & oftentimes lost company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, having so much overshot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southwest.

Fernambuck in the Southerly latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minuts, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further wee went, the more untowardly did the rest of our ships worke, either to come into haven, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I suppose, that by reason of the froward course of the Admirall, he meant of purpose to lose us: for I know not how the neerer we endevoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from us, and wee seeing that, kept on our owne course, and lookt to our selves as well as we could.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to consultation, for our best course: some would goe for the West India, some directly North for England; and in conclusion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne countrey, considering our necessities of victuals and fresh water, and yet if any place were offered us in the way, not to omit it, to seeke to fill water.

A lowe Island in 3 degrees & 49 minutes.

The 26 day in the morning, we espied a lowe Island, but we lost it againe, and could descrie it no more. This day we found our selves in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we searched what water we had left us, and found but nine buts onely, so that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preserve it as much as might be, wherewith every man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

August.

The first of August we found our selves 5 degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our course homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a sorrowfull accident fell out in our hulke, which being devided from us in a calme, fell afire by some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ship, or to save the men.

The hulke of Flushing burnt with all the men by negligence.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our selves into the height of 41 degrees & 20 minutes, somewhat to the Northwards of the Islands of the Azores: and thus bulting up and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an end of the voyage.

A discourse of the West Indies and South sea written by Lopez Vaz a Portugal, borne in the citie of Elvas, continued unto the yere 1587. Wherein among divers rare things not hitherto delivered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the river of Plate, by Captaine Withrington and Captaine Christopher Lister, in the fleete set foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of Cumberland for the South sea in the yeeré 1586.

Francis Drake an Englishman being on the sea, and having knowledge of the small strength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinnesses, and landed an hundreth and fifty men: and leaving one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellowes in the forte, who discharged and sounded in

This voyage was made in the yeere 1572.

like maner. This attempt put the townesmen in such extreme feare, that leaving their houses, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themselves what the matter should be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at so sudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the most part of good discretion joyned foureteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to see who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they discovered the Englishmen, and perceiving that they were but a few, discharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was such, that they slew [III. 779.] the trumpetter, and shot the captaine (whose name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himselfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the rest of his men: but they in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and being not answered againe, and hearing the calivers discharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried because of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and saw them fled, he and the rest of his company were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, they swamme & waded all to their Pinnesses, and departed forth of the harbour, so that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might have slaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this skirmish any more then one Spaniarde slaine, and of the Englishmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coast lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great sound or gulfe, where the first Spaniardes that ever dwelt upon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene: howbeit they abode not long there, because of the unholesomenesse of the place.

But Captaine Drake being discontent with the repulse that the men of Nombre de Dios gave him, went with his Pinnesses into the said bay or sound of Dariene, where having conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their masters of Panamá and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very same time many mules were comming from Panamá to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and silver. Upon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred shot, and the said Negros, stayed in the way till the treasure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by those that drove the mules, who mistrusted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the silver he left behinde, because he could not carrie it over the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to the house of crosses called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leave their goods, where hee slew sixe or seven of the marchants, but found neither gold nor silver, but great store of marchandize: and so he fired the said house, with all the goods, which were judged to be worth above two hundred thousand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this house to satisfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and foorthwith recovered his Pinnesses: where fortune so favoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the sea side above three hundred souldiers, which were sent of purpose to take him: but God suffered him to escape their hands, to be a farther plague unto the Spaniards.

Venta de cruzes.

Also another Englishman named John Oxenham hearing what spoyle Captaine Drake had done upon that coast, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ship was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with seventie persons: he had conference also with the foresaid Negros, but being advertized that the treasure was conducted by souldiers, he determined with himselfe to doe that which never any man before durst undertake to doe. For being most resolute of his purpose, and not looking nor forecasting what danger might ensue of this bold enterprize, he landed his

John Oxenham anno 1575.

men in the same place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ship to shore, cut downe boughes of trees, and covered his ship with them, and hid up his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leaving not one man in his ship, he tooke two small peeces of ordinance, and his calievers, and good store of victuals, with all other necessaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros above twelve leagues up into the maine land, unto a river that runneth into the South sea: and by this river in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinnesse, which was 45 foote long by the keele; which Pinnesse being finished, he went downe the river and passed into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arrived at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues distant from Panamá. This Iland lieth in the South sea as they saile from Peru to Panamá, and here he stayed ten dayes, before he could take any shipping, but at length there came a small barke from a place called Quito in Peru: this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread: and not being content with this, he stayed a long while, before he would sende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of silver in barres, which being all aboord his Pinnesse, he shaped his course toward the river from whence he came: but before his departure he landed on the foresaid Iland to finde pearles, and went to a small towne of the Iland inhabited by Negros for the same purpose: where finding but small store, he returned to his Pinnesse, and comming neere unto the river he sent away his two prizes, and with his Pinnesse entered up the river. The Negros of the Iland of perles, so soone as the Englishmen were departed, posted in their Canoas to Panamá, to signifie unto the Governour what they had done. Whereupon the Governour within two dayes after sent out foure barkes and an hundred souldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which souldiers was called Juan de Ortega: who went first to the Iland of pearles, & there had knowledge which way

A river running into the South sea.

[III. 780.]

the Englishmen did take, and in pursuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Englishmen, which tolde him that they were gone up the river. But when he was come to the enterance of the river, he knew not which way to take, because the river ranne into the sea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himselfe to passe up the greatest of the three, he saw comming downe with the streame many feathers of hens out of one of the lesser mouthes: which mouth he entered, and sayling foure dayes up the same, hee descryed the Englishmens pinnesse lying upon the sand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but sixe Englishmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, & having thoroughly ransacked the said pinnesse, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards seeing this, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leaving about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie shot up into the countrey, and halfe a league from the river they found a little house made with boughes, where the Englishmen had left all their treasure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Englishmen any further; but the English captaine with all his men, and above 200 Negros followed the Spaniards unto the rivers side, and set upon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the bushes did easily put the English to flight, and they tooke seven of them alive, and slewe eleven and five Negros: so the Spaniards returned with the losse of two men and five or sixe hurt. Then they asked those Englishmen which they had taken prisoners, why they departed not with their treasure, having fifteene dayes libertie? They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and silver unto the place where their ship was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure journeys, for he promised to give them part of the treasure beside their wages, but the mariners would needes have it by and by: whereat the captaine being angry because they put so small trust in his word, would not suffer his saylers to carrie it, but said he would get Negros to serve his turne, and so these were the Negros aforesaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and silver: but by the way he met with the five Englishmen which fled from the pinnesse, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part: but having the overthrow, and his best men being slaine and taken prisoners, he thought to have returned to his ship, and so to have gone for England. The Spanish captaine having heard this discourse of the English prisoners, buried the dead bodies, embarking all things, and with the Englishmen and their pinnesse returned backe unto Panamá. Thus was the Englishmens voyage overthrowen.

Now so soone as the foure barkes and the pinnesse were arrived at Panamá, the Governour of that place sent a messenger overland to Nombre de Dios, to advertise the townesmen, where the Englishmens ship lay: whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ships and went into the bay of Dariene where the Englishmen had left their ship, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; so that the poore Englishmen were left in the mountaines very naked and destitute of all comfort: for the Spaniards had taken out of the foresayd house of boughes all their tooles & other necessaries, so that they could by no meanes have any succour: whereas otherwise they might have builded another pinnesse, and provided better for themselves to have returned for their owne countrey.

These newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not convenient to suffer those fiftie Englishmen which were yet alive, to continue in the mountaines among the said Negros. Wherefore he sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 shot to seeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take some one small barke or other that sayled to and againe in the North sea, whereby they might the better shift for themselves: but before they had finished their pretended worke, the Spanish souldiers set upon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were sicke: but the rest fled, whom the Spaniards pursued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panamá. Where the Justice asked the English captaine, whither he had the Queenes license, or the license of any other Prince or Lord? And he answered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Justice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panamá, saving the Captaine himselfe, the Master, and the Pilot, and five boyes, which were caried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet living.

Warre made against the Negros. [III. 781.]

The king of Spaine having intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros who had assisted the Englishmen, which Negros before were slaves unto the Spaniards, and (as is aforesaide) fled from their masters into those mountaines, and so joyned themselves to the Englishmen, thinking by that meanes to be revenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the first comming of these three hundred souldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great justice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a season the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards so, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being advertised by his Captaines, as also how the countrey was full of mountaines and rivers, and very unhealthfull, insomuch that his souldiers died, he wrote unto his said Captaines to make an agreement with those Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And so they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeased. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniardes allotted unto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed unto all those which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Masters, upon condition that from that day forward, whatsoever other fugitive Negros should resort unto them, they should returne them home either dead or alive, if not, that they should pay for them. Upon these conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed upon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they have Spaniardes for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Judge, and with this they holde themselves very well contented, and are obedient unto their rulers.

Frenchmen.

The Spaniards since they conquered those parts have seene many Frenchmen on that coast, but never any Englishmen in that place, save those two onely which I have before mentioned. And although the Frenchmen have come strong, yet durst they never put foot on shore as the English did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Englishmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coast, caused two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coast. The first yeere that they were made they tooke sixe or seven French ships. So soone as this was knowen there used fewe English or French men of warre to come on the coast, untill this yeere 1586. when as the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong fleete of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as is well knowen unto all Christendome. But (God sparing the king of Spaine life) hee will sufficiently provide to keepe his subjectes from the invasions of other Nations.

Seven French ships taken by the gallies.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and S. Augustine.

Cartagena.

Now to go forward with our begunne discourse, the next towne upon this coast beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it standeth in a more healthfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering upon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and having a very good port for the harbour of ships: and it is called Cartagena, because it resembleth very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth above foure hundred housholds. It is very rich by reason of the ships staying there, when they goe or come from

Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Also it is greatly enriched by the marchandize, which is there discharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought unto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land: neither can they travel from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, because of the mountaines and standing waters, which lie in the way, so that they are faine to carry their goods up a river called The great river of Magdalen. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues up this river; for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth so swift a current, that the barkes are constrained to discharge their goods at a place in the river called Branco de Malambo, into small canoas which rowe close by the shores side. In this river are great abundance of Crocodiles, so huge and terrible to behold, that such as never sawe them before are very fearefull at the first sight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will streightway catch at them. In some places this river is very unhealthfull and full of noysome wormes; but the first place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompox is exceeding healthfull. The countrey adjoyning upon this river they call The new kingdome of Granada, because the captaine called Cesada which first conquered the same, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the use of the Spanish captaines, when they have conquered any Province of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themselves were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne & other victuals, and hath many gold-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, wherof they send so many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before these countreys were found, they were in great estimation. Here are also dwelling many of the Indian people so meeke and gentle of nature, that they are

Nuevo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande della Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

called flies. This land is very plaine and holesome, and the inhabitants are given to peace.

[III. 782.] *Popayan.* From this kingdome they travell to another countrey called La governacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdome of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but those that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which caused the Spaniardes to make great warre before they could overcome them. In this province there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

From this countrey of Popayan they travell along till they come to the first inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which joyneth upon the South sea called Quito. *Quito.* This towne I will leave any further to speake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I have spoken of the two foresaid Provinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a passage by land from Cartagena to Peru, which is about five hundred leagues through: *A passage over land from Cartagena to Peru.* so that besides the two hundred leagues which they goe up the river, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to travell in, insomuch that oftentimes postes are sent too and fro. But because it is so long a journey, marchants use not to travell that way, but when they are inforced so to doe. If any forren Nation should become Lordes of the South sea, the king of Spaine might have his treasure conveyed unto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniardes against their king, he sent his power to suppresse them through these Provinces. This I write onely for that I knowe some Englishmen have thought, that in taking the South sea, or Panamá or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treasure of Peru could not be conveyed unto him, and that the king could not succour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Howbeit I doe here most certainely assure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

But now I will returne to my former discourse. Upon the seacoast of Tierra firma Eastward from Cartagena standeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie river of Magdalen before named falleth into the sea with such a strong current, that by reason thereof it is knowen 20 leagues from the shore. Santa Martha is a very poore towne, because it hath often bene robbed by the Frenchmen, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell thereabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines covered with snow, which streatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very streights of Magellan. These mountaines are seene with snow upon their tops above thirtie leagues into the sea. At the foote of these wilde mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowen thereabout: but because the countrey adjoyning is so mountainous, and the inhabitants so many and of so good a courage, shooting poysoned arrowes which are present death to such as are wounded with the same; therefore it lyeth as yet unconquered, notwithstanding it hath cost many Spanish captaines their lives.

Santa Martha.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

The rich valley of Tagrona.

Passing along the coast of Tierra firma to the East of Santa Martha, where is an other small towne of above an hundred houses called Rio de Hacha. This towne is somewhat rich by reason of the pearles which they get there. Also they have a trade with the Indians for some small quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coast to Cabo de la Vela, which because it is of the same propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to speake of it. Upon this coast there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the sea, at the mouth whereof they gather great store of pearles. Beyond this place there is another poore towne, which hath sixe or seven times beene spoyled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way to the newe kingdome of Granada, but it is above seven hundred leagues in length,

Rio de Hacha.

Cabo de la Vela.

Great store of pearles.

this way is travelled very seldome, because the Indians will usually set upon the travellers. More up into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is some golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniardes, whereof I have had but small notice, and therefore I let them passe. The next place of any account is the Iland of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniardes inhabitant. This Island of Margarita is very small, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine lande: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and so would have continued till this present day, had it not beene spoyled by men of warre, because it standeth so farre from the maine land, notwithstanding they yet gather good store of pearles. Upon this Island are bred better horses and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they have great store of horses in Peru, but not so good. And because we have begunne to speake of the Iland of Margarita, you are to understand, that to the North of the foresaid coast of Tierra firma lie above seventie Ilands being all very little, except Cuba, Hispaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Juan de Puerto rico, which Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great, yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other smaller Ilands have bene inhabited by the Indians, and have had good store of gold, pearles, and emraldes; but the Spaniards have destroyed most of those Indians from off the earth, and in many of those Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I have small cause to intreate any further of them. But Hispaniola is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is wasted away. It was at the Spaniards first coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bignesse in the whole world, yet now there are none left: for they were men of so hard a heart, that they murthered themselves rather then they would serve the Spaniards: for being men under so small civill governe-

The Ile of Margarita.

Excellent horses and mules.

More then 70. Ilands.

[III. 783.]

Hispaniola.

The Indians killed themselves, rather then they would serve the tyrannous Spaniards.

ment as they were, never was there any people knowen of so resolute and desperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together over night, they should be found all dead before the morning: such extreme hate did this brutish people beare against the Spaniards, that they chose rather to die the death, then to indure their insolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did most grieve them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselves: which the Spaniard perceiving sayd unto them: seeing you will hang your selves rather then goe and worke, I likewise will hang my selfe and will beare you company, because I will make you worke in an other world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with us into another world: so unwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that escaped death, save onely these fewe, which came to passe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwise they would have hanged themselves also. Some of these people are yet living, but very few. This Iland of Hispaniola is for the most part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, because the chiefe citie thereof is so called, which was the first citie in all the West Indies that was inhabited. There are in this citie above eight hundred fire-houses of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is unhealthfull, for it raineth here the most part of the yeere. The riches that now this Iland affordeth are sugar (for here are many Ingenios or sugar-houses) and great store of hides by reason of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines also, which is the cause that they have such store of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhausted, and the golde which they have commeth from other places. This Iland being (as is beforesaide) destitute of the first inhabitants, and the

A pretty jest.

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

Spaniardes lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke unto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they have so increased, that the Iland is nowe as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitantes; so that the Spaniardes carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there sell them. The chiefest victuall that they have in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Juca, which being eaten as it commeth new out of the ground is present death: but first they boyle it and after presse it, and the liquor that is strained therefrom is deadly poyson: howbeit this roote being pressed so dry, that there remaineth no moisture in it, they mingle and temper the same with water and so make cakes therof, which are very savory & good to eat, & this is all the bread which they have in those Ilands. There go from hence yerely into Spaine 7 or 8 ships at the least full fraighted with sugar & hides.

Negros mightily increased.

A root called Juca.

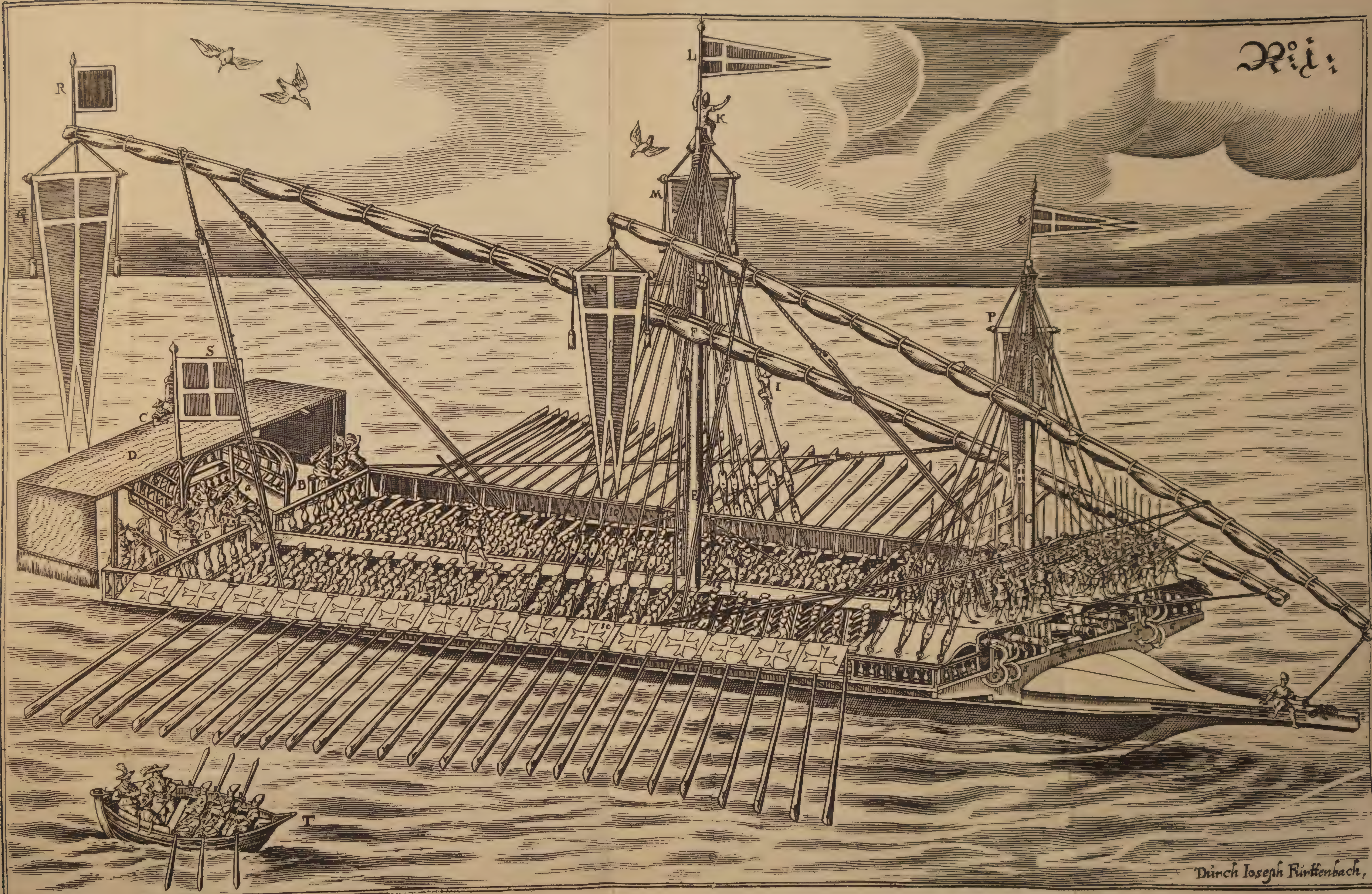
Neere unto Hispaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like unto Hispaniola, although there is not so much sugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Havana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging thereunto. The townesmen are very rich by reason of the fleetes that come from Nueva Espanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the safeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it selfe there is a castle built neere the said harborough kept with Spanish souldiers; neither is there any castle or souldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sant Juan de Puerto rico. It is but little, yet every way as plentifull as the other two are; and therefore I omit to speake thereof.

The Ile of Cuba.

S. Juan de Puerto rico.

But now to prosecute my discourse of the port-townes upon the maine lande: Eastwarde and Southward from Margarita there are no townes inhabited by Spaniardes or Portugals, till you come to Fernambuck upon the coast of Brasil; notwithstanding that betweene the sayd Iland

Fernambuck.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Durch Ioseph Furttenbach,

A GALLEY

and Fernambuck runneth the mightie river of Marannon, whereof (both because of the greatnesse and the riches contayned therein) I must needes make some relation, in regarde I have promised to speake of every place that is of any value in all the Indies. This river is one of the greatest in the world, and was first found when as the Spaniardes sought out the other coast: but none can passe up this river because of the greatnesse of the current which commeth downe, as also there are many shelves of sand lying in the mouth thereof: wherby it was long before the riches in and about this river were knowen, untill such time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro passing thorough the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, because there groweth great store of Sinamome, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the East Indies. The sayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie river, where he sawe the countrey people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and sell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro seeing this, was desirous to finde out the ende of this river, but he could not travell by lande because of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a small Barke or Pinnesse to goe and discover from whence the saide Indians brought their golde, and sent in the saide Pinnesse a Captaine under him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the river, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, forcing them to passe along the river, and to enter into the Sea, and so they sayled on forwarde to the foresaide Ile of Margarita: but as they passed downe this river they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were possessed of great store of golde. These men with their Pinnesse were passing downe this river eight monethes, for the river lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durst the Spaniardes ever lande, because they sawe

The great river of Marannon.

[III. 784.]

Gonsalo Pizarro.

La Canela.

The great river of Marannon or Orellana.

Orellana sent downe the river of Marannon with fiftie men.

the countrey so full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great store of victuals and some golde.

Now this Orellana comming unto Margarita with these good newes and riches, determined not to returne unto his Captaine Pizarro which sent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and presented him with the golde that he brought out of the river: whereupon the king sent him with a fleete of shippes and sixe hundred men to inhabite the sayd river: but because of the great current and sholdes that are therein, hee left the most part of his men and shippes, and with those that remained he went unto certaine Ilandes hard by the river, and built him Pinnesses; but the countrey being very unhealthfull, himselfe and many of his men dyed, and the residue went every man which way pleased him best. The fame of this river was straightway spread through Spaine and Portugal, insomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo asked license of Don Juan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquere the sayd river: for from the mouth of this river to the mouth of the river of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: so that the king of Portugall having this river in his part gave it to the saide Lewis de Melo to conquere: who taking tenne ships and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this river, lost all the said ships saving two, in one of the which two was Lewis de Melo himselfe: also the most part of the men that were in the ships cast away were saved and got to the shore, and so went by lande to the Iland of Margarita; from whence they were dispersed throughout all the Indies.

Lewis de Melo.

Thus these two fleetes of shippes being so unfortunately cast away, never durst any Captaine afterward attempt by sea to conquer the sayde river. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueva Granada before mentioned there have gone two or three Captaines by land to discover it, for a rumour went over all the countrey of the great riches contained in this river; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to say, The golden river. It is thought that God will not have this river to be knowen, for that one Captaine by lande had most of his people slaine by those of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all these came to any plaine discovery, till a few yeeres past a Captaine of the countrey of Navarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almost the same way that Gonsalo Pizarro had before discovered, and was accompanied with about some seven hundred Spaniards, it being a great marvell how he could get so many, amongst whom were many Gentlemen and old souldiers of Peru, who caused divers mutinies and insurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous souldiers were the cause of their captaines death. Howbeit with all these men captaine Pedro de Orzua came unto the head of the said river: but you must understand, that this river is nourished not onely with the waters and freshets that come from the mountaines of Peru, but also by all the rivers betweene the Equinoctiall and sixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cause it to be so great. Nowe at the head of this river the sayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinnesses with many Canoas, wherein he caried above two thousand Indians to helpe him, with many horses and other provision, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not possible for him to carry all his provision by lande, because the mountaines be very great, there being also betweene them many small rivers which fall into this great river above twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine having all his things in good order went downe the river with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a councell, determining in the same place to build a towne and to fortifie

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

[III. 785.]

it very strongly, to the end he might leave all his stuffe there, and such men as were not souldiers. And so they began to build the said towne, and wrought upon it all the winter: where because it raineth much, and withall is very hot, sicknes and want of victuals began to prevaile amongst them, wherupon the souldiers fell a murmuring among themselves. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfullest & richest countries of the world, they were more inclined to have their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cause that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they saw with their eyes most evident apparances of golde, & also that up into the countrey it seemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured & would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of these men there was a souldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie & lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man having bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here give over his old wont, but asked his fellow-souldiers, what they went to seeke for in those wild deserts whither they were brought: For (said he) if you seeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, flesh, and faire women also; so that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes, and that it were no hard enterprize, because all the souldiers and poore men of Peru would turne unto them, and that that were a better course, then to goe and conquere the savage people in those mountaines: so that once having the government of Peru, the king of Spaine should be inforced to agree with them: if not (sayd he) we shall not lacke them that will succour us, to have the riches of Peru. By these perswasions he brought many souldiers to be of his minde, and conspired also with a young gentleman of Sivill called Don Fernando de Gusman (who was in love with a young woman which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore did the

Lopez de Agira. his dangerous conspiracie.

Pedro de Orzua murthered.

sooner agree unto the wicked intent of Agira) to murther the captaine. Who on a night being asleepe in his bed, the said conspirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there stabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they slew also all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry, saying, God save the king, God save the king: whereupon all the campe was in an uprore. Then Lopez de Agira made unto the souldiers a long oration, and got them all to consent unto him, some by force, and some because they durst not say to the contrary, and others of their good will, and so in the end they all agreed unto his determined purpose. Then made they Fernando de Gusman their head, & Agira was made a captaine. This done, because the people should the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as ever any Spaniard committed: for he made an altar, wheron he and all the souldiers renounced their service unto the king of Spaine, & so as people without a king, chose the said Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage unto him. These matters being thus finished they consulted among themselves which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe up the river, by which they came downe, in regarde of the strong current, and going backe overland they should be very weake for want of horsemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the river. Then saide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinnesses & souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leave behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the sicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, because he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe governour himselfe, tooke unto him 30 of his owne countreymen of his disposition, and on the sudden slew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had sworne to obey: &

Don Ferdinando de Gusman proclaimed king of Peru.

Fernando de Gusman slaine.

now by his subtill practises, being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the souldiers to appoint himselfe their governour, & made them beleeve that all the cruelties committed were for their saveguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere unto France, wherefore I beleeve him rather to have beene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be so much crueltie as this man shewed. Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or persons of qualitie, and therefore he slew all such persons; and then departing onely with the common souldiers, he left behind him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures. If I should rehearse all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I should be over tedious unto you. Onely in fewe words I say, that this man proceeded downe the river, having with him onely foure hundred men: but before he passed the river, and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two hundred and thirty men, for the rest hee had put to death, and left on shore among the people of the countrey: all which tyranny he used, because he ever stood in feare of his life: for had he seene at any time but two souldiers talking together, he would streight suspect that they were conspiring of his death, and therefore he used the practises abovesaide. And he never went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biscaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purposes.

A new massacre.

[III. 786.]

As these souldiers with their Captaine came downe the river, they sawe many Canoas with golde in them passing too and fro, and people on both sides of the river, and in their passage many times they landed, and got good store of golde and victuals. Now also did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to say, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but these women fight to aide their husbands, and not by them-

Great store of gold in the river of Marannon.

Amazones women which helpe their husbands in the warres.

selves alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of these women upon divers partes of this river, who seeing the Spaniardes fighting with their husbandes came in to succour them, and shewed themselves more valiant then their husbandes; for which cause it was named, The river of Amazones. The Spaniardes intent was onely to passe downe the river, neither sought they at all to discover the Inland, and yet they tooke good store of golde, putting it into one of their Pinnesses, where Lopez de Agira himselfe was embarked, which Pinnesse at the mouth of the river was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Governour thereof supposing he had beene one of the kings loyall captaines, received him with pinnesses, and brought good store of victuals unto him. But he putting the sayd Governour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two shippes that were there, and constrained likewise an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, besides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good store of victuales, and many horses also. And then he returned to the maine land, saying, that with his small forces hee would subdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde souldiers and poore people, at the first sight of him, would turne to his side and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceived: for before he had marched two dayes journey up into the land, the Governour of Nueva Granada came against him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other souldiers would have joyned themselves unto him, whereby his strength might have beene the more, was quite frustrate of his expectation: for even his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe seeing himselfe thus left destitute of his souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more unnaturall bloodie act then ever Nero the tyrant did, for he murthered his owne

Good store of golde.

Lopez de Agira arriveth at Margarita 1568.

daughter being but sixeteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cause why he killed her was, that she might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and these words he used unto her, so soone as he had given her her deaths wound: but before he could finish this cruell act, the souldiers came upon him, and cut him in pieces, also his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Great riches hidden within the river of Marannon.

Thus have you heard the miserable ende of this bloodie caitife: in regarde of whose treacherous and mischievous dealing the king would never since suffer this river to bee throughly discovered; so that the riches and treasure of the said river remaine unknowen even untill this present day.

The coast of Brasill, why it was so called, and by whom it was at the first discovered.

Now leaving to discourse any longer of this river of Marannon, all the coast betweene the saide river and the river of Plate, is called The coast of Brasill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the same countrey, called Brasill-wood, whereof there is great store in those partes. This coast of Brasill was first discovered by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in the second voyage which the king of Portugall caused to be made to the East Indies: and the foresayde Pedro Alvarez tooke possession of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof sent presently shippes to discover the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwise called The West Indies: for which cause there grewe some controversie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinsmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall should holde all the countrey that he had discovered, the which was (as I have said) from the river of Marannon to the river of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it stretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catelina; whereupon there have risen many controversies betweene the Portugales and Spaniardes, which have cost many men their lives.

There came into the said river of Plate in the yeere 1587 two English ships and a Pinnesse of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the streights of Magellan, and ankored ten leagues [III. 787.] within the said river before a little Iland lying hard by another called Seal-Iland. On which Iland the Captaine of one of the ships called Christopher Lister, and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes graven on a rocke by the sea side; which are thought to have beene there engraven by one Martin Alonso de Souza, who was sent by the king Don Emanuel to discover this coast. Therefore I thinke the Portugales have reason for that which they alleage concerning the extension of the said coast of Brasil. Wherfore the king of Portugall gave this land to diverse of his gentlemen to inhabite. Most of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe starke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters; for which cause they make warres one against another to get men to eate; they are stout and good bow-men. The first place inhabited on this coast beyonde the river of Marannon is called Fernambuck so named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Parajua, unto which port not many yeeres past the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall resorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ships made yeerely voyages to lade Brasill-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniardes, went and burnt five French shippes within the port, and tooke the fort it selfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were slaine; so that since that time the Spaniardes have inhabited there till this present. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greatest towne in all that coast, and hath above three thousand houses in it, with seventie Ingenios for sugar, and great store

Fernambuck.

A fort built by the Frenchmen at Parajua.

Parajua now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambuck containeth 3000 *houses.*

of Brasill-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from some places upon the coast of Brasill. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for small barkes: this place belongeth as yet unto the sonne of Duarte Coelio. *Cape S. Augustin.* Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Sant Augustin, *Rio de Sant Francisco.* and next thereunto is the river of Sant Francisco, which is a great river. Betweene this river and Baya it is all a wildernesse inhabited with cruell salvages, for whomsoever they take they kill and eate him. The *Bayha a towne of 1000 houses.* towne of Bayha belongeth to the king, and therefore the governour of all the coast keepeth his residence in the same, as also the bishop. It containeth 1000 houses, & 40 Ingenios for sugar, and hath much cotton, but no Brasill-wood at all. The sea runneth up into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get some yeres good store of Amber-griese. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet is it healthfull, & the aire holesome. The next towne upon *As Ilhas.* the coast called As Ilhas, or The Iles, is but a small towne, containing not above 150 houses, and but three Ingenios for sugar. Most of the inhabitants are labouring men, which use to carry victuals in their small barkes unto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

Puerto Seguro. The next place unto this is called Puerto Seguro: it consisteth of 4 small townes, which containe not in all above 300 houses. The inhabitants of this towne also live by carrying of victuals along the coast; and the towne it selfe belongeth to the Duke de Avero. Hard *The sholdes called Abrolhos.* by this port begin the sholdes which they call Abrolhos; and these sholdes lie above 25 leagues into the sea.

The next habitation of Christians beyond these sholdes *Espirito Santo.* is Espirito Santo which consisteth of two townes, both of them contayning about 300 houses: and they belong to a gentleman called Vasques Fernandes de Coutinho. *Rio de Jenero.* From hence you passe along the coast to the river of Jenero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place the Frenchmen first inhabited, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villegagnon. The said Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded every yeere great store of Brasill-wood from hence, and had great friendship with the salvage people, who did him good service, by reason whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefite out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall sent out a power against the Frenchmen, who first tooke the French shippes by sea, and then landed and besieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: unto whom, because he was a gentle person, and never hurt the Portugales, they gave thirtie thousand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and so sent him for France. Since which time the Portugales have inhabited this river. There are at this present onely two Ingenios, but great store of Brasill-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Foure townes standing upon the river of S. Vincente.

These English men were M. Fenton and Luke Ward.

From this river of Jenero they passe along the coast to Sant Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greatest whereof is called Santos, and consisteth of foure hundred houses, there are also three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres past there came two English ships into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither three of the king of Spaines ships, and fought with the Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunke one of their ships, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no English shippes that were bound for the streights of Magellan should victuall there, the which fort standeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Souza: this is the last inhabited place upon all the coast of Brasill. This coast of Brasill is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling upon it, for which cause they cannot goe from towne to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the sea side. From Sant Vincente the coast is all mountainous, till you come to the Ile of Santa

[III. 788.]

A fort built at the river of Sant Vincente against the English.

The Iland of Santa Catelina.

Catelina, and from this Iland till you come even to the straights of Magellan, the coast is very plaine and without woods.

Rio de la Plata. Having proceeded thus farre, it will not be amisse to speake somewhat of the river of Plate, which is one of the greatest rivers in all the world: for at the mouth it is above five and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards have gone up in it above sixe hundred leagues, and could not attaine to the head thereof. The first Spaniard that entered this river, and inhabited the same was called Solis, who passed up 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to say, The river of silver, because of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I have not heard of any silver that ever was found there. The saide Solis returned into Spaine, without any further search into this river: howbeit another *Sebastian Cabota.* Captaine called Sebastian Cabota went up this river 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort standeth untill this present: where leaving his ships, he went higher up the river in smal Pinnesses, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor silver, nor ought else of any great value, he returned to his ships, and sayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentleman called Don Pedro de Mendoza furnished forth a great fleete of ships, wherein were shipped a thousand men, fortie mares, and twentie horses, with all other creatures to inhabite this river: and comming thither he went up into the countrey to see what riches he could there finde, leaving all his stuffe, cattle, and provision *Buenos Ayeres.* at a place called Buenos Ayeres, so named in regard of the freshnesse of the ayre, and the healthfulnesse of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the river, and here he landed first: at this place the river is above seven leagues broad, and very low land on both sides without trees. This river is very often subject to great and sudden stormes, so that with a storme this Don Pedro lost eight of his ships, and in the rest he returned for Spaine, saying to his men, that he would goe seeke victuals, and so left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the most part of them died for hunger also, because in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but small store of victuals, onely they lived by hunting of Deere, and by fishing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining alive, who in the ship boates went higher up the river, leaving in the place called Buenos Ayeres their mares and horses: but it is a wonder to see, that of thirty mares and seven horses which the Spaniards left there, the increase in fortie yeeres was so great, that the countrey is 20 leagues up full of horses; whereby a man may conjecture the goodnesse of the pasture, and the fruitfulnesse of the soile. The Spaniards that went up this river passed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey ful of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians bestowed their daughters in mariage upon them, and so they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, and it standeth on the North side of the river. The foresaid Spaniardes were twentie yeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting upon this river was brought into Spaine: but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their sons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, should live without the knowledge of any other Christians: they determined among themselves to build a ship, and to sende newes into Spaine with letters unto the king of all things that had passed among them, upon that river. These newes being brought to the king, he sent three ships, with a Bishop and certaine Priests, and Friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell, when this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the river, and travelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension; but finding neither gold nor silver, they returned backe againe unto the Ascension. The people are so

The wonderfull increase of a few horses and mares.

La Ascension 300 *leagues the river of Plate.*

multiplyed in this citie, that now it is one of the greatest in all the Indias, and containeth above two thousand houses. The countrey adjoyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, & with sugar and cotton. From this citie of Ascension 150 leagues towards the mouth of the river standeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South side of the said river, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, so that when I come to intreat of Peru I wil speake of this way, and declare who first found it. Also five yeeres past they have inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South side of the river, to the end they might have trade from the coast of Brasill, but their fortune was such, that the very first time they went to Brasill, and would have returned againe to the river of Plate, they were taken by two ships of England that were going for the streights of Magellan.

Santa Fe.

[III. 789.]

Two English ships, whereof M. Fenton was Generall 1582.

The coast along from this river to the streights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly discovered, either by sea or lande, saving onely certaine portes which they have found, sayling to the streights. Wherefore passing them over, I will here intreat of the saide streights, and declare who was the first finder of them, as likewise what was the cause why they were sought for. The Portugales therefore having first found and conquered the East Indies, and discovered the coast of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foresaide riches in their ships into Portugall: there grewe by this meanes great envie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes; insomuch that the Councell of Spaine saide unto the Emperour Charles the fift being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world. Upon which words beganne a controversie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and also kinsmen, agreed immediatly to part the whole world betweene them, in such wise as I for my part could never understand the certaintie thereof. The world being thus divided, a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes born in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good house, & very wel seene in cosmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as also being offended with Don Emanuel his Sovereigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Isles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a shorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them such infallible reasons, that the Councell giving credite unto his wordes, sent him to sea with five ships and 400 men all very well appointed. With these five ships setting saile from S. Lucar, he came to the coast of Brasill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and so sayling on along that coast he passed by the river of Plate, which river was discovered a little before by Solis. And notwithstanding many stormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length unto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the river of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Julian, and wintered there: and there also he hanged 5 men, and put on shore a Priest, because they would have made the company to stand against their captaine, and so to have returned backe againe. But in the end having pacified his men, he put to sea, and within 5 dayes after he found the streights, which by him were so much desired: but before he entered the said streights there befell such a mutinie in one of his ships, that the same ship returned backe againe. And so himselfe with the other foure ships entering the streights, one of the said foure with all the men therein was cast away at the very enterance: which losse notwithstanding he proceeded on with the other three ships, and passing many troubles and dangers in this long discovery, ceased not to prosecute his intended voyage. This discovery was at the first thought very profitable unto the Spaniards, but of late

Fernando Magellanes.

Porte S. Julian.

The discovery of the streights of Magellan.

it hath prooved very hurtfull unto them by meanes of certaine coasters which have sayled the selfe same course. *The Southerly latitude of the straights of Magellan.* These streights stand in 52 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Also here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in such wise, that in forty degrees to the Southward the colde is more sharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies shew the same: for it is as colde even in the streights of Magellan, as it is in sixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cause why navigators frequent not the same, but the Westerly and Southerly windes, which blowe most furiously on that coast, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the streightes, and so continue for the most part of the yeere. Also there runneth sometimes such a strong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ship withstand the force thereof. For which cause, and also for that there is no harbour, till you be passed 30 leagues into the said streights, most part of the ships that have gone thither have indured many troubles before they could come to the streights, and being come to the mouth thereof they have bene hindered by the current and winde, and so have beene put backe againe. And to the end you may understand the truth, I will declare unto you all the shippes that have past through the said streights, since Magellan first found them, unto this present yeere of 1586, when I have once ended my discourse of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to understande, that the North side of the enterance of these streights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: *Patagones.* here are likewise some Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleven foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters, neither have they any victuals, but such as they get by hunting [III. 790.] and fishing; they cover their bodies with the skinnes of beasts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there ever to this day any silver or golde found among them or in their countrey. These Streights (they say) extend in length from East to West about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of these streights on the North side are many mountaines covered with snow, which mountaines stretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nuevo reino de Granada, even unto the shore of the North sea at Santa Martha, as I have before signified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding heigth of these mountaines, and the way which they continue covered with snow, for even under the Equinoctiall line they have as much snowe upon their tops as in 52 degrees. Also it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South sea is very fruitfull, and the people very discreete and gentle: but all the coast towardes Brasill upon the North sea is poore, whereas never yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themselves are very cruell and salvage; for the will of God is, that good and civill men should inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better understanding hereof you must note, that all the land lying betweene the said ridge of mountaines and the South sea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nuevo reino de Granada, which are the best and richest countreys in all the world: and most part of the land from the said mountaines to the North sea is called Brasill, being a mountainous countrey, *where as yet was never found either golde or silver. From the said mountaines in the middle of the streights the land riseth high, till you come to the end of the streights where you enter into the South sea, in which place next the South sea the streights are very dangerous, by reason of the sholdes & rocks that lie on the North side. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South sea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of the Malucos, without touching at any land untill he came thither: and so seeking there to lade his ships at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherously slaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ships, because

The length of the streights of Magellan.

A mighty ridg of mountains.

Chili, Peru, and Nuevo reino de Granada.

** But of late there are found diverse rich mines.*

The death of Magellan.

many of them were dead, partly with sicknes, and partly with the hardnesse of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their said ships, and so manned the other two: which two being laden with spices and other riches knew not what course they were best to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of these two ships should go for Nueva Espanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Esperanza, and so for Spaine. The ship that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biscain named Juan Sebastian del Cano, to whom the king gave great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circunde disti me; that is, thou art the first man that ever sayled about me.

Sebastian del Cano the first man that ever sayled about the world.

And albeit this voyage was so long and troublesome as is before mentioned, yet many others have attempted the same. And the next that sought to passe the said streights of Magellan were two ships of Genoa, which comming as farre as the mouth of the streights were by a mightie storme driven backe againe, and one of them, whose master was called Pancaldo, put into the river of Plate, and was cast away about Buenos Aeres, where to this day part of the said ship is to be seene, and some of the men are yet living in the river among the Spaniards: and the other ship returned to Genoa againe.

Two ships of Genoa.

A third voyage to ye streights.

Also there was a bishop of Placencia in Spaine, who coveting riches, set foorth a fleet of foure sailes, to passe the streights, and so to goe for the Malucos: and getting license of the Emperour he sent his said 4 ships towards the streights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the streights, a storme of Westerly windes tooke them, & drove 3 of them on shore, & the fourth backe into the sea, which (the storme being past) returned into the streights to seeke for his consorts, & found many men going on the shores side, but the ships were beaten all to pieces. So they on land called unto the ship; but the captaine therof, considering that his ship was but little, & that he had but small store of victuals, would not go to them on shore, but proceeded on his voyage, & passed the streights. And because he was alone he would not saile to the Malucos, but went for the coast of Peru to the citie of Lima, where the ship remaineth unto this day. The men of the other three ships, which were left in the streights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whose Captaine being kinsman to the bishop of Placencia was called *Queros) were never heard of untill this present day, it being fortie yeres since they were left there. A yeare after this, certaine marchants of the Groine in Galicia set foorth other three ships, which ships also came to the streights mouth, where one of them was cast away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

* *Gonsalvo de Oviedo, parte 2. lib. 20. calleth this Captaine Zamargo.*

A fourth voyage to the streights.

Also I have had intelligence of certaine Portugall ships, which being come to the mouth of the Streights lost two of their Pinnesses which they sent to discover the land, and then returned back. And after these, two French ships were sent from the river of Jenero by Monsieur de Villegagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driven backe by a storme of contrary winds. After all this the governour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoza sonne to the Marques of Cannette determining to discover the sayd Streights from the South sea, sent from Chili two ships under the conduct of a captaine called Latherelio: but the danger to seeke these Streights by the South sea is more then by the North sea, because all the stormes of the North sea come from the land, but in the South sea all the windes and stormes come off the sea, and force the ships to run upon the leeshore, insomuch that the sayd two ships were cast away in fiftie degrees.

A fift and sixt voiage to the streights of Magellan.

Two French ships sent for the streights of Magellan.

[III. 791.]

The seeking of these Streights of Magellan is so dangerous, and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be perfourmed, insomuch that for the space of thirty yeeres no man made account

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about ye world.

thereof; untill of late one Francis Drake an Englishman (of whom I have before spoken) seeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefite himselfe, because of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of Magellan, and to passe into the South sea. And so having provided two ships and three pinnesses in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Islandes of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof beeing a Portugal called Nuno da Sylva, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance unto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugall pilot himselfe.

The cause why M. Douty was beheaded.

From the Islands of Cape Verde the sayd Francis Drake sailed unto Port Sant Julian, where he wintered: and there also hee put to death a gentleman of his company, because hee would have returned home. This port I take to bee accursed, for that Magellan likewise put some to death there for the like offence.

Sir Francis Drake driven into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

This Francis Drake putting out of the sayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelve dayes gotte into the South sea. And two dayes after there arose such a storme of Westerly windes (which are usuall in those parts) that he lost his pinnesse, and his Viceadmirall master John Winter was driven backe againe into the Streights, who passing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himselfe ranne with this storme into seven and fifty degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Island with a good harborough, and fresh water, and stayed at the same Island two moneths to repayre his ships: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coast of Chili to an Island called La Mocha; where hee went on shore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would have returned unto his boate they shotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himselfe was wounded in the face.

La Mocha in 38 deg. 30 min. over against the province of Arauco.

The towne of Concepcion. Valparizo.

Going from thence hee passed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and so to Valparizo which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ship laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her besides threescore thousand pezos of gold, every pezo being worth eight shillings sterling: and taking this ship with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calievers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelve horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere unto them, the Englishmen fled to their boates, but the horsemen overtooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to have taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Englishmen, and how they had taken the shippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago sent a Post by land to give warning unto them of Peru. Howbeit by reason that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the space of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines covered with snowe lie in the way, the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this journey, that captaine Drake was upon the coast of Peru a moneth before the sayd Poste came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping.

The port of Coquimbo in 29 deg. 30 min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo sayled to another porte not inhabited, where he set up a pinnesse. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte upon the coast of Peru called los Pescadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fishermens houses found of a Spaniards three thousand pezos of silver in little barres.

LosPescadores.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which

Arica in 18 deg.

being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards have in all Peru, containeth an hundreth houses: and this is the porte [III. 792.] where they discharge their merchandize that passe from Lima to Potossi, and to all other cities within the land, and likewise at this place they were woont to embarke all the silver which they caried for Panamá. At this port of Arica he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pezos of silver, which having taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to have landed, but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their silver by land to Lima, and lade no more treasure here, but onely discharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Also they have built a forte at this place for the better safety of the inhabitants, and have planted it with ten pieces of Ordinance, and every summer there lie in garison an hundred souldiers besides the townesmen. From hence he sayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ship that had three hundred thousand pezos of silver in barres: but they had sent horsemen from Arica to give advertizement of Drakes being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arrivall at the sayd porte: whereupon the Master of the shippe having no leisure to carie his silver on shore, was forced to throwe it into the sea in sixe fadome water, where his ship road, and so to runne on shore in the shippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ship was told by an Indian, that the Master had throwen the silver overboord. Wherfore seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to town he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would have no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at Sant Iago, with never a man in her, which ship was never heard of after. And so without staying any where he shaped his course for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues distant from Lima it selfe, (for Lima standeth up into the land) hee arrived there one

Chuli.

El Callao de Lima.

day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in also a ship from Panamá laden with merchandize, and hee sent his pinnesse to take her: but the men forsaking the ship betooke them to their boate, and went on shore: and as the Englishmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein shot a piece, and slew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinnesse. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnesse into the harbour among fourteene saile of ships that lay there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him, wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, asking them if there were any ships gone for Panamá; for he knew wel, that the ships which goe for Panamá carie both silver & gold, neither sought he for any thing else, for there were marchandize enough for him in those ships, if hee had bene desirous to have had the same. So they told him that three dayes past there was a ship gone for Panamá which caried all the merchants silver thither. Whereupon he presently set saile towards Panamá; for when hee came into this port it was about midnight, so that the Spaniards could not see what ships he had. At last the newes came to Lima unto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy & all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselves in armes: and so the next morning himselfe accompanied with 2000 horsemen & footmen came from the citie down to the waters side, and finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slain, they knew them to be Englishmen: and then they were al in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith provided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord captain Drake or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnesses, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might save the men. But it was a day & a halfe before these things could be made ready, & in the end going foorth they found ye English ship still becalmed, & the calme was such, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing a fresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake set forward to Panamá. The cause of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out. Then the Viceroy caused sixe pieces of Ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortnesse of time: so with these pieces of Ordinance, and three shippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee sent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde stayed no where, nor tooke any ships at all, notwithstanding hee met with many comming from Panamá laden with merchandize, but still hee inquired after the shippe that was gone to Panamá before him: of which ship he had sight about the cape of Sant Francisco, the Master wherof was a Biskaine, called Juan de Anton: who seeing this ship of the Englishmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had sent him some message, and therefore strooke all his sailes: but so soone as hee might discerne the shippe somewhat better, hee would then faine have gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coast, and then hee began to hoise his sailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake because hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not having so much as a rapier to defend themselves, were soone constrained to yeelde. There were in this shippe above eight hundred and fifty thousand pezos of silver, and forty thousand pezos of gold, all which silver and golde was customed; but what store of treasure they had besides uncustomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almost as much more as they pay custome for; otherwise the king would take it from them, if they should be knowen to have any great summe; wherefore every shippe carieth his bill of custome, that the king may

Three ships sent after captaine Drake.

A rich prize taken by sir Francis Drake at Cape S. Francisco situate one degree to ye north of the Equinoctial.

[III. 793.]

Read Nuno da Sylva concerning this treasure.

see it. All this treasure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, saving one hundred and eighty thousand pezos of the kings. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals with other necessaries, which were to bee caried for Panamá and was five dayes taking out of such things as hee needed. This done, he sayled from hence to the coast of Nueva Espanna without going to Panamá. Surely this was a great plague of God justly inflicted upon us for our sinnes: for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene Spaine and England.

Now the ships that were sent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arrived at Cape Sant Francisco twenty dayes after hee had taken the foresayd shippe, and had intelligence by a ship comming from Panamá, which they met at the sayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ship with silver, and was not gone for Panamá. Whereupon the captaine of the three ships thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his course that way to seeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundreth sixty sixe thousand pezos of silver, which is as much as eight hundred sixty sixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, every quintal being worth one thousand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand and two hundreth ducats. Besides this silver hee caried away a hundred thousand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand five hundreth Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thousand ducats: over and besides the treasure in the sayd ship which was uncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles, precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchase he sayled toward Nueva Espanna; and at an Island lying before that coast

The Island of Cano.

called The Island of Cano hee discharged all things out of his shippe and graved her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coast of Nueva Espanna, where hee tooke certaine ships laden with spices, silkes, and velvets, but no golde nor silver, for there was none to bee had on this coast. And here at Guatulco he set on shore his Portugal-pilot, which he tooke at one of the Islands of Cape Verde. But what course he kept from this coast till he came into England I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall.

The foresayd three ships which were sent in pursuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithstanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to send two ships to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or else to see if they could fortifie the sayd Streights against such ships as might afterward attempt to passe through the same. And albeit this was thought a most dangerous voyage, and impossible to be perfourmed, by reason of the sholds on that side of the Streights, yet sent he forth the two said ships. The Admirall being a ship of an hundreth tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, & having one hundreth and twenty men in them both, sayled from Lima under the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accompted the best navigator in all Peru. These ships after their departure touching on the coast to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountred with a cruel storme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this storme, & in a night hee was put into the streits, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ship running farther into the sea, sayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The storme being past, this other shippe found many Islands neere unto the main land, and so returned with faire weather all along the shore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that

Pedro Sarmiento sent from Lima to the Streits of Magellan.

58 *degrees of Southerly latitude discovered.*

Many Islands discovered to the South of the Streights.

which Magellan discovered: notwithstanding that others affirme the contrary, saying that the Streights be full of Islands to the Southwards: but they may be deceived, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath never bene seene of any man: for this ship was farthest to the Southwards of all that ever I heard of: for Francis Drake being driven by tempest no farther then 57 degrees could not know so much as this other; which ship from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entred the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would have returned to Lima; whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arrived, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great store of riches and other necessaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Upon whose wordes, and for that there were more ships making ready in England to passe the sayd Streights, the king sent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ships and 3500 men, and a new governour to Chili with five hundred old souldiers newly come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any that ever went out of Spaine since the Indias were first discovered: for that before they could get cleere of the coast of Spaine, a storme tooke them, and cast away five of them, and above eight hundred men, and the residue of the fleete put into Cadiz. Notwithstanding which hard successe, the king sent them word that they should proceede: and so they did with sixteene sailes only, for two other of their ships were so shaken with the storme, that they could not goe foorth. In these sixteene saile of ships Pedro Sarmiento was sent to be governour in the Streights: he caried with him all kind of artificers, to build forts, and other necessaries, with great store of Ordinance and munition. This fleete because it set late foorth, wintered on the coast of Brasil in the river of Jenero. Winter being past, they set sayle from hence, and about the height

[III. 794.]

Pedro Sarmiento perswadeth ye king of Spaine to fortifie the Streights of Magellan.

of 42 degrees they had such a storme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it up and downe about 22 dayes; in which storme was sunke one of his best ships, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the streights, and most part of the munition that should have bene left in the streights were all cast away. In the ende the storme grew so intollerable, that the ships not being able to endure it any longer were constrained to put backe againe unto an Island called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were certaine friers going for the river of Plate, which friers told him of two great English ships and a pinnesse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ships. Now Diego Flores supposing that these English ships would go to the streights, was himselfe determined to go to the streights also, though it was in the moneth of February; and choosing tenne shippes of the fifteene that were left, he sent three of the residue that were old and shaken with the storme (wherein he put all the women and sicke men that were in the fleete) backe againe to the river of Jenero; leaving the other two shippes, which were not able to brooke the sea, at the foresayd Island; and so himselfe with the sayd ten ships returned againe for the streights.

Two English ships under the conduct of M. Fenton and M. Luke Ward.

Now the three ships wherein the sicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foresayd English ships, and urging them to avoide the harbour, the English entred combat with them: and by reason that these three ships were weakened with former tempests, and were manned with the refuse of all the Spanish fleete, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might also have sunke another, if they had bene so minded; but they desired not the destruction of any man: and doubtlesse it is the greatest valour that any man can shew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Hereupon the Englishmen departed from this porte unto

Espirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and so they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cause why these English captaines went not to the streights I know not: some say, that they were put backe by foule weather, others suppose that it was for feare of the kings ships: but the pinnesse that belonged to these shippes wherein John Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cause why hee did so, is unknowen: but this pinnesse entred the river of Plate, and within five leagues of Seale-island, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cumberlands ships tooke in fresh water, it was cast away upon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all saved in the boate. Who being eighteene in number went on shore upon the Northside of the Island, and passing tenne dayes journey up into the lande, they met with certaine Salvage people, which are no man-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can get, and make them their slaves: howbeit the Englishmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, five of them were slaine, and the other thirteene taken prisoners, who remained with the Salvages about fifteene moneths.

Espirito Santo.

John Drake.

But the Master of the pinnesse called Richard Faireweather, being loath any longer to indure that miserie wherein hee was, and having knowledge of a towne of Christians on the other side of the river, called on a night John Drake, and another yoong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very little, and having but two oares, and passed therewith on the other side of the river, which is full nine leagues broade; and being three dayes before they could get over, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land, they hit upon an high way that went towards the Christians: and spying the footing of horses, they followed it, and at last came to an house, neere unto the which corne was sowed. And there they met with Indians that were servants to the Spaniards, who gave them foode, and clothes to cover them withall, for they

[III. 795.]

were all naked. And one of the sayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Englishmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne sent out foure horsemen, which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the sayd captaine clothed them, and provided lodging for them, and John Drake sate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes sent for them, and they sent him John Drake; but the other two they kept, because they were maried in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Upon these newes also there were prepared fifty horsemen to goe over the river, both to seeke the rest of the Englishmen, and certaine Spaniardes which were amongst those Salvage people; but I am not assured whether they went forward or no.

The governor of Chili passeth thither by the river of Plate.

Nowe let us returne to Diego Flores: who passing from the Island of Santa Catelina towards the streights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the river of Plate, sent the governour of Chili with three ships up the river to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence passe overland to Chili. Of these three ships two were lost, but the men and provisions were saved; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seven ships proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but because it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of summer, the countrey was so full of snow, and withall there arose such a sudden storme, that he could not set Sarmiento and his men on shore, but was constrained the second time to returne unto the river of Jenero upon the coast of Brasil; where he heard newes of the English ships by the two Spanish ships that escaped from them. Upon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the streights. And so Diego Flores himselfe with foure ships which were yet remaining unto him, and other foure which the king sent to succour him, set forth to seeke the Englishmen; but having runne along all the coast of Brasil hee could not finde them, because they were gone directly for England. Whereupon shaping his course unto a port called Parajua, and finding there five French ships, he burnt three and tooke two, and the fort also which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniardes therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Salvages. This done hee returned for Spaine.

Foure ships more sent to Diego Flores.

Five French ships taken at Parajua.

In the meane season his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere so good fortune, that they arrived safely in the streights with all their ships, and set on shore foure hundreth men: but because the ships boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ship, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on shore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundreth men, thirtie women, and a ship, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three shippes hee returned, having remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North side, placing therein an hundreth and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and sent the ship further into the streights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narrowest place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of king Philip; and would also have made a forte, and planted Ordinance for the defence of the Streights: but the snowe and Winter was so intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foresayd ship, hee sayd hee would goe see howe his other people did, and so hee sayled to the Streights mouth, unto the towne which was first built; where having continued a day

Pedro Sarmiento left in ye streits of Magellan with 400 *men* & 30 *women.*

Nombre de Jesus builded.

Ciudad del rey Philippe builded.

or two, he sayd that a storme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himselfe cut his cables (God knoweth the trueth) and so he passed to the river of Jenero; and not finding there any succour come from the king, he sayled to Fernambuck, craving ayde of the captaine to furnish him with victuals. And so the captaine presently fraighted his ship with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and so sailed thitherward. But between Cape S. Augustin and Baya the wind came off the sea with such violence, that it forced the ship to run on shore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped: and so this ship was lost with all the provision in her.

From thence hee passed by land to Baya where the governour of Brasil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the same with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this provision and divers other necessaries for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the sudden with such a [III. 796.] furious storme, that he was forced to throw his fraight overboord, and also to returne to the river of Jenero. Where staying a whole yeere for succour from the king, there came not so much as a letter from him. For the king was sore displeased at Pedro Sarmiento, because hee made him beleeve that the narrowest place of the Streights was but a mile over: and that it might bee fortified so that a boate could not passe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was above a league broade, and that if a ship came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceived him, in making him to lose so many men, and so much charges to no effect. And the governour of Baya seeing that the king wrote not unto him, would give him no more succour: so that Sarmiento was constrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the same shippe, wherein hee last sayled toward the Streights: and it is sayd that hee was taken in the way by Englishmen, and caried into England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the best Navigator in all Spaine, and that hee hath sayled the furthest of all others. After all this the captaine of the river of Jenero sent a smal ship with victuals for the Streightes, which was put backe also in fortie degrees. And this is all the discovery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other nations unto this present yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no succour gone unto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or alive.

Pedro Sarmiento was taken by sir Walter Raleghs barkes 1586.

Master Candish found but 22 men living of them.

Thus according to my promise I have declared unto you to the uttermost of my knowledge, all things concerning the Indias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to have proceeded along the coast, as at the first; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other captaines which attempted to passe the sayd Streights have caused mee to bee the longer in this my pretended worke. Howbeit now let us proceede on forward from the Streights to the coast of Chili: the distance betweene which two places no man hath travelled by land, in regard of the huge mountaines covered with snow that lie in the way: yea I may well say, that it hath not often bene travelled by sea; for that all the ships which have passed that way have at the least gone thirty leagues off the shore, to avoide the sholds and many little Islands that lie neere the maine land; and therefore the inland of that coast remaineth as yet unknowen.

The first towne after you have passed the Streights standeth on the coast of Chili, and is called Castro, being situate upon the worst place of all the coast, for there is but small store of golde with scarcitie of victuals, and a sharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is compassed about with so many sholdes,

Castro upon the coast of Chili.

that it will serve but to receive small barkes onely. The next towne to this is Baldivia.

Baldivia.

A description of the province Chili.

But before I passe any farther I will heere describe unto you the situation and quality of Chili. This countrey stretcheth in length from North to South above two hundreth leagues, conteining in breadth but five and twenty leagues at the most.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the East of Chili runne very many rivers into the sea, which rivers are the cause of divers valleys the fruitfullest in all the worlde, where bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the sayd rivers also are very rich of gold. But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this province, I say that it might well bee called an earthly paradise, save that it lacketh one onely commodity, and that is peace. It was first discovered on this maner: the Spaniards having conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will hereafter shewe unto you) found in the sayd kingdome great store of golde; and asking the Indians from whence it came, they answered, from Chili. Upon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horsemen toward Chili, being constrained in his way to goe over part of the snowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himselfe and all his companie might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they lost some of their horses, came to the first towne of Chili called Copiapo being situate upon the first plaine at the entrance of the sayd province. But having newes that the Indians were risen against the Spaniards of Peru and had inclosed them, hee returned backe without going any farther.

Rivers rich of golde.

Copiapo the next towne of Chili unto Peru.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being slaine in the warres of Peru, another called Don Pedro de Baldivia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horses, easily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was subject to the kings of Peru. For knowing that Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperour, was overcome by the Spaniards, they also immediately yeelded their lande unto them. But the other halfe as it was the richest and the fruitfullest part, so God had peopled it with the most valiant and furious people in all America.

El estado de Arauco.

[III. 797.]

El estado de Arauco.

The province which they inhabite called El Estado de Arauco is but a small province about 20 leagues in length, and is governed by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuse the valiantest man for the generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times past could never conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons used by these people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they also make them jacks of seale-skinnes, and head-pieces: in times past the heads of their halbards and pikes were of brasse, but now they have gotten store of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Christians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming unto this province sent word unto them by other Indians, saying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themselves unto them: if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great ordinance and calivers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great ordinance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeelded themselves unto them. So the Spaniards having divided this province made the Indians to serve their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enjoyed in such abundance, that hee which had least had 20000 pezos, but Captaine Baldivia himselfe had 300000 pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldivia caused to inhabite sixe townes: to wit, Villa nueva de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the second Sant Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldivia; and the sixt La Villa Rica. Also he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and souldiers; howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiving that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said fort for the Spaniards horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conveyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the fort, betooke themselves to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and stood in the gate of the sayd fort: from whence making a signe unto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and slewe all the Spaniards. The newes of this overthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldivia was, hee presently set foorth with two hundred horsemen to seeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, because he was in haste. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slew most part of his company, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their horses: but Baldivia having his horse slaine under him was taken alive. Whom the Indians wished to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why we have taken you, is to give you gold ynough. And having made a great banquet for him, the last service of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with gold, and so they killed him. This Baldivia was a most valiant man, who had beene an

Villa neuva de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldivia, La Villa rica, the first sixe townes that were inhabited in Chili.

A stratageme of the Indians of Chili against the Spaniards.

The death of Baldivia.

olde souldier in the warres of Italy, and at the sacking of Rome.

Pedro de villa grande.

Upon this discomfiture the Spaniards choose for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande: who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched against those Indians; but with so badde successe, that he lost not onely the field and many of his men, but also those ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians having thus gotten the victorie, went streightway against the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne desolate. And in this maner were the Spaniards chased by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoza against those Indians, with a great power of horsemen, and footmen, and store of Artillerie. The nobleman having subdued Chili againe, & slaine in divers battels above 40000 Indians, and brought them the second time under the Spaniards subjection, newly erected the said fort that stoode in the midst of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other townes for the Spaniards: and so leaving the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yer hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe so much mischiefe as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heede unto them. From that time untill this present there hath bene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captaines and souldiers have done their uttermost, yet can they not bring that people wholly in subjection. And although the Spaniards have in this province eleven townes and two bishoprickes, yet have they little ynough to maintaine themselves, by reason of the warres; for they spend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

[III. 798.]

Eleven towns, and two bishopricks in Chili.

A description of the townes of Chili.
Baldivia.

Thus having spoken somewhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest therof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left. Baldivia therefore being of 150 houses hath twise bene burnt and spoyled by the Indians; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth up a river foure leagues from the sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being situate over against the Island La Mocha, on which Island the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

The province of Arauco over against the Island La Mocha situate in 38 deg. and a halfe.
La Concepcion.

Having passed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come unto is La Concepcion which hath beene the greatest and the richest towne in all Chili: but by reason that the Indians have burned the same foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath small store of people: it contayneth about some two hundred houses. And because it adjoyneth upon the plaine of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is environed about with a strong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it: and here are 500 souldiers continually in garrison. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing 25 leagues up into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the seate of the governour: it consisteth of about 800 houses. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next towne neere the sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues up into the land, and containeth about 200 houses. Next unto Coquimbo standeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which serve the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is governour of the towne hath an Ingenio for sugar: at this place endeth the whole province of Chili. Here also the mountaines joyning hard upon the sea are the cause why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth desolate.

Valparizo which is the port of S. Iago standeth in 33 deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo standeth in 29. deg. 30. min.
Copiapo.

A description of Peru.

The first towne on the coast of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are slaves unto the Spaniards. But before I passe any farther I will here also declare unto you the first discoverie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the seacoast againe: and to the ende you may understand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this maine land, passing over the mountaines they discovered the South sea: where because they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eighteene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios hard upon the sea-side, and called it Panama. From hence they discovered along the coast of Nueva Espanna: and for that Nueva Espanna was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by sea to the coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly winds blowing on this coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to shippes sayling that way: and by land the passage was impossible, in regard of mountaines and rivers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Island of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Pizarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. These men got a company unto them, and provided two Caravels to discover the coast of Peru: and having obtained licence of the governour of that place, Francisco Pizarro set foorth with the two foresayd caravels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama to send him victuals and other necessaries. Now Francisco Pizarro sayling along the coast met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sailing of that in eight moneths which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course hee ranne into every river and bay that hee saw along the coast: which was the chiefe cause that hee stayed so long on his voyage: also thirtie of his company dyed by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last hee came to an Island called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama for a new supply of victuals & of men: which ship being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and passed up into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were never heard of untill this day. So that Francisco Pizarro was left upon the said Island onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ship there in which he might have returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine land in the night season. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his voyage till he came to the first plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez, where he found a fort made by the king of Peru against the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Pizarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of so good understanding and discretion, being rich also in gold and silver and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbez hee tooke 30000 pezos of gold in trucke of marchandize: and having too few men to proceede any further hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Upon this discovery Francisco Pizarro thought it expedient to travell into Spaine to crave of the king the conquest of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his request. And with the money which he carried over with him he hired a great number of men with a fleete of ships, and brought also along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he straightway went on his voyage

Isla del Gallo.

[III. 799.]

for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They sailed first to the Island called Isla del Gallo; where Francisco Pizarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horsemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces.

The river of Peru.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amisse to describe unto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a river so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of gold. From which river standing under the line, till you come to Copiapo the first towne on the coast of Chili, stretcheth the land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: upon sixe hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbez did never drop of raine fall, since the flood of Noah: and yet it is the fruitfullest land for all kinds of victuals and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this land is because it beeing a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier not above twentie leagues from the sea called Mar del Sur Eastward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines covered with snow, the height of which mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes unto it selfe, that no raine falleth upon the vallies of Peru. From these mountaines issue great store of rivers into the South sea, with the waters whereof drawen by certaine sluces and chanels they moisten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that stretch unto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues over, being so cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of civill behaviour. It hath many mines

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, silver, copper, tinne, salt-peter and brimstone.

The sheepe of Peru called Llamas.

of gold and more of silver, as also great store of copper, and tinne-mines, with abundance of salt peter, and of brimstone to make gun-pouder. There are likewise cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast in shape somewhat resembling a camel, but no bigger then a steere of a yeere olde; they serve to carry burthens, their flesh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of al others for the use of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming have replenished this countrey with horses, kine, sheepe, and goates, and likewise with plentie of wheat. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past kings of this land which were mightie Monarchs, whose dominions stretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very civill, save that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which strove who should have the kingdome, the one called Guascar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guascar had possession of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the sea coast, and of the valleys situate betweene the said mountaines and the sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arrive upon their shore called them Vera coche, which in their language signifieth, The fome of the sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian prince sent unto them to know what they did in his land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answere that they were the messengers of a great lord, and that they came to speake with the prince himselfe: who sent them word that they should come with a very good will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince sitting in a chariot of gold, carried upon mens shoulders, and accompanied with above 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were sent from an

Atabalipa and Guascar two brethren competitours for the empire of Peru.

[III. 800.]

Emperour (unto whom the Pope had given all that land) to convert them unto the Christian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gave to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two field peeces, and their calivers, set upon the Indians, crying Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noise of the ordinance and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heaven upon them: whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for golde and silver. During the time of Atabalipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his brother Guascar, and had subdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Upon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would give them all that they should demaund. This communication having continued a whole day, at length a souldier named Soto sayd unto Atabalipa: what wilt thou give us to set thee free? The prince answered, I will give whatsoever you will demand. Whereunto the souldier replied, thou shalt give us this house full of gold and silver thus high, lifting up his sword, and making a stroke upon the wall. And Atabalipa sayde, that if they would grant him respite to send into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marveiling, gave him three moneths time, but he had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe, a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know above twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was above tenne millions of gold and silver. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become lords of the whole land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But

God the righteous judge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to dye by the course of nature, but brought them to evill and shamefull ends.

Upon the newes of these great riches there came store of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good services of the two foresayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro governour of halfe the land, and Francisco Pizarro of the other halfe, whom also hee made a Marques. But these two consorts in parting of a land belonging unto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves: and at length Pizarro having slaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this prosperitie of Pizarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee revenged of his fathers death, slew Pizarro, for which acte he lost his head. In this controversie betweene these two partners were slaine also two brothers of Pizarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine and there dyed in prison; but the fourth called Gonsalvo Pizarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende overcome hee lost his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an evill death that were causes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians never rebelled, after they had once peace granted unto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaves unto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other some to others, and the residue to the king: and these Indians pay eche man for his tribute seven pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey above fortie cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they have here erected nine bishopricks and one archbishopricke.

Nine bishopricks, and one archbishoprick in Peru.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discover the land on the other side of the snowy mountaines, found a very wholesome countrey and there inhabited. The sayd province situate behinde the mountaines is called The province of Tucuman, wherein are five townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordova, from which towne unto Santa Fee situate upon the river of Plate it is seventie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the river of Plate. And from hence downe the sayde river to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues, and from Buenos Ayres unto Sealisland you have 40 leagues. *The province of Tucuman.* *Cordova.*

Now having put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the river of Plate unto Tucuman, I will returne unto Atacama the Southermost towne upon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subject unto the Spaniards. But since Captaine Drake was here they have built towers by the sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smokes, and so from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Having before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of wine, and have abundance of figges and reisins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong fort built since Captaine Drake was upon the coast. The citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru besides: and this citie is the seat of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the inquisition. *Atacama.* [III. 801.] *Camana.* *Acari.* *El Calao.* *Lima.*

Next unto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the sea side called Santa: and next unto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From hence they saile unto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about five hundred houses. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leaving this towne they passe to Guaiaquil which standeth fortie leagues up into a great bay or river, at the entrance of which river standeth Tumbez a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbez it never raineth, as I have before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but covered with bourdes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the first place where it raineth, and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many shippes. Hence they sayle along the coast to a small and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times past hath bene rich with emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this village standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoever go thither must needs meet with evill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and unholesome. Here abide not above 20 men, who serve onely to transport goods unto a citie standing fiftie leagues within the maine, in a province called La governacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high mountaines, the manifold rivers, and the unholesomenesse of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their masters, and upon these mountaines was Oxnam the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these mountaines standeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from Peru

Santa.
Cannete.
Truxillo.
Paita.
Guaiaquil.
Tumbez.
Salsaperilla.
Ships built at Guaiaquil.
Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.
La Buena ventura.
La governacion de Popaian.
Negros fled from their masters.
Panama.

is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene this city and Nueva Espanna is called Costa rica. *Costa rica.*

Next unto Costa rica, which is a mountainous and desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and having many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of marchandize; but having no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it. *The province of Nicaragua.*

A certaine viceroy of Nueva Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine ships to be built for the discovery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which shippes in sayling thitherward found certaine Islands 80 leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and having conquered one of these Islands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they have trade with the people of China. Unto these Islands they have foure great ships that usually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such spices and silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueva Espanna. The principall port-townes of the coast of Nueva Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco. *The discovery of the Philippinas.* *The Isle of Manilla.*

All the viceroyes and governours that the king of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueva Espanna have a custome, for the obtaining of his favour, to seeke and discover new countreys. But the greatest and most notable discoverie that hath bene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in maner following. The Licenciate Castro being governour of Peru sent foorth a fleete of shippes to discover certaine Islands in the South sea upon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same fleete *The discovery of the Isles of Salomon.*

a kinsman of his called Alvares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This fleete departing forth of the haven of Lima, and sayling 800 leagues Westward [III. 802.] off the coast of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleven degrees to the South of the Equinoctial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beasts that they saw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found some hennes. Here also they found a muster of cloves, ginger, and sinamon, although the sinamon were not of the best; and heere appeared unto them likewise some shewe of golde. The first Island that the Spaniards discovered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small pinnesse, with the which and with their ships boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude eleven great Islands being one with another of 80 leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discovered was according unto the first finder called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whither it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees and could not find the ende thereof. The gold that they found was upon this Island or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of golde hanged up in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards understood not the language of the countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could never learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what store was in the land.

Cloves, ginger, and sinamon.

The Isle of Guadalcanal.

These Indians use to goe to sea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they have many conflicts one against another: howbeit unto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small pinnesse and two falcons a few may overcome 100 of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whome on the sudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas set upon, tooke the ships boat, and slewe all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too wary in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their pinnesse, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of gold before mentioned. They were discovering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the ende of which time (because that upon the coast where they were, the wind continuing still in one place, might bee an occasion of longer tarying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way usuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueva Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts over-bourd, and to lye nine moneths beating it up and downe in the sea, before they could get into any harborow of the Christians. In which time by reason of evill governement, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for five whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ships they behaved themselves so well, that the greater part of them came safe unto the land. He that passeth the Streights of Magellan, or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos must needs runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conveniently in the way to the Malucos you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennes, excellent almonds, potatos, sugar-canes, with divers other sortes fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall have some quantity of gold, which the Indians will give you in truck for

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals upon the Isles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for gold, cloves, ginger, and sinamon.

other commodities. For the Spaniards in their discovery of these Islands not seeking nor being desirous of gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000 pezos with them, besides great store of cloves and ginger, and some sinamon also which is not so good as in other places. The discoverer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards supposing them to bee those Isles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Jerusalem, might bee the more desirous to goe and inhabite the same. Now the same time when they thought to have sent colonies unto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South sea: whereupon commandement was given, that they should not be inhabited, to the ende that such Englishmen, and of other nations as passed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might have no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

Why these Isles were called The Isles of Salomon.

[III. 803.]

The admirable and prosperous voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action.

Wee departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of July 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which small Fleete were 123. persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, beeing our Generall.

On Tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terræ where wee mette with 5. sayles of Biskaynes comming from the Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason the night grew on.

3. Great Biskaine ships fought withal.

The first of August wee came in sight of Forteventura, one of the Isles of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning.

August.

On Sunday being the 7. of August, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coast of Barbarie.

Rio del oro.

On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew so much at the North, that we could not get up where the Canters doe use to ride and fish: therefore wee lay off 6. houres West Southwest, because of the sand which lieth off the cape Southwest and by South.

Cape Blanco.

A dangerous sand.

The 15. day of the same moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by estimation 50. leagues off the same.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare East off us, beeing 45. leagues from us: and the same day the winde shifted to the Northwest, so that by the 20. day of the sayd moneth we were in 6. degrees ½ to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least, and had for 14. leagues in Southwest all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16. 14. 12. 10 and 8. fathoms of water.

Sierra leona.

The 26. of the said moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermost point when we had least 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the said point, and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the said rocke, we never had lesse then 10. fathoms, untill wee came up to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South side untill you come up to the watering place, in which Baye is the best roade; but you must ride farre into the Baye, because there run marveilous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeast and by East moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues: which wee ranne from the 21. of July to the 26. of this moneth of August.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboord our Admiral from the shore, and made signes unto our Generall that there was a Portugal ship up within the harborough; so the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rereadmirall went up 3. or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they sought no farther: for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues up more, and is of a marveilous bredth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to have heard some good newes of the Portugal ship, toward their comming aboord they espied a Portugal which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with us the same night: and he tolde us it was very dangerous going up with our boates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he told us the trueth: for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told us that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal.

A Portugal taken.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went up to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what

[III. 804.]

spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at us out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscaryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marveilous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane as well in their streetes as in their houses. These Negros use good obedience to their king, as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came first. There were in their towne by estimation about one hundred houses.

Poysoned arrowes.

The description of their towne.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day: and the second day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambush round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negros rushed out upon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not have them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyson wrought so that night, that hee was marveilously swollen, and all his belly and privie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyson being plucked out of his thigh.

September.

Many of our men hurt by Negros.

William Pickman dieth of a poysoned arrow.

This poyson is the juyce of an hearbe.

The third day of the sayd moneth, divers of our fleete went up 4 myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe, saw two Buffes.

2 Buffes.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide 3. leagues from the

Their departure from Sierra leona.

point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest.

The Isles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

On Wednesday being the 7. of the same moneth wee departed from one of the Isles of Cape Verde, aliàs the Isles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues distant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans only upon the Ilande.

A towne.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & sounded round about the Iland, & they passed through a sound at the west end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, until they came unto the very gutte of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after, 6. fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe use at sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

Fresh water.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceive, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Iland is a wood, save certaine litle places where their houses stand, which are invironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subject marveilous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall.

On Saturday the tenth wee departed from the sayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest.

October. Cape Frio in Brasil.

The last of October running West Southwest about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

November. S. Sebastians Iland.

The first of November wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set up a Forge, and had our caske on shore: our coopers made hoopes, and so we remayned there untill the 23. day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnesse, and filled our fresh water. And while our Pinnesse was in building, there came a Canoa from the river of Jenero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were sixe naked slaves of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall, for that Master Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581. And thinking to have John Whithal the Englishman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come unto us, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with some other, thereby to have had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to goe with a letter unto him, who promised to returne or send some answere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them: but we never received answere from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our businesse being dispatched wee weyed anchor, and set sayle from S. Sebastian on the 23. of November.

The river of Jenero.

[III. 805.]

December.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees $\frac{1}{3}$. the land bearing West from us about 6. leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore, untill we came into 48. degrees. It is a steepe beach all along.

48 *Degrees.*

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said harborough Port Desire: in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like

Port Desire.

Seales strange in shape and hugenesse.

unto a mans hand: they breed and cast every moneth, giving their yong milke, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish: their yong are marveilous good meate, and being boyled or rosted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-staves: and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebuze or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them: they have burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They have nothing but downe upon their pinions: they also fish and feede in the sea for their living, and breede on shore.

Yong Seales are very good meate.

Foules breeding in burrowes like conies.

We call these foules Pengwins.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graved and trimmed all our ships there.

They grave and trimme their ships.

The 24. of December being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some fortie score from our ships into a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water: for there was none in all the Harborough; and this was but brackish: therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen: and beeing in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being divided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, beeing about fiftie or threescore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was John Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was shot

A man and a boy hurt by negligence.

cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder: either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially: they seldome or never see any Christians: they are as wilde as ever was a bucke or any other wilde beast: for wee followed them, and they ranne from us as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their use is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the sea-side, and upon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graves are buryed with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their jewels which they have in their life time, which are fine shelles which they finde by the sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall maner: and all is layd under their heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans dartes which he used when he was living. And they colour both their darts and their graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves.

A kinde of gyants.

The 28 of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saved pengwins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South.

Their departure from port Desire.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like unto Ediestone, which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the coast. This rocke standeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Januarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 51. degrees, and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land.

January 1587.

The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of [III. 806.] Magellan, which is in divers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two severall places more narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

They enter the Streights the 6. of Januarie.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

A Spaniard taken in the Streights of Magellan.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23 Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spanyard shewed us the hull of a small Barke, which we judged to be a Barke called The John Thomas. It is from the mouth of the streights unto the narrowest of the Streights 14. leagues, and the course lieth West and by North. The mouth of the streights standeth in 52. degrees.

The Barke John Thomas one of sir Francis Drakes consortes.

From the narrowest of the Streights unto Pengwin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for victuals.

King Philips citie left desolate in the Streights of Magellan, which our Generall called Port famine.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Ilande, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and every Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places unburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contrived their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded up their Churches by themselves: they had Lawes very severe among themselves, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their company. It seemed unto us that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon muskles and lympits: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh rivers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation should have passage through into the South sea saving onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could never have any thing to growe or in any wise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, untill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and having no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, untill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alive were driven to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, and seeke their victuals to preserve them from sterving, taking nothing with them, but every man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so lived for the space of a yeere and more with rootes, leaves, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to have travailed towards the river of Plate, only being left alive 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and woodded well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine: it standeth in 53. degrees by observation to the Southward.

God enemie to the Spaniards.

Port famine in 53 degrees.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South southwest, and from thence southwest unto cape Froward 5. leagues West Southwest, which Cape is the Southermost part of all the streights, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran West and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Cove on the south side, which we called Muskle-Cove, because there were great store of them: we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being still Westerly.

Cape Froward in 54 degrees.

Muskle Cove.

The 21. day of Januarie we departed from Muskle-cove, and went Northwest and by West 10. leagues to a very faire sandie Bay on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whose name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buryed there in that Baye.

Elizabeth Bay.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a fresh water river, where our Generall went up with the ship-boate about three myles, which river hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstrous high hilles and mountaines. In this river are great store of Savages which wee sawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniardes before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the river, of purpose to have betrayed us, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused us to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee sayled from this river to the Chanell of Saint Jerome, which is 2 leagues off.

[III. 807.]

The most brutish Savages that ever were seene.

The Chanel of Saint Jerome.

From the river of Saint Jerome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne West unto a Cape which is on the

North side: and from that Cape unto the mouth of the Streights the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harborough untill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to have bene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether upon muskles and limpits, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

Februarie 1587.

There is at every myle or two myles ende an Harborough on both sides of the land. And there are betweene the river of Saint Jerome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South sea about 34. leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the said mouth of the Streights standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we passe out of the North sea, which is about 52. degrees and ⅔ to the Southward of the line.

The streights of Magellan are about 90 *leagues long.*

The Westerne mouth of the Streights is in 52 *degrees and* 2 *terces.*

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adjoyning unto it: and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of us 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly.

Theirentrance into the South sea the 24 *of Februarie.*

Ilands in the Southsea called Las Anegadas.

The first of March a storme tooke us at North, which night the ships lost the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49. ½ and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other 2.

March 1.

Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant by a great leake.

ships, looked every houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and our selves so dilvered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights.

The Ile of Mocha in 38 degrees not subject to the Spaniards.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where she met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38 degrees: at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marveilous warie of their Calivers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke us for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

Arauco is the richest place in the South sea for golde, and is not subdued by the Spaniards as yet.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they always returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are marveilous desperate and carelesse of their lives to live at their owne libertie and freedome.

Saint Marie Iland in 37 degrees and 1. terce, which is subdued to the Spaniards.

The 15. day aforesayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne under the West side of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

A Church with crosses and altars.

The 16. day our General went on shore himselfe with 70. or 80. men every one with his furniture: there came downe to us certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome us on shore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is subdued by them: who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with crosses & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. store houses, which were full of wheate and barley ready threshed and made up in cades of strawe to the quantitie of a bushel of corne in every cade. The wheate and barly was as faire, as cleane, and every way as good as any we have in England. There were also the like cades ful of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made up in the store houses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slavery by them, that they dare not eate a hen or an hogge themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus we fitted our selves here with corne asmuch as we would have, and as many hogges as we had salt to powder them withall, and great store of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dried dogge-fishes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And having taken as much as we would have, yet we left marveilous great store behind us. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboord our shippe, and provided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiving us to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceive, that if wee would goe over unto the mayne land unto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making us signes, that we should have great store of riches. But because we could not understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished our selves.

[III. 808.]

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Christians.

Arauco rich in golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheast about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast.

The 19. wee ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored under an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The Conception.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which standeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

Quintero standeth in 33 degrees 50 minutes.

The said day presently after we were come unto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay upon the point of the hill asleepe, which when he awaked and had espied three shippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by, and rode his way as fast as ever hee might: and our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with bright swords towards us so hard as they might ride, until they came within some twentie or thirtie score of us, and so stayed, and would come no neerer unto us: so our Generall sent unto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken up at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterved there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone unto them: so the said Fernando the Spaniard went unto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would have. Our General sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte with him: and being come neere unto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe unto them alone himselfe: who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped up behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which hee had made continually to our general and all his company never to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false. Our Generall seeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come, he determined the next day to send into the countrey to find their towne, and to have taken the spoyle of it, and to have fired it if they could have found it.

The perjurie of a Spaniard.

The last of March Captaine Havers went up into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their shot and furniture with them, and we travailed 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we saw also great store of horses, mares and coltes which were very wilde and unhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wild foules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire fresh rivers all along full of wilde foule of all sorts. Having travailed so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selves at a very fayre fresh River running in and alongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the River, and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee: so wee travailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfully weake; who though they did espie us that day, yet durst they not give the on-sette upon us. For wee marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, untill we came unto our ships that night againe.

Our men march 7 or 8 miles into their enemies land.

The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side: and being earely hard at their businesse were in no readinesse. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers

[III. 809.]

which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fifteene of us that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre.

24 Spaniards slaine.

The names of our men that were slaine were these.

	Thomas Lucas of London, souldier.	Out of the Admirall.
	Richard Wheeler of London.	
	Robert Pitcher of Norffolke, souldier.	
	John Langston of Glocestershire.	
	William Kingman of Dorsetshire, souldier.	
	William Hilles of Cornewall.	
1	William Byet of Weymouth.	Killed out of the viceadm.
2	Laurence Gamesby, of Newcastle.	
1	Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.	Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.
2	William Stevens of Plymmouth, gunner.	
3	William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorsetshire.	
4	Humphrey Derricke of London.	

After the losse of these men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in despight of them with good watch and ward, until the fift of the sayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowles; wherof we tooke to serve our turnes, and sailed away North and North and by West: for so lyeth the coast along in this place.

A little Iland full of penguins.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may go in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with us, with fresh water and wood on their backes. They are in marvellous awe

Morro moreno in 23 degrees and a halfe.

of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live marvellous savagely: For they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd upon the ground: and over them in stead of houses, is nothing but five or sixe sticks layd acrosse, which stand upon two forkes with stickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they have: for wee opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnes like unto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they have two of these bladders blowen full, which are sowen together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards: but they use it marvellous beastly.

Most artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fish.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called The George: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, & the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinnesse could not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboord a great shippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was comming in, but missed her very narrowly with a Minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes whereof, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwise

A barke taken, which they called The George.

Arica standeth in 18 degrees 31 minutes.
A ship taken.

[III. 810.]

if wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely have landed to take the towne, whatsoever had come of it. The cause why the Content stayed behind was, that shee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ships lading of botijas of wine of Castillia, whereof the sayd Content tooke into her as many as shee could conveniently carrie, and came after us into the road of Arica the same day. By this time wee perceived that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conveyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of us. Nowe because it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places up in the land, our Generall sawe there was no landing without losse of many men: wherefore hee gave over that enterprise. While wee rid in the road they shot at us, and our ships shot at them againe for every shot two. Moreover, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despight of all their forts though they shot still at the pinnesse, which they could never hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had received speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransome any man upon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to have redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at Quintero, otherwise hee would have made them no offer of parley.

Great store of wine found.

Another barke taken in the road.

The 25 riding stil in the said road, we spied a saile comming from the Southward, and our Generall sent out his pinnesse to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made such signes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnesse could get to them, they ran the barke on shoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they

The fourth barke taken.

A watchhouse.

had small leasure to carrie any thing with them ; but all the men skaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee sawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on shoare: many horsemen came from the towne to rescue them, and to carrie them away, otherwise wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboord the barke as she lay sunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboord our shippes againe the same night: and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with us, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest.

The first barke of advise taken.

The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere unto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to the citie of Lima with letters of adviso of us, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all sworne and received the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters over boord: which (as wee were giving them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them up, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it: but hee was faine to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at severall times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleeve that hee would hang him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled up a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee perjured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with us.

A good mind if he had bene in a good cause.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and

Pisca, where some of us landed and tooke certaine houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes: but the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Pisca in 13. deg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leaving the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of seales, by which meanes at that time wee lost her companie.

An Iland of Seales.

The ninth wee gave chase to a saile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica; The Content which was our viceadmirall being still lost: but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but lost it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) lost companie of our admirall.

The Hugh Gallant lost companie of the fleete, and met not untill the seventeenth.

[III. 811.]

The eleventh we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$, in which bay wee found a river of fresh water about eight of the clocke at night; and though we were but of small force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on shoare to fill water; where having filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on shoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, espied where there were foure or five hundred bagges of meale on an heape covered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell out well for us that were then lost and stoode in neede of victuals: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there stayed and rode untill the afternoone. In which meane time the towne seeing us ride there still, brought downe much cattell to the sea side to have intised us to come on shoare: but wee sawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelft day.

400 bags of meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which standeth in 9 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, where wee sawe horsemen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my selfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, John Way Preacher, John Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, having every man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the sea side, where wee found a boate of five or sixe tunnes haled up drie on the shoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanched the barke; when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the rest of our companie were fetching their things: but suddenly it was readie to sinke: And the Captaine and I stoode up to the knees lading out water with our targets; but it sunke downe faster then wee were able to free it, insomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to save our selves from drowning. When wee were out, wee stood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on shoare was sunke: for wee could no where see it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great surge that went by the shoare. Yet in the end wee spied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driven to wade up to the arme-holes 60 paces into the sea before wee could get into the boate, by reason of the shoaldnesse: and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning.

A bay in 9. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$.

John Way a preacher.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but sixteene men of us in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, having foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsalvo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with us, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: wherefore wee left her seven leagues from the land very leake and ready to sinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee sunke

A ship of 300 tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.

Seven degrees of Southerly latitude.

her boate and tooke away her foresaile and certaine victuals.

They met their fleete againe.

Two rich ships taken.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, molosses, maiz, Cordovan-skinnes, montego de Porco, many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and 1000 hennes: and the other ship was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chiefe marchandise in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might have solde it. Wee filled all our ships with as much as wee could bestow of these goods: the rest wee burnt and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.

One shippe worth 20000 pounds.

The bay of Paita in 5 degrees 4 min.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with sixtie or seventie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the towne, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governours to stay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloodie ensigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ships and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and drave them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them up upon an hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hilles for the space of an houre that wee drave them in the ende away perforce, and being got up the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there upon the mountaines. We also found the

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

quantitie of 25 pounds weight in silver in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of houshold stuffe and storehouses full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were five men to one of us: and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus wee came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and marvellous cleane kept in every streete, with a towne-house or Guild hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. Wee set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a barke riding in the roade which wee set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

25 pounds weight in silver.

[III. 812.]

The towne of Paita had 200 houses in it.

A barke set on fire.

The 25 day of May wee arrived at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great shippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. Wee sunke it, and went on shoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house marvellous well contrived with very many singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of every chamber was framed a gallerie with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South sea are made upon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians upon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a marvellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

The Iland of Puna within 1 degree the Equinoctial to the South.

A great ship burnt.

Great store of cables made in Puna.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and never goeth on the ground upon her feete: but holdeth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like unto an horse-litter upon foure mens shoulders, with a veile or canopie over her for the sunne or the winde, having her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Iland with her. But both shee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reason wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and were gone over unto the maine lande, having carried away with them to the summe of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the Iland under him, whom wee had taken at sea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balsa or canoa for a spie to see what wee were.

The 27 our General himselfe with certaine shot and some targettiers went over into the maine unto the place where this foresayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde us that the Casique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone unto, and had caried all his treasure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arrived there foure or five great balsas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall marvelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speake the trueth upon his life: being then bound fast, hee answered being very much abashed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they should come, nor who they should bee: for there was never a man in any one of the balsas: and because hee had told our Generall before, that it was an easie matter to take the sayd Casique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or foure houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if hee found it not so, hee should hang him. Againe being demaunded to speake upon his life what hee thought these Balsas should bee, hee answered that hee coulde not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 souldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaquil, which was about 6 leagues from the saide yland, where two or three of the kings shippes were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred souldiers in garisons who had heard of us, and had sent for sixtie more for feare of burning of the shippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas unlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not untill then spoken of, with a brave courage animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, untill such time as hee came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning, that they left the meate both boyling and rosting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and such things as wee thought good, and came away.

The towne of Guaiaquil.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the shipboate into a little Iland there by, whereas the sayd Casique which was the lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordovan leather all guilded over, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conveyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the ships businesse.

A little Iland neere unto Puna.

[III. 813.]

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more upon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in every codde there are seven or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe.

The Ile of Puna is almost as big as the Ile of Wight.

Cotton trees.

There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow orenges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with divers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullockes, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are used continually to bee milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great church hard by the Casiques house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was maried to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion he caused the rest of his subjects to be Christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and five belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second graving of their ships.

The second day of June in the morning, by and by after breake of day, every one of the watch being gone abroad to seeke to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hennes, some for sheepe, some for goats, upon the sudden there came down upon us an hundred Spanish souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, every one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from us at our first landing there. Thus being taken at advantage we had the worst: for our companie was not past sixteene or twentie; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses: yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe: at the last being sore overcharged with multitudes, we were driven down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, until in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short: for a shot strooke him to the heart: who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemie was driven somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it: And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hasting into the boate. But foure of us were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my selfe

The first skirmish with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie slaine honorably.

Robert Maddock slaine with his owne peece.

Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steven Gunner, and Richard Rose: which had our shot readie and retired our selves unto a cliffe, untill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had carried the rest abourd. There were sixe and fortie of the enemies slaine by us, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into olde houses, which wee found afterward. Wee lost twelve men in maner following.

46 Spaniards and Indians slaine.

1	Zacharie Saxie,	Slaine by the enemie.
2	Neales Johnson,	
3	William Geirgifield,	
4	Nicolas Hendie,	
5	Henry Cooper,	
1	Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece.	
2	Henry Mawdly, burnt.	
1	Edward the gunners man,	drowned.
2	Ambrose the musitian,	
1	Walter Tilliard,	taken prisoners.
2	Edward Smith,	
3	Henry Aselye,	

[III. 814.]

The second skirmish with the Spaniards.

The selfe same day being the second of June, we went on shoare againe with seventie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee set fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, having in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made havocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ships more which were in building on the stockes.

The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

The third of June the Content which was our vice-admirall was haled on ground, to grave at the same place in despight of the Spaniards: and also our pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

The fift day of June wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleven dayes, and

They arrived at Puna the 25 of May.

turned up for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place also wee sunke our rere-admirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

The Hugh Gallant a barke of 40 tuns sunke.

The tenth day of the same moneth wee set the Indians on shoare, which we had taken before in a balsa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

The eleventh day wee departed from the sayd Rio dolce.

Rio dolce.

The twelft of June wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our course Northwarde all that moneth.

The first of Julie wee had sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

The ninth of Julie wee tooke a new ship of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serve his turne to water along the coast: for hee was one of the best coasters in the South sea. This Michael Sancius was a Provensal, borne in Marseils, and was the first man that tolde us newes of the great ship called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

Michael Sancius a Marsilian.

There were sixe men more in this new shippe: we tooke her sailes, her ropes, and firewood, to serve our turnes, set her on fire, and kept the men.

A great new ship burnt.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with advise of us and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius tolde us: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on shoare. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonsonate in the province of Guatimala; the new shippe, for feare we should have taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of us along the coast; which barke also wee set on fire.

The second barke of advise taken.

Sonsonate in the province of Guatimala.

A barke burnt.

The 26 day of July wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the river of Copalita, where wee made account to water. And the same night wee departed with 30

The river of Copalita.

Aguatulco in 15 *degrees and* 40 *minutes Northward.*

men in the pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesayd river; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

A barke burnt.

Anile.
Cacoas.
Aguatulco a towne of 100 *houses burnt.*

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome-house which was very faire and large: in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; every bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos: every bag whereof is worth ten crownes. These cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eate them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the shippe tolde us. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balme. After we had spoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the shippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce unto us, which before with the rest of all the townesmen was run away at our first comming; and at length came abourd our pinnesse upon Captaine Havers worde of safe returne. We carried him to the river of Copalita where our shippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee caused him to bee set on shoare in safetie the same night, because hee came upon the captaines word.

Cacaos goe for money in Nueva Espanna.

The 28 day we set saile from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the same night into the roade of Aguatulco.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30 *men.*

The 29 our Generall landed and went on shoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe abourd. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be understood that a Mestizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

[III. 815.] The second day of August, we had watered, and examined the said Mestizo, and set him on shore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the same night, which standeth as I sayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

Our departure from Aguatulco.

Here wee overslipped the haven of Acapulco, from whence the shippes are set foorth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with 30 of us went with the pinnesse unto an haven called Puerto de Natividad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayde pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of advise concerning us along the coast, of Nueva Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two newe shippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came abourd of our shippes againe.

Puerto de Natividad in 19 degrees.

The third poste of advise taken.

Puerto de Natividad burnt.

Two new ships burnt.

The sixe and twentie day of August, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a fresh River, along which river many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Heere also certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught some quantitie.

The river of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The second of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the evening. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arrived in a litle bay a league to the Westwarde off Port de Natividad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelve of the clocke our Generall landed with

The bay of Malacca

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

thirtie men or there about, and went up to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houses and a Church, which we defaced and came abourd againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of us.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and sayled along the coast.

The road of Chaccalla.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which bay there are two litle houses by the waters side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The 9 in the morning our Generall sent up Captaine Havers with fortie men of us before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went unto a place about two leagues up into the countrey in a most villainous desart path through the woods and wildernesse: and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three housholders with their wives and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the sea side with us.

Our Generall made their wives to fetch us Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The Isle of Sant Andrew.

The twelfth day wee arrived at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great store of fowle and wood: where wee dryed and salted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee also killed there abundance of seales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which have not seene them; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here untill the seventeenth day, at which time wee departed.

Iguanos good meate.

Massatlan in 23 degrees, and an halfe.

The 24 day wee arrived in the roade of Massatlan, which standeth in 23 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, just under the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great river within, but it is barred at the mouth: and upon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very evill filling of it; because at a lowe water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites up into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

An island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The escape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

The seven and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Massatlan and ran to an island which is a league to the Northward the sayd Massatlan, where wee trimmed our ships and new built our pinnesse: and there is a litle island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seales: where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, being sent to wash shirtes with one of our men to keep him, made a scape, & swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, [III. 816.] which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was 11 leagues up into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told us. We found upon the island where we trimmed our pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise we had gone backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might have bene occasion that we might have missed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall having had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might have filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would.

Chiametla.

Fresh water at 2 or 3 foote deepe in the sand.

We stayed in this island untill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California.

The cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.
Aguada Segura.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight; and within the said cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire fresh river, about which many Indians use to keepe: wee watered in the river and lay off and on from the saide cape of S. Lucar untill the fourth of November, and had the windes hanging still Westerly.

California in 23 degrees and two thirds.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and us.

The 4 of November the Desire and the Content, wherein were the number of Englishmen onely living, beating up and downe upon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betwene seven and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape, whereupon hee cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, A sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true gave information unto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gave them chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best advantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordinance and a volee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboord, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboord upon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put us off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gave them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were under water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyse out their boate and to come aboord: which newes they were ful glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboord unto our Generall: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed our Generals feete, and craved mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for the Captaine and their Pilote, who at their comming used the like duetie and reverence as the former did. The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promised

The second encounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anne yeeldeth.

One hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold.

A pezo is 8*s.*

The marchandise in the great ship.

[III. 817.]

their lives and good usage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske & divers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choyse of many conserves of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforesaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the 6 day of November following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The Spaniardes set on shore to the number of 190.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies upon the maine land. Our generall also gave them great store of victuals, of garuansos, peason, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of plankes as should bee sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In devision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neverthelesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

Mutinie against the Generall.

On the 17 day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majestie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had never seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gave him a royall reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeers olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Japon being a countrey most rich in silver mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Japon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicolas Roderigo, a Portugal.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueva Espanna unto the islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of November aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which having to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordinance and set sayle joyfully homewardes towardes England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her

A Spanish Pilote.

Acapulco is the haven whence they set foorth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The winde at Eastnortheast.

The Content whereof Steven Hare was master, left behind in the road.

companie and never saw her after. Wee were sayling from this haven of Aguada Segura in California unto the iles of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth until the 3 of Januarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space 45 dayes: and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of January by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of Guana, standing in 13 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come up within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with 60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them up unto us for to truck or exchange with us; which when we perceived, we made fast little pieces of old iron upon small cords and fishing lines, and so vered the iron unto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast unto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them until they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men saved themselves being in every canoa 4, 6, or 8 persons all naked & excellent swimmers and divers. They are of a tawny colour & marveilous fat, & bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marveilous long; yet some of them have it made up and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & some with 2 knots, much like unto their images which wee saw them have carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like unto the images of the devill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that ever wee had seene:

The island of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13 degrees and two thirds.

Commodities of the isles of Ladrones.

The colour and stature of the people of the isles of Ladrones.

[III. 818.]

Their images.

Artificial canoas.

considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seven or eight yardes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde: These Savages followed us so long, that we could not be ridde of them: untill in the end our General commanded some halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea and prevent us by diving.

Canoas sayling right against the winde.

The nimblenes of the people of the Ladrones.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night until foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the middest of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is short of the chiefest island of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of sixe or seven hundred persons: which dwell in a towne unwalled, which hath 3 or 4 small blocke houses, part made of wood, and part of stone beeing indeede of no great strength: they have one or two small Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they have yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueva

Cabo del Spirito Santo, one of the isles of the Philippinas in 13 degrees.

From Guana an isle of The Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santo is 310 *leagues.*

The description of the town of Manilla.

Trade from Acapulco to Manilla.

Espanna, and also 20 or 30 shippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for silver, and give waight for waight. These Sanguelos are men of marveilous capacitie in devising and making all maner of things, especially in all handie craftes and sciences: and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Christians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & embrodering upon satten, silck, or lawne, either beaste, fowle, fish or worme, for livelines and perfectnes, both in silke, silver, gold, & pearle, they excell. Also the 14 day at night wee entred the streights betweene the island of Luzon, & the island of Camlaia.

Marchants of China. Marchants called Sanguelos. Silver exchanged waight for waight for golde.

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an island called Capul, and had betwixt the sayd island and another island but an narrowe passage, and a marveilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

The island of Capul at which our men stayed 9 dayes.

Our shippe was no sooner come to an anker, but presently there came a canoa rowing aboord us, wherein was one of the chief Casiques of the island whereof there be seven, who supposing that we were Spaniardes, brought us potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gave his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent sweete either rosted or boyled.

One of the chiefe governours of the island came aboord us.

This Casiques skinne was carved and cut with sundry and many strakes and devises all over his body. We kept him still aboord and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they used the same order with us which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for every hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for every henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selves marveilously well.

Hennes and hogges.

The same day at night beeing the fifteenth of January 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom wee tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General understood, he sent for him, & asked him what he had to say unto him. The Portugal made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true service unto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would conceale such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great sant Anne for a Pilote, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it up in his cheste, meaning to convey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueva Espanna, and Nueva Galicia, and that they had taken many shippes and marchandize in them, and burnt divers townes, and spoiled all that ever they could come unto, and that they had taken the kings ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had set all the

[III. 819.]

The treason of the Spanish Pilote revealed.

The copy of the Spanish Pilotes letter to the governour of Manilla, which was found in his cheste, and translated by Timothy Shotton.

people on shore, taking himselfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such provision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could use any meanes to surprize us being there at an anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise if they let us escape, within fewe yeeres they must make account to have their towne besieged and sacked with an armie of English. This information being given, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he utterly denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

Capul adjoyning upon the South isle of Manilla.

The North-west passage. 50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spanish Pilote hanged for his trecherie.

We roade for the space of nine dayes about this island of Capul, where we had diverse kindes of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in every bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their wastes, of some kinde of linnen of their owne weaving, which is made of plantan leaves, and another stroope comming from their backe under their twistes, which covereth their privie parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their navels.

The maner of the people of Capul.

These people use a strange kinde of order among them, which is this. Every man and man-childe among them hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his privie part, being split in the lower ende and rivetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowne: which is driven through their privities when

A strange thing.

they be yong, and the place groweth up againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occasion serveth: and for the truth thereof we our selves have taken one of these nailes from a sonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the same in his privie member.

This custome was granted at the request of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be given to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obteined this before named of the magistrates. Moreover all the males are circumcised, having the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. These people wholly worship the devill, and often times have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

Circumcision.

On the 23 day of January, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused al the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more, which he had made to pay tribute unto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his company knowne unto them, that they were English men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon spredde his Ensigne and sounded up the drummes, which they much marvelled at: to conclude, they promised both themselves and all the islands thereabout to ayde him, whensoever hee shoulde come againe to overcome the Spaniardes. Also our Generall gave them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marveilous friendly, and rowed about our shippe to shewe us pleasure marveilous swiftly: at the last our generall caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment took their leaves of us.

The inhabitants of Capul with all the islands adjoyning, promise to ayde the English against the Spaniards.

The next day being the twentie foure of Januarie, wee sette sayle aboute sixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of Manilla, shaping

Our departure from the island of Capul.

our course Northwest betweene the isle of Manilla, and the isle of Masbat.

The isle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigat under her two coarses, comming out betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came from Manilla, sayling close aboord the shore along the maine island of Panama: we chased this frigat along the shore, & gat very fast upon it, until in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore close by a winde, untill shee was becalmed and was driven to stricke her sayle, and banked up with her oares: whereupon we came unto an anker with our ship, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a river, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boate came into very shallow water, where many weares and sticks were set up in divers places in the sea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made somewhat neere unto us, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called unto them, but they would not come neerer unto us, but rowed from us: whom wee durst not followe too farre from feare of bringing our selves to much to the leewarde of our ship. Here, as we looked about us, we espied another Balsa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did set along as we do usually set a barge with long staves or poles, which was builded up with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almost at the Balsa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped over-boord and freed it againe presently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboord and tooke in to us the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and dived and rose farre off againe from us. Presently upon the taking of this

The island of Panama.

[III. 820.]

Markes of shallow water.

A Balsa is a great canoa.

A Spaniard of Manilla taken.

canoa, there shewed upon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne having a red Crosse like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings, which was building in a river within the bay, and stayed there but for certain yrons that did serve for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for every day.

50 or 60 Spaniards shew themselves.

A newe shippe of the kings in building.

This band of men shot at us from the shore with their muskets, but hyt none of us, and wee shot at them againe: they also manned a Frigate and sent it out after our boat to have taken us, but we with saile and oares went from them: and when they perceived that they could not fetch us, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their Frigate about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboord with this one Spaniard, which was neither souldier nor sayler, but one that was come among the rest from Manilla, and had bene in the hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soule, and such a one as could answere to very little that hee was asked, concerning the state of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceived that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in several steedes with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and straight trees do grow upon it, fit for to make excellent good mastes for all sorts of ships. There are also mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the island is called the island of Negros: and is almost as bigge as England, standing in 9 degrees: the most part of it seemeth to

They manned out a Frigate after us.

An hospitall in Manilla.

Mynes of very fine gold in the Island of Panama.

The island of Negros in 9 degrees.

be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

Their departure from the Philippinas.

The 29 day of January aboute sixe of the clocke in the morning we set saile, sending our boate before until it was two of the clock in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a straight betwixt the said 2 islands of Panama, and the island of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fayre opening, trending Southwest and by South, at which time our boate came aboord, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish captaine which wee came from the evening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to provide good store of gold: for he meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to have landed his men, or else hee would have seene him then: and so caused him to be set on shore.

Batochina.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we espied an island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

11 *or* 12 *small ylands in* 3 *degrees* 10 *min. to the Southward.*

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be suncke and have the dry sands lying in the maine sea. These islands neere the Malucoes, stand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

Islands in 4 *degrees southward of the line.*

The death of captaine Havers.

On the 17 day, one John Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene sicke of an olde disease a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other islands which had many small islands among them, standing 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Ashwednesday Captaine Havers dyed of a most fervent and pestilent ague, which held him furiously some 7 or 8 dayes, to the no small griefe of our Generall and of all the rest of the company, who caused two Falcons and one Sacre to be shot off, with all the small shotte in the ship, who after he was shrowded [III. 821].

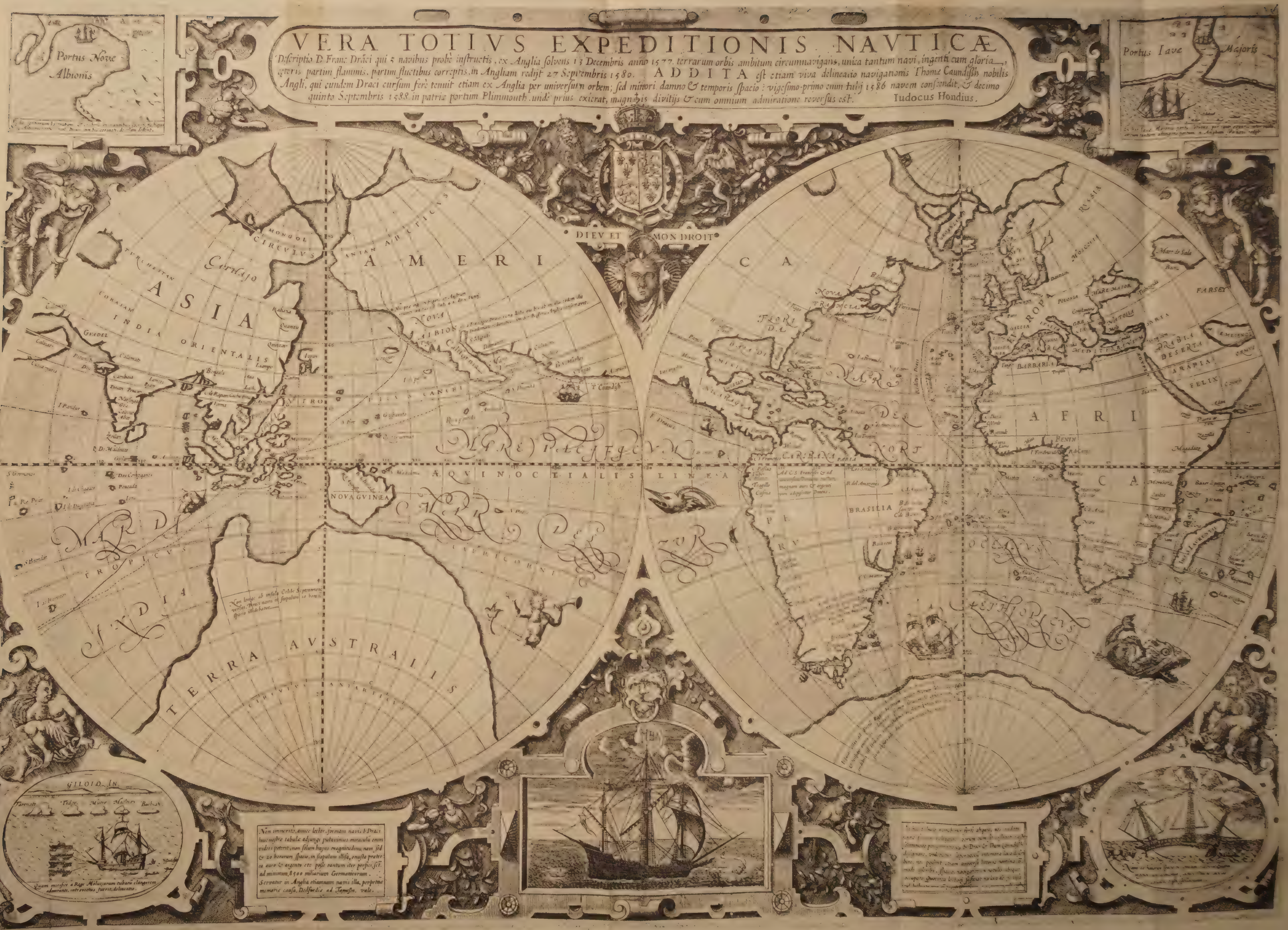
VERA TOTIVS EXPEDITIONIS NAVTICÆ
Deſcriptio D. Franc. Draci qui 5 navibus probè inſtructis, ex Anglia ſolvens 13 Decembris anno 1577. terrarum orbis ambitum circumnavigans, unica tantum navi, ingenti cum gloria, cæteris partim flammis, partim fluctibus correptis, in Angliam rediit 27 Septembris 1580. ADDITA eſt etiam viva delineatio navigationis Thomæ Caundiſh nobilis Angli, qui eundem Draci curſum ferè tenuit etiam ex Anglia per univerſum orbem; ſed minori damno & temporis ſpacio: vigeſimo-primo enim Iulij 1586 navem conſcendit, & decimo quinto Septembris 1588 in patriæ portum Plimmouth, unde prius exierat, magnis divitijs & cum omnium admiratione reverſus eſt.
Iudocus Hondius.
Portus Novæ Albionis
Portus Iavæ Majoris
DIEV ET MON DROIT
ASIA
INDIA ORIENTALIS
AMERICA
NOVA ALBION
MARE PACIFICUM
AEQVINOCTIALIS LINEA
NOVA GVINEA
MAR DEL ZUR
TERRA AVSTRALIS
CIRCULUS ANTARTICUS
EUROPA
AFRICA
BARBARIA
ARABIA FELIX
BRASILIA
PERU
MAR DEL NORT
OCEANUS AETHIOPICUS
NOVA FRANCIA
FLORIDA
MAR DI INDIA
TROPICUS CAPRICORNI
IAVA MAIOR
Non immerito, amice lector, formam navis F. Draci huic noſtræ tabulæ adjungi putavimus miraculũ enim videri poterit, non ſolum hujus magnitudinis navi, ſed & 20 horarum ſpacio, in ſcopulum illiſa, onuſta præterea auro & argento etc. poſſe tantum iter perfici, ſcil. ad minimum 8500 miliarium Germanicorum. Servatur in Anglia etiamnum navis illa, perpetuæ memoriæ cauſa, Dedfordiæ ad Tameſin. vale.

CHART OF THE WORLD SHOWING THE CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS OF DRAKE AND CAVENDISH in a sheete and a prayer sayd, was heved over bord with great lamentation of us all. Moreover, presently after his death my selfe with divers others in the ship fell marveilously sicke, and so continued in very great paine for the space of three weekes or a moneth by reason of the extreeme heat and untemperatnesse of the Climate.

March 1588.

Our arrival at Java major.

The first day of March having passed through the Straights of Java minor and Java major, wee came to an ancker under the Southwest parts of Java major: where wee espied certaine of the people which were fishing by the sea side in a bay which was under the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which having espied our boat ranne on shoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall caused his Negro to call unto them: who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a shippe that was come to have trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche jewels that hee had: for which hee should have either golde or other marchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should have all maner of victuals that wee would request. Thus the boat came abord againe. Within a while after wee went about to furnish our shippe throughly with wood and water.

The Morisco or, Arabian tongue common in Java.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne unto us with egges, hennes, fresh fish, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee should have had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so farre to bee brought to us where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed ancker and stoode in neerer for the towne: and as wee were under saile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde us: whereupon wee shoke the shippe in the winde and stayed for the canoa untill it came abord of us, and stoode into the bay which was hard by and came to an ancker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded up like a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked saving about his waste, his breast was carved with the broade arrowe upon it: hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speake very good Portugese. This Secretarie signified unto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, fresh fish, sugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as strong as any aquavitæ, and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as hee and his company would request, and that within the space of foure dayes. Our Generall used him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choyce of many and sundry conserves, wines both sweete and other, and caused his Musitians to make him musicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Englishmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to discover, and purposed to goe to Malaca. The people of Java tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night abord our shippe. The same night, because they lay abord, in the evening at the setting of the watch, our Generall commanded every man in the shippe to provide his harquebuze and his shotte, and so with shooting off 40. or 50. small shot and one Sacre, himselfe set the watch with them. This was no small marveile unto these heathen people, who had not commonly seene any shippe so furnished with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee dismissed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

A King of Java his Secretary.

Niper wine.

Cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities in Java major.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being somewhat skant they could not get abord that night, but put into a bay under the yland untill the next day, and presently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas so deepely laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great live oxen, halfe a skore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs, plantans, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and sowre, lymes, great store of wine and aquavitæ, salt to season victuals withall, and almost all maner of victuals else, with divers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle stature, and men of marveilous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose jerkin, and hose, which came downe from the waste to the ancle, because of the use of the Countrey, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to weare either hose or shoes on their feete:) they had on ech of them a very faire and a white lawne shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. These Portugales were no small joy unto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall used and intreated them singularly well, with banquets and musicke: They told us that they were no lesse glad to see us, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were living or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall satisfied them in every demaund; Assuring them, that their King was alive, and in England, and had honourable

Nine or 10. *of the Kings canoas.*

Two Portugales in Java.

[III. 822.]

Enquirie of Don Antonie.

allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come under the King of Portugall into the South sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie sailes. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

The state of Java.

On the other side they declared unto us the state of the yland of Java. First the plentifulnes and great choise and store of victuals of all sorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is set downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raja Bolamboam, who was a man had in great majestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other nation without speciall licence from their king: and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wives, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the countrey is, that whensoever the king doeth die, they take the body so dead and burne it and preserve the ashes of him, and within five dayes next after, the wives of the said king so dead, according to the custome and use of their countrey, every one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neerest unto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eastward, and every one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Crise, and is as sharpe as a rasor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themselves in their owne blood, and falling grovelling on their faces so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange.

Raja Bolamboam.

The wives kill themselves after their husbands deaths.

A strange order.

The men of themselves be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For hee will cut off the heads of every one of them which returne alive without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast parts of the world: for they never feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe upon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or overcome his enemie. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

Faire women in Java.

After they had thus described the state of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people; they tolde us farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come unto them, they would warrant him to have all the Malucos at commandement, besides, China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Java which brought us victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaves of us with promise of all good entertainement at our returnes, and our Generall gave them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we set saile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Esperancza on the Southermost coast of Africa.

Don Antonio might be receivedas King in the East Indies.

They depart from Java the 16. of March 1588.

The rest of March and all the moneth of April wee spent in traversing that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the yle of Java and the maine of Africa, observing the heavens, the Crosiers or South-pole, the other starres, the foules, which are markes unto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempests, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storme at the West, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stirre close by under the wind: and the storme continued al that day and al that night.

[III. 823.] The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off us, & about noone wee espied land to beare West off us, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperanza, wherof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde we stood along to the Southeast untill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazie and thicke until the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperanza 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very easie to be knowen. For there are right over it three very high hilles standing but a smal way one off another, and the hiest standeth in the middest, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of Good hope beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

Cabo Falso.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came up at East a very stiffe gale, which helde untill it was Saturday with as much winde as ever the ship could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperanza, which is a reasonable hie land, & at the Westermost point a litle off the maine do shew two hammocks, the one upon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land betweene and adjoyning unto the sea.

They double the Cape de Bona Speranza.

This cape of Buena Esperanza is set down and accompted for two thousand leagues from the yland of Java in the Portugall sea carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues just nine weekes.

From Java to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850. *leagues.*

The eighth day of June by breake of day we fel in sight of the yland of S. Helena, seven or eight leagues short of it, having but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: insomuch as we could not get into it that day, but stood off and on all that night.

June 1588.

The next day being the 9. of June having a pretie easie gale of wind we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came unto an ancker in 12. fathoms water two or three cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth bay under the Northwest side of the yland.

They anker at the yland of S. Helena the 9. *of June.*

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine sea standing as it were in the middest of the sea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia and the coast of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperanza betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. *degrees* 48. *min. to the Southward.*

The same day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on shore, where wee found a marveilous faire & pleasant valley, wherein divers handsome buildings and houses were set up, and especially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outside very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the upper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame having in it the picture of our Saviour CHRIST upon the Crosse and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the Church were all hanged with stained clothes having many devises drawen in them.

There are two houses adjoyning to the Church, on each side one, which serve for kitchins to dresse meate in, with necessary roomes and houses of office: the coverings of the said houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the saide houses runneth a very good and holsome streame of fresh water.

There is also right over against the saide Church a faire causey made up with stones reaching unto a valley by the seaside, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great store of pompions and melons: And upon the saide causey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Masse; and hard unto it is a Crosse set up, which is squared, framed and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carved in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

The great store of divers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

This valley is the fairest and largest lowe plot in all the yland, and it is marveilous sweete and pleasant, and planted in every place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are fig trees, which beare fruit continually, & marveilous plentifully: for on every tree you shal have blossoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones: and it is so all the yere long: the reason is that the yland standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walkes under and betweene them, and the saide walkes bee overshadowed with the leaves of the trees: and in every voyde place is planted parceley, [III. 824.] sorell, basill, fenell, annis seede, mustard seede, radishes, and many speciall good hearbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth through divers places of this orchard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This fresh water streame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refresh the whole yland, and almost every tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and steepe valleis, except it be in the tops of some hilles, and downe below in some of the valleis, where marveilous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow: there is greater store growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis: but it is wonderfull laboursome and also dangerous traveiling up unto them and downe againe, by reason of the height and steepenesse of the hilles.

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

There is also upon this yland great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great hast to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get up into the steepe cliffes: we killed some of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bignesse and also in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an henne, and are of an ashe colour, and live in covies twelve, sixteen, and twentie together: you cannot go ten or twelve score but you shall see or spring one or two covies at the least.

Great store of fesants.

There are likewise no lesse store of fesants in the yland, which are also marveilous bigge and fat, surpassing those which are in our countrey in bignesse and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of.

Turkies in great quantitie.

Wee found moreover in this place great store of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

There are in this yland thousands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wilde: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may beholde them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an asse, with a maine like an horse and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they will clime up the cliffes which are so steepe that a man would thinke it a thing unpossible for any living thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them upon the mountaines.

Plentie of swine.

Here are in like maner great store of swine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a marveilous bignes: they keepe altogether upon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found asleepe, or otherwise, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaves which were Negros, & one which was borne in the yland of Java, which tolde us that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes, the least whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreshing as they come from the East Indies. And when they come they have all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend up the fruit of the yland, except some very few sicke persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not live untill they come home, whom they leave there to refresh themselves, and take away the yeere following the other Fleete if they live so long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the East Indies, then at their going thither, because they are throughly furnished with corne when they set out of Portugal, but are but meanely victualled at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

Our departure from S. Helena.

The 20. day of June having taken in wood & water and refreshed our selves with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set saile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile wee had the winde at Southeast, and we haled away Northwest and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this yland of S. Helena.

July 1588.

On Wednesday being the thirde day of July we went away Northwest the winde being still at Southeast; at which time we were in 1. degree and 48 minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the said moneth of July it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and so continued untill it was Munday, being the 15. day of July.

[III. 825.]

On Wednesday the 17. day of the abovesaid moneth wee had the winde skant at West northwest. Wee found the wind continually to blow at East, and Northeast, and Eastnortheast after we were in 3. or 4. degrees to the Northward; and it altered not untill we came betweene 30. and 40. degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wednesday the 21. day of August the wind came up at Southwest a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38. degrees of Northerly latitude.

On Friday in the morning being the 23. day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost ylands of the Azores.

Corvo and Flores, two ylands of the Azores.

On Saturday the 24. day of the said moneth by 5. of the clocke in the morning we fel in sight of the two ylands of Flores and Corvo standing in 39. degrees and ½. and sailed away Northeast.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, & declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singuler rejoycing and comfort of us all.

The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which caried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull favour of the Almightie we recovered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set foorth at the beginning of our voyage.

Certaine rare and special notes most properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candish next before described; concerning the heights, soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the just length of time spent in sayling betweene divers places, and their abode in them, as also the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the same, with the observation of the windes on severall coastes: Written by M. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was Master in the desire of M. Thomas Candish in his foresaid prosperous voyage about the world.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Barbarie.

Inprimis Cape Cantin standeth in the latitude of	32. degr. 4. min.
Item the yland of Mogador standeth in	31. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape d'oro standeth in	30. degr. 20. min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28. degr.
Item Cape Bojador standeth in	27. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Verde standeth in	14. degr. 30. min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8. degr.
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7. degr. 30. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coast of Brasill to the South sea.

INprimis Cape Frio standeth in the latitude of	23. degr. 30. min.
Item the yland of S. Sebastian in	24. degr.
Item Port desire standeth in	47. degr. 50. min.
Item Seales bay standeth in	48. degr. 20. min.
Item Port S. Julian standeth in	50. degr.
Item The white river standeth in	50. degr. 30. min.
Item Cape Joy standeth in	52. degr. 40. min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	53. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan standeth in	54. degr. 15. min.
Item. Cape desire in the entring into the South sea standeth in	53. degr. 10. min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coast of Chili and Peru in the South sea.

INprimis the yland of Mocha standeth in the latitude of	38. degr. 30. min.	
Item the yland of S. Mary in	37. degr. 15. min.	
Item the bay of *Valpares in	33. degr. 40. min.	* *Valparizo.*
Item the bay of Quintero in	33. degr. 20. min.	
Item Coquimbo in	29. degr. 30. min.	
Item Morro moreno in	23. degr. 20. min.	
Item Arica standeth in	18. degr. 30. min.	
Item the bay of Pisca standeth in	13. degr. 30. min.	
Item the bay of Lima standeth in	11. degr. 50. min.	
Item Santos standeth in	9 degr. 20. min.	[III. 826.]
Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr. 30. min.	
Item the bay of Paita, in	5. degr. 4. min.	
Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr. 50. min.	
Item Cape Sant Francisco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1. degr	

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall line, on the coast of New Spaine.

INprimis Panama standeth in the latitude of	9. degrees.
Item the yland called Isla de Canoas, in	9. degr. 10. min.
Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr. 10. min.
Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr. 40. min.
Item *Aguatulco, in	15. degr. 50. min.
Item Acapulco, in	17. degr. 20. min.
Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape de los Corrientes, in	20. degr. 30. min.
Item the bay of Xalisco, in	21. degr. 30. min.
Item the ylands of the *Maries, in	21. degr. 20. min.
Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.
Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr. 40. min.
Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.

** Or, Guatulco.*

** Las tres Marias.*

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands of the Ladrones and passing by the Philippinas, the Malucos, Java minor, Java major, the Cape of Bona Speranza, and the yle of Santa Helena.

INprim. one of the ylands of the Ladrones called Guana standeth in	13. degr. 50. min.
Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luzon standeth in	13. degr.
Item the yland of Capul in	12. degr. 30. min.
Item that the yland of Seboyon standeth in	12. degr.
Item that the Easterly end of the yland of * Pannay is in	11. degr.
Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the South head of Isla de los Negros is in	10. degr. 10. min.

Or Panuma.

Item that the South-head of Isla de los Negros is in	9. degr.	10. min.
Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr.	50. min.
Item the South-head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of Batochina is in		10. min.
* Item that 12. small ylands stand in	3. degr.	
Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr.	10. min.
Item the Westerly head of Java minor is toward the South in	8. degr.	30. min.
Item the Easterly head of Java major is toward the South in	8. degr.	20. min.
Item Malaca standeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
Item Cape Falso on the promontory of Africa, standeth in	34. degr.	20. min.
Item the Cape of Bona Speranza standeth in	34. degr.	40. min.
Item the yland of Santa Helena standeth in	15. degr.	40. min.
Item the Cape of S. Augustine standeth Southward in	8. degr.	40. min.

To the Southwards of the Line.

Soundings on the coast of Barbarie from Rio del Oro unto Cape Blanco.

Inprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you shall have very faire shoulding, fine white sand 18. fathoms, and so alongst unto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the shore you shall have 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you shall have twelve or thirteene fathoms, browne sand, very faire shoulding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within seven or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a sand off the Cape.

Also about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long should next hand Southwest and by South off the Cape.

[III. 827.]

Soundings on the coast of Guiny.

ITem, Going unto Sierra Leona, having the cape Eastnortheast off you, 7. leagues off, you shall have 22 fadome browne sand. And halling in you shall finde very faire shoalding. You may be bold to borrow on the Southermost shore: but take heed of a rocke that lieth in the faire way a good birth off the shore, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth above the water, and is distant two miles off the South shore.

Item, You may be bolde to borrow hard by the rocke; for on the North side going in there lieth one long sand which runneth Southeast and Northwest, and lieth distant from the South shore 2 leagues. And you shall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the shore.

Also going unto the island called Illha Verde, the which iland lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast: and you shall have betweene them 9 or 10 fadome. And if you will anker at the sayd iland, you shall have 5 or 6 fadome hard by the shore.

Also you must have especiall care of a great current that setteth alongst the coast of Guiny to the Eastward.

Item, And if you be bound unto the Southwards, you must go Westsouthwest off, for feare of the shoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which shoald is to the Southwards of the iland.

Soundings on the coast of Brasil.

ITem, Unto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing southwest off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off, you shall have 45 fadoms streamy ground: and running Southwest, you shall find 32 fadoms blacke sand: and then running Westsouthwest into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northwards of the

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cape, you shall have 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you shall have all alongst, except you be farre into the bay; and then you shall have 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you shall have many small islands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6. leagues, you shall have two small islands one mile distant the one from the other, and they are distant from the maine five leagues. And betweene those ilands and the cape you shall have very many islands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing West of you two leagues off, you shall have 55 fadoms oaze. Also you shall know when you are shot about the cape unto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Also if you will go for S. Sebastian from the cape, you must go West and South, and Westsouthwest among. And the distance from the cape unto S. Sebastian is 50 leagues. And being shot into the bay any thing nere the shore, you shall have 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebastian, you shall know it by two little islands which be round: and those ilands lie from the iland of S. Sebastian next hand East and by South; and are distant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Also off the Southermost end of S. Sebastian, there lieth one iland about 6 leagues off; which iland is called the Alcatrarza, and there lie foure little ilands about it. Also you may know it by the trending of the land unto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Northermost end of S. Sebastian, you must take heed of a sand that lieth on the Northeast part of the iland: but you may be bolde to borrow on the iland: for the sand lieth off the maine side. Also you may anker on the Northermost part of the iland in tenne fadoms; and the maine is distant from you where you shall ride two leagues off.

Item, If you will come in at the Southermost end of the iland of S. Sebastian, your course from the Alcatrarza is Southwest & Northeast, and their distance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Unto the Southwards of the river of Plate, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you shall have shoalding in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie sand: and then halling in for the shore Westsouthwest 16 leagues, you shall have 50 fadoms oaze, and you shall have faire shoalding all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47⅓ you shall see about one mile in length, not passing one league off the shore, a ledge of broken ground, but no danger. Also you shall have very faire shoalding all along the coast; and the land lying South and North untill you come unto port Desire, which standeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Desire, on the North side there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league distant from the shore. Also on the North side at the mouth of the harborow, there lie a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood under water: but be bolde to borrow on [III. 828.] the Southermost shore; for there is no danger; and you shall have no lesse then 6 fadoms water at a low water, the harborow lying East and West. Also you may know the harborow by one litle iland that lieth Southeast off the mouth of the harborow, and it is distant 4 leagues. Furthermore, you may know the harborow by an high rocke that standeth on the South side; and this rocke is very much like a watch tower. Also if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at spring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood setteth to the Northward.

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you shall have 44 fadoms blacke sand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you shall have 25 fadoms, and great shingle stones.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½ you shall have sounding in 38 fadoms oazie sand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you shall have soundings 4 leagues from the shore in 44 fadoms small blacke stones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

ITem, About two leagues from the Northermost shore you shall have 38 fadoms blacke sand, and all along you shall have deepe water, not lesse then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coast of Chili in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 36 degrees you shall have soundings in 12 fadoms, 2 miles from the land, browne sand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you shall have soundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white sand.

Soundings on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea.

ITem, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you shall have soundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne sand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees unto the latitude of 15 degrees, you shall have faire shoalding 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coast of Africa unto the Eastward of the cape of Buena Esperanza 40 leagues.

ITem, To the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperanza 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you shall have 65 fadome, and browne sand.

[A note

A note of the lying of the land unto the Southward of Port Desire.

IN primis, Seales bay standeth unto the Southwards of Port Desire 12 leagues Southsouthwest. Furthermore, unto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you shall have very low land. Also more unto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minutes, you shall see a rocke 5 leagues off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½, you shall see a small flat Iland, about a league and an halfe off the shore, the land lying Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees ½ unto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by West, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees unto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minutes, the land lieth Southwest and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts unto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by West, North and by East.

Item, In the sayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South side of the harborow. Moreover, the sayd harborow standeth 12 leagues unto the Northwards of Cape Joy. Furthermore, from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts unto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heigth standeth Cape Joy) the land lieth Southsoutheast, and Northnorthwest.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you shall see before you come to Cape Joy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues short of the cape unto the Northwards. Also unto the Southwards of the cape, you shall see another beach about a league long, adjoyning hard under the cape; about which beach is the entrance of the Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth sixe leagues over, from the cape unto the South shore, lying South and by East.

[III. 829.] *The entrance of the streight.*

Item, From Cape Joy, being the entrance of the streight of Magellan, unto the first narrow passage of the sayd streight; the course is West and by North, and East and by South, and are distant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one side to the other one league.

Item, From the first narrow unto the second narrow passage, the course is West & by South, and East and by North; and the distance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one side is from the other about two leagues over.

Item, from the second narrow unto the islands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin ilands, the distance is 5 leagues, and the course is Southwest and Northeast: the islands being distant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the sayd ilands unto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast. Moreover, from Port Famine unto Cape Froward, the course is South and by West, and North and by East: and they are distant 8 leagues asunder.

The end of the streight.

Item, From Cape Froward unto S. Jeromes river, is 16 leagues: the course is Northwest and Southeast. Also from S. Jeromes river unto the uttermost land on the South side, the which is called Cabo Deseado, the course is Northwest & somewhat to the Northward, and are distant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the streight of Magellan is 105 leagues.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South sea.

IN primis, There stand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minuts, three or foure ilands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deseado: the course is Northnorthwest, and

Southsoutheast. And those ilands stand in the mouth of the streight of Magellan, at the going into the South sea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minuts, unto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees unto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minuts unto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minuts, the land lieth North and South.

Item, From the iland of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. unto the heighth of 36 degrees 14 minuts, in which height standeth The Bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 12 leagues.

The bay of Conception.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minuts unto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northeast and by North, Southwest and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts unto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you shall see about five miles off from the shore a banke of sand, on the which you shall have but shoald water.

33 *deg.* 20 *mi. In which heightstandeth Quintero.*

Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minutes unto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minutes, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

27 *deg.* 40 *mi. In which heightstandeth Copiapo.*

Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts unto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, there lie two ilands distant 4 leagues asunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts unto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees unto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minuts, the land is very high.

23 deg. 30 *mi. In which height standeth Morro moreno.*

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees unto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest.

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees unto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by East, South and by West.

18 *deg.* 30 *mi. In which height standeth Arica.*

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minuts, unto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees unto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which heigth there lie two or three ilands, which ilands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Pisca.

13 *deg.* 30 *mi. In which height standeth Paraca & Pisca.*

Item, From the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, unto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, the land lieth Northnorthwest, and Southsoutheast.

[III. 830.]

Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, unto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by West, South and by East. Also you shall see two ilands, which be called The Ilands of Lobos, that stand in the latitude of 6 degrees.

11 *deg.* 50 *mi. In which height stand the ilands of Lobos.*

Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, unto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

5. *degrees. In which height standeth Paita.*

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees unto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth Northwest and Southeast: in which height of 4 degrees standeth Cape Blanco.

Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees unto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts standeth the iland of Puna) the course is Northeast and Southwest.

2 *deg.* 50 *min. In which height standeth the iland of Puna.*

[A note

A note of the distance betweene certeine places on the coasts of Chili and Peru.

Leagues 25.

IN primis, From the iland of Mocha unto the iland of S. Mary, the course is North and South, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Leagues 12.

Item, From the iland of S. Mary unto the bay of Conception, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance is 12 leagues.

Leagues 80.

Item, From the bay of Conception unto the port of Valpariso, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 80 leagues.

Leagues 7.

Item, From the port of Valpariso unto the bay of Quintero, the course is Northeast and by North, and Southwest and South, and the distance is 7 leagues. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one small iland.

Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Quintero unto the bay of Coquimbo, the course is Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 72 leagues: in which height stand two ilands.

Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo unto the bay of Copiapo, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 55 leagues: in which height standeth one iland.

Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo unto the bay of Morro moreno, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 70 leagues.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Morro moreno, unto the bay of Arica, the course is North & by East, South & by West, and the distance is 90 leagues: in which bay of Arica standeth one small iland.

Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Arica unto the bay of Parraca, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 120 leagues: in which bay of Parraca stand three or foure ilands.

Item, From the bay of Parraca unto the bay of

Lima, the course is Northwest and by North, Southeast and by South, and the distance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one iland.

Leagues 35.

Item, From the bay of Lima unto the bay of Cherrepe, the course is North & by West, South and by East, and the distance is 90 leagues.

Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Cherrepe unto the bay of Paita it is 45 leagues, the course is 20 leags Westnorthwest unto two ilands that be called The ilands of Lobos, and from thence unto the bay of Paita it is 25 leagues, the course is North and by East.

Leagues 45.

Item, From Paita unto Cape Blanco, the course is North and by West, South and by East, and the distance is 25 leagues.

Leagues 25.

Item, From Cape Blanco unto the iland of Puna, the course is Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest, and the distance is 25 leagues: and you shall see one iland that is called Santa Clara, which standeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna.

Leagues 25.

Leagues in all are 751.

A note of certeine places unto the Northwards of the Line.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco unto Cape S. Laurence, the course is North & by East, South and by West, and the distance 60 leagues.

Leagues 60.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenzo unto Cape S. Francisco, the course is North & by East, South and by West, and the distance is 40 leagues.

Leagues 40.

Item, From Cape S. Francisco unto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coast of New Spaine, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 160 leagues: and you shall have a great current that setteth out of the bay of Panama; and the sayd current setteth South out.

Leagues 160.

Item, From Cape Blanco unto the Port de Veles, the course is Northeast and Southwest, and the distance 8 leagues.

Leagues 8.

Item, From the Port de Veles unto the port of S. John, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 17 leagues. *Leagues* 17.

[III. 831.] Item, From the port of S. John unto Rio Lexo, the course is Northwest, and Southeast, and the distance is 40 leagues. *Leagues* 40.

Item, From Rio Lexo unto the gulfe of Fonsecco, the course is Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, and they are distant 14 leagues. *Leagues* 14.

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one iland, and you must goe in on the Northwest part of that iland; on the which iland you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you must goe from that iland Southeast up.

Item, That in the gulfe of Fonsecco you shall have lying ten ilands, whereof three be peopled with Indians, whereon you may have water, wood, and salt.

Item, On the West side of the gulfe of Fonsecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great store of beeves.

Item, From the river Lexo unto the bay of Sonsonate, the course is East and West, and the distance is 60 leagues. *Leagues* 60.

Item, From the bay of Sonsonate unto the port of Aguatulco, the course is Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance 160 leagues. *Leagues* 160.

Item, From the bay of Coppeleto unto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the course is West and by North, East and by South. *Leagues* 2.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco unto the port of Angeles, the course is East and West, and they are distant 12 leagues. *Leagues* 12.

Item, From the port of Aguatulco unto the port of Acapulco, the course is West & by North, East and by South, and the distance is 78 leagues. *Leagues* 78.

Item, From the port of Acapulco unto the port of S. Iago, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 80 leagues. *Leagues* 80.

Item, From the port of S. Iago unto the port of

Natividad, the course is East and West, and the distance is 7 leagues. *Leagues* 7.

Item, From the port of Natividad unto the port of the islands of Chiametla, the course is East and West, and the distance is 10 leagues. *Leagues* 10.

Item, From the ilands of Chiametla unto Cape de los Corrientes, the course is Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East, and the distance is 30 leagues. *Leagues* 30.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes unto the bay of Xalisco, the course is Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 18 leagues. *Leagues* 18.

Item, From the bay of Xalisco unto the port of Chiametlan, the course is Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and the distance is 30 leagues. *Leagues* 30.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes unto the ilands called Las tres Marias, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance is 20 leagues. *Leagues* 20.

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes unto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the course is Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, and the distance is 108 leagues. *Leagues* 108.

A note from the coast of America unto the Westwards.

ITem, From the cape of Santa Clara unto the ilands of The Ladrones, the course is West and by South, East and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1850 leagues. *Leagues* 1850.

Item, That the Southermost iland of the Ladrones standeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence unto the Northermost iland, the course is Northnortheast & Southsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the said Northermost iland standeth in 21 degrees 10 minuts.

Item, From one of the ilands of the Ladrones, which standeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts, which iland is called *Guaihaime, unto the Cape de Spirito *Or Guana.*

santo, which cape is upon one of the ilands of the Philippinas, the course is West and to the Southwards, and the distance is 320 leagues. *Leagues* 320.

Item, From the cape of Spirito santo unto the mouth of the entrance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the course is West and by North, East and by South, and the distance is 15 leagues. *Leagues* 15.

Item, From the mouth of the Streights unto the iland Capul, the course is Southwest and by West 6 leagues. *Leagues* 6.

Item, From the iland of Capul unto the North head of the iland called Masbat, the course is Northwest and Southeast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues. *Leagues* 15.

Item, From the North head of the iland called Masbat unto the iland called Sebojon, the course is Westsouthwest and Eastnortheast, and the distance betweene them is 15 leagues. *Leagues* 15. *Leagues in all* 2414.

[III. 832.]

A note of our course kept from the iland Sebojon unto the Southwards.

ITem, From the iland of Sebojon unto the East end of the iland called Pannay, the course is Southeast and by South, Northwest and by West, and the distance is 22 leagues. *Leagues* 22.

Item, That off the Easter end of the iland of Pannay there lie certeine small ilands, unto the number of 12 or more, and you shall have shoald water among them.

Item, From the Easter end of Pannay unto a bay that is called The bay of Lago grande, on the same iland, the course is Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, and the distance is 18 leagues. *Leagues* 18.

Item, From the bay of Lago grande unto the iland that is called Ysla de los Negros, is the distance of 6 leagues Southeast and Northwest. *Leagues* 6.

Item, From the bay of Lago grande unto three small ilands that stand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the course is South and by West 12 leagues. Furthermore, from those three ilands unto the Westermost end of Ysla de los Negros, the course is Southwest and Northeast 10 *Leagues* 10.

leagues, where we were cleere of the ilands of the Philippinas.

Item, From the South end of Ysla de los Negros unto the North head of the iland called Mindanao, the course is South and North, and the distance is 30 *Leagues* 30. leagues.

Item, From the North end of Mindanao unto the South head of the sayd iland, which is called Cape Cannal, the course is South and by West, North and by East, and the distance is 26 leagues. *Leagues* 26.

Item, From the cape of Cannal betweene the South and the Westsouthwest about 10 or 12 leagues off you *Leagues* 12. shall have great store of small ilands, about the number of 24 or more.

Item, From the cape of Cannal unto the cape of Batochina, the course is Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and the distance is 100 leagues, and betweene them setteth *Leagues* 100. a great current unto the Eastward.

Item, From the cape of Batochina unto the West head of Java minor, the course is Southwest and by South, Northeast and by North, and the distance betweene them is 220 leagues. *Leagues* 220.

Item, From the West end of Java minor unto the East end of Java major, the course is West and by North, and East & by South, and the distance betweene them is 18 leagues: in the which course there lieth one *Leagues* 18. *iland betweene them, which iland is in length 14 ** This is the ile of Baly.* leagues.

Item, From the East end of Java major unto the cape of Buena Esperanza, the course is West and by South, and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 1800 leagues. *Leagues* 1800.

Item, That Cape Falso standeth 30 leagues to the *Leagues* 30. Eastward of Cape de Buena Esperanza, & off the sayd Cape Falso you shal have shoalding 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms, & the course is from Cape Falso unto the cape of Buena Esperanza Westnorthwest and *Leagues in all are* 2292. Eastsoutheast.

A note of the distance and course from the cape of Buena Esperanza unto the Northwards.

ITem, From the cape of Buena Esperanza unto the iland of Santa Helena, the course is Northwest, and Northwest and by West, and the distance betweene them is 600 leagues. *Leagues* 600.

Item, From the iland of Santa Helena unto the iland of Flores, the course betweene them is Northnorthwest, and Northwest and by North, and the distance betweene them is 1200 leagues. *Leagues* 1200.

Item, From the iland of Flores unto the lands end of England, the course is betweene the Eastnortheast, and the Northeast and by East, and the distance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compasse.

IN primis, The variation of our compasse on the coast of New Spaine in the South sea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eastwards.

Item, the variation of our compasse betweene the cape of California and the ilands of the Philippinas, was one point and an halfe unto the Eastward, that was, that the North did stand North and by East, and halfe a point unto the East.

Item, The variation of our compasse betweene the ilands of Maluco and the cape of Buena Esperanza, was two points and an halfe at the most to the Westward, that was, that the Northnortheast was our North.

A note of our time spent in sailing betweene certeine places out of England, 1586.

[III. 833.]

IN primis, We were sailing betweene England and the coast of Guinea from the 21 day of July unto the 26 day of August unto the haven called Sierra leona, where we watered and stayed untill the 6 day of September.

Of our abode tenne dayes where we watered.

Item, Wee departed from the coast of Guinea for the coast of Brasil the 10 day of September, and wee had sight of the coast of Brasil the 26 day of October, being sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were sailing unto the iland of S. Sebastian untill the 31 and last day of October, where wee watered and set up our pinnesse: and we ankered on the Northwest part of the iland in tenne fadoms, and stayed there untill the 23 day of November.

Of our abode foure & twenty dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 23 day of November we departed from the iland of Sant Sebastian, keeping our course South and by West unto the port that is called Port Desire, where we arrived the 17 day of December; in which port we graved our shippe: and we stayed there untill the 28 day of December, where we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Of our abode eleven dayes, where we graved our ships.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Desire toward the Streight of Magellan, where wee arrived the third day of January: and wee remained in the Streights untill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South side, having the winde all that while betweene the Westsouthwest and the Northwest.

Of our abode two & fiftie dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the iland of Mocha, which island we had sight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we ankered in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item, The 15 day of March we ankered in the iland of Saint Marie, on the North part of the island in

Of our abode foure dayes.

eight fadoms water, blacke sand, where we stayed foure dayes.

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the island of Saint Marie, and the same day we ankered in the bay of Conception, where we stayed untill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, shingle stones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arrived in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the first day of April we had twelve of our men slaine, being on land for water: and we stayed there sixe dayes: and we ankered in 7 fadoms water, white sand.

Of our abode 6 dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arrived at the bay of Arica the 24 day of April, and we ankered in 7 fadoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Arica, and the third day of May we arrived in the bay of Pisca, and we ankered in 4 fadoms water in oaze.

Of our abode two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Pisca, and the 12 day we ankered in the bay of Cherrepe, where we ankered in 7 fadoms water, in white sand.

Of our abode sixe dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arrived in the bay of Payta, where we ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Paita, and the 26 day of May we ankered at the iland of Puna, and we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the iland of Puna we departed the fourth day of June unto Rio dolce in the main, where we watered, and we ankered in 10 fadoms water, browne sand.

Of our abode 9 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 12 day of June we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coast of New Spaine, and the 29 day of July wee arrived in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode 8 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 3 day of August we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of August we arrived at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and stayed there untill the second day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms.

Of our abode 7 daies, where we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league unto the Westwards of Natividad, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natividad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xalisco, where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of September we departed from the bay of Xalisco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the island of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

[III. 834.]

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the island of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered under the islands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

Of our abode five dayes.

Of our abode 2 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the islands of Chiametlan, and crossing over the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had sight of the Cape of California.

Of our abode twelve dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the Cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of November we tooke the great and rich ship called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of November we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on shore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Of our abode 14 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 19 day of November we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of January wee had sight of one of the islands of the Ladrones, which island is called The island of *Iwana, standing in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts.

**Guana.*

Item, The 3 day of January we departed from the iland of Iwana, and the 14 day of Januarie we had sight of the cape of Spirito santo, and the same day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas; and the 15 day of January we ankered under the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded.

Of our abode nine dayes.

Item, The 24 of January we departed from the iland of Capul, and the 28 day of January we arrived in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the island of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ship.

Spaniards building of a new ship in the Philippinas.

Item, The 29 of January wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the same day at night wee were cleere from the islands of the Philippinas, shaping our course towards the ilands of Maluco.

Dayes 30.

Item, From the 29 day of January unto the first day of March, we were navigating between the West end of the island of Pannay and the West end of the island of Java minor.

Of our abode eleven dayes, where we watered.

Item, The first day of March wee passed the Streights at the West head of the island of Java minor, and the 5 day of March we ankered in a bay at the Wester end of Java major, where wee watered, and had great store of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Java major. Dayes 56. The cape of Buena Esperanza.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the island of Java major, and the 11 day of May we had sight of the land 40 leagues unto the Eastwards of the cape of Buena Esperanza, the land being low land.

A note from the cape of Buena Esperanza unto the Northwards.

Of our abode twelve dayes, where we watered.

ITem, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Esperanza, and the 8 day of June we ankered on the Northwest part of the iland of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Dayes 14.

Item, The 20 day of June at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of July we passed under the Equinoctiall line.

Item, The 20 day of June at night wee departed from the island of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of August in the morning wee had sight of the islands of Flores and Corvo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

The space of our navigation betweene those Ilands was threescore & five dayes.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arrived, after a long and terrible tempest, in the Narrow seas, in the haven of Plimmouth in safetie, by the gracious and most mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praise and thankesgiving now and for ever. Amen.

A note of our ankering in those places where we arrived after our departure from England 1586.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a Northwest winde in that rode is the woorst that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker under the island that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water : and the winde being at the Westnorthwest is the woorst winde that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker under the island of S. Sebastian on the Northwest part in 10 fadoms: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker in Port Desire in 5 fadoms water, and a West and by South winde is the woorst.

[III. 835.]

Fadoms 5.

Item, You may anker under Cape Joy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker within the Streights of Magellan, untill you come unto the first narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights.

Fadoms 25.

Item, You may anker in the second narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water.

Fadoms 16.

Item, You may anker under Penguin island on which side you please in 6 or 7 fadoms water.

Fadoms 7.

Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southsoutheast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker in Muskle cove, which cove is on the South side, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you shall ride in 12 fadoms. *Fadoms* 12.

Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North side of the Streights in 8 fadoms water. *Fadoms* 8.

Item, From Elizabeth bay unto Cabo deseado, you may anker on both sides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entred into the South sea.

Fadoms 8. IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a Northeast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 9. Item, You may anker on the North side of S. Mary island in nine fadoms water: and there a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 9. Item, You may anker in the bay of Conception under one small island in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst winde in that bay.

Fadoms 7. Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthwest wind is the worst winde.

Fadoms 6. Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Westnorthwest winde is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 5. Item, You may anker in the bay of Pisca and Paraca in five fadoms: and in that bay a Northnorthwest winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 8. Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the Northwest unto the Southeast it is open.

Fadoms 7. Item, You may anker in the bay of Paita in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnortheast wind is the woorst winde.

Fadoms 4. Item, You may anker on the Northeast part of the island of Puna in 4 fadoms: and a Northeast winde is the woorst.

Fadoms 10. Item, You may anker at Rio dolce, where wee watered, unto the Eastwards of the island of Puna in 10 fadoms.

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatulco in sixe fadoms water: and a Southsouthwest winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 6.

Item, You may anker in the port of Natividad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 8.

Item, You may anker on the bay of Xalisco in 9 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 9.

Item, You may anker on the Northwest part of the island of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water. *Fadoms* 17.

Item, You may anker under the island of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 4.

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Lucas on the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeast winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 12.

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the ilands of the Philippinas.

ITem, You may anker on the Southwest part of the island of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Westsouthwest winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 6.

Item, You may anker all along the South part of [III. 836.] the island of Panna in shoald water, in the depth of 10 or 12 fadoms. *Fadoms* 10.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in seven fadoms water, which bay is on the South side of the island of Panna.

Item, You may anker at the East end of Java major in 16 fadoms water, and an Eastsoutheast winde is the woorst. *Fadoms* 16.

Item, You may anker on the North part of the island of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water. *Fadoms* 12.

A note of our finding of the winds for the most part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of July unto the 19 day of August we found the winde at Northnortheast, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of August unto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the most part betweene the West and the Southwest, being in *24 degrees.

*To ye South side of the Equinoctiall.

Item, From the 28 day of September unto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeast and the Eastnortheast.

Item, From the 23 of November, from the island of S. Sebastian, unto the 30 day of November, we found the winde betweene the Southeast and the Southsoutheast, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of November unto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the West and the Southwest.

Item, From the 6 day of December unto the first day of January, we found the winds for the most part betweene the North and the Northeast, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the first day of January unto the 23 day of February, we found the windes to be betweene the Northwest and the Westsouthwest, wee being all that time in the Streights of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of February unto the first day of March, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeast, being then in the South sea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From the first day of March unto the 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheast in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March unto the 14 day of

March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

Item, From the 14 day of March unto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southwest, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line. 1587.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coast of New Spaine.

ITem, From the 28 day of May unto the 5 day of July, we found the winds for the most part to be betweene the Southsoutheast, and the Southsouthwest, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coast of New Spaine.

Item, From the 5 day of July unto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the most part to be at the Eastnortheast in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almost under the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coast of New Spaine and Islands of the Philippinas on the coast of Asia.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coast of California the 19 day of November, and we found the winds to be betweene the East and the Eastnortheast, untill the 29 day of January; departing then from the ilands of the Philippinas, being in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of January unto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the Northnortheast and the Northwest, being then among the Ilands of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March unto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the most part betweene the South and the Eastsoutheast, being then

A.D. 1588.

between the Ilands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Esperanza, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item, From the 20 day of May unto the 11 day [III. 837.] of July, we found the winds for the most part betweene the South and the Southeast, being then betweene the cape of Buena Esperanza, and 15 degrees unto the Southward of the line.

Item, From the 11 day of July unto the 18 day of August, we found the winds for the most part betweene the Northeast and Eastnortheast, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees unto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. Thomas Candish to the right honourable the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Majesties most honourable Privy Councell, touching the successe of his voyage about the world.

Right honourable, as your favour heretofore hath bene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no meanes in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your honour to make knowen unto her Majesty the desire I have had to doe her Majesty service in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her overthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have mainteined and made their warres, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please her Majesty, with a very small power she may take the spoile of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer mee to circompasse the whole globe of the world, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de Buena Esperanza. In which voyage I have either discovered or brought certeine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were knowen or discovered by any Christian. I navigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoiles: I burnt and sunke 19 sailes of ships small and great. All the villages and townes that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled: and had I not bene discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantitie of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of merchandize that ever passed those seas, as the kings register and merchants accounts did shew: for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be solde. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to conteine the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nueva Espanna, I navigated to the Islands of the Philippinas hard upon the coast of China; of which countrey I have brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not knowen sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that countrey, I should have bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sailed along the Ilands of the Malucos, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrey men may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the cape of Buena Esperanza, and found out by the way homeward the iland of S. Helena, where the Portugals use to relieve themselves: and from that iland God hath suffered me to returne into

England. All which services with my selfe I humbly prostrate at her Majesties feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among us: for at this day she is the most famous and victorious prince that liveth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your honour for my tediousnesse, I leave your lordship to the tuition of the Almighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours most humble to command,
Thomas Candish.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of China, brought home by M. Thomas Candish 1588.

THe great kingdome of the Mogores is upon the Northwest, and falleth upon Tanassarin beyond Malaca, and joyneth upon Bengala: they are men of warre, and use no fight but on horsebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, having under him many men of warre: he maketh warre both against the Tartarians and the Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

[III. 838.] 3 Certeine hils, beyond which the Tartarians do inhabit, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres against them, so great, that sometimes there are slaine in a battell 100000 of men adjoyning upon Moscovie: and they have in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The province of Cansas hath 4 great cities, and 20 small cities, and 77 townes & castles: it conteineth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houses of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and

hath 47000 horses, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde at Paquin as in Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 small cities, with 118 townes and castles: it hath 418789 houses of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horsemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is usually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that passage from the Tartars.

7 The province of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 small, with 12 townes and castles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight against the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houses, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

8 The province of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 small, with 90 townes and castles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houses, which pay tribute, 63808 horsemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The province of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 small, and 90 townes and castles, being 470 leagues long, and 132958 great houses that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quickesilver, and blacke lead.

10 The province of * Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 small, and 83 townes, which make armor to fight with the Jawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina: it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horsemen and footmen, with 405670 great houses which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payed.

*Or Quicheu.

11 The province of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 small, and 95 townes and castles: it is 120 leagues over, and hath 962818 great houses which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, whereof there are 52500 Tartar horsemen that take wages.

12 The province of Uquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 small, 150 townes and castles, and is 210 leagues

broad, and 53161 houses that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The province of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 small, and 105 townes and castles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houses that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The province of Essiran hath 11 great cities, and 75 small, and 80 townes and castles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houses that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth joyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serveth the kingdome of China: and the Indians & the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and so they paint the sea, the moone, and the starres within it.

16 The province of Cansay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 townes and castles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The province of Cuausa hath 12 great cities, 45 small, and 51 townes and castles: it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houses that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horsemen 100100.

18 The province of Vanam hath 14 great cities, and 36 small, and 34 townes and castles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houses that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

Garisons against the Japons.

19 The province of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city, and 54 townes and castles, and two great cities of garison, to keepe watch upon the Japons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houses that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard.

20 The province of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 small, and 77 townes and castles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 380 leagues in breadth, and hath

483383 great houses which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa standeth in fourteene degrees to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall.

23 The province of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. [III. 839.] small and 90. townes and castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houses that pay tribute, and 15100. souldiers.

{Horsemen 454528.} {Footmen 7459057.}
The totall summe 7923785.

A briefe relation of a voyage of The Delight a ship of Bristoll one of the consorts of M. John Chidley esquire and M. Paul Wheele, made unto the Straight of Magellan: with divers accidents that happened unto the company, during their 6. weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1589. Written by W. Magoths.

The fift of August 1589. the worshipfull M. John Chidley of Chidley in the countie of Devon esquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke set forth from Plimmouth with three tall ships, the one called The wilde man of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforesaid M. John Chidley and Benjamin Wood as Master, the other called The white Lion, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and John Ellis Master, of the burthen of 340. tunnes: the third The Delight of Bristol, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnet Master, with two pinnesses of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The Generall in his ship had 180. persons: M. Paul Wheele had 140, in our owne ship we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by the Streight of Magellan for

M. Chidleys voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili. The South Sea, and chiefly for the famous province of Arauco on the coast of Chili. We kept company together to the yles of the Canaries and so forward to Cape Blanco standing neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coast of Barbarie, where some of our people went on shoare finding nothing to their content. *Cabo Blanco.* Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place The Delight, wherein I William Magoths was, lost the company of the other two great ships, and the two small pinnesses. *The Delight looseth the company of the rest of the Fleet.* Howbeit we constantly kept our course according to our directions along the coast of Brasil, and by the River of Plate, without touching any where on land untill we came to Port desire in the latitude of 48 degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. *Port desire.* Before we arrived at this place there died of our company by Gods visitation of sundry diseases 16. persons. Wee stayed in this harborough 17. dayes to grave our ship & refresh our wearied people, hoping here to have met with our consorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little springs of fresh water, which were upon the North-westerly part of the land, & lighted upon good store of seales both old and yong. *Two springs of fresh water found at Port desire.* From hence we sailed toward the Streight of Magelan, and entred the same about the first of January. *They enter into the Streight of Magelan.* And comming to Penguin yland within the Streight we tooke and salted certaine hogsheads of Penguins, which must be eaten with speed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance; we also furnished our selves with fresh water. And here at the last sending off our boat to the yland for the rest of our provision, wee lost her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. *They loose 15. of their men by tempest.* Here also in this storme we lost two anckers. From hence we passed farther into the Streight, and by Port famine we spake with a Spaniard, who told us that he had lived in those parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were sent thither by the king of Spain in the yere 1582. to fortifie and inhabit *A Spaniard taken at Port-famine.*

there, to hinder the passage of all strangers that way into the South sea. But that and the other Spanish colonie being both destroyed by famine, he said he had lived in an house by himselfe a long time, and relieved himselfe with his caleever until our comming thither. Here we made a boat of the bords of our chests; which being finished wee sent 7. armed men in the same on land on the North shore, being wafted on land by the Savages with certaine white skinnes; who as soone as they came on shore were presently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the sight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on shoare, which two onely escaped backe againe to us with the boat. After this traiterous slaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ship to the Northeastward of Port famine to a certaine road, where we refreshed our selves with muskles, and tooke in water & wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforesaid, and so sailed forward againe into the Streight. Wee passed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Westward beyond Cape Froward, being still encountered with mightie Northwest winds. These winds and the current were so vehement against us, that they forced us backe asmuch in two houres, as we were getting up in 8. houres. Thus after wee had spent 6. weekes in the Streight striving against the furie of the elements, and having at sundry times partly by casualtie, and partly by sicknes lost 38. of our best men, and 3. anckers, and nowe having but one ancker left us, and small store of victuals, and, which was not the least mischiefe, divers of our company raising dangerous mutinies: we consulted, though somewhat with the latest, for the safegard of our lives to returne while there was some small hope remayning: and so set saile out of The Streight homeward about the 14. of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The river of Plate; and sailing neere the cost of Brasill we met with a Portugal ship of 80. tunnes, which rode at an ancker upon the coast, who as soone as she descried us to chase her, incontinently weyed, & ran her selfe on ground betweene

Seven of our men killed by the treason of the Savages on the North shore.

They passed 7. or 8. times ten leagues Westward of Cape Froward.

[III. 840.]

They returne homeward.

The yle of S. Sebastian in 24. degr. of southerly latitude on the coast of Brasil.

the yland of S. Sebastian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reason of the foule weather, were neither able to bord her, nor to goe on shore. Thence in extreeme misery we shaped our course for the yles of Cape Verde, and so passing to the yles of The Azores, the Canaries being something out of our course; the first land that wee mette withall in our Narrow sea was The yle of Alderney. And having now but sixe men of all our company left alive, the Master and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monville de Hage eight miles to the west of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an ancker, having but one in all left, being the last of August 1590. by the foule weather that rose the ancker came home, and our ship drave on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the governor of Cherbourg (who came downe to us that night) to have layd out another ancker for her, neglecting his commandement, suffered her miserably to be splitted, with desire to enrich themselves by her wracke. Within few dayes after this last mischance foure of us being Englishmen departed from Cherbourgh, and passed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leaving the two strangers there behinde us.

They land at Monville de Hage 8. miles West of Cherbourg.

The wracke of the ship by the malice of the Normans.

They arrive in England.

The names of us sixe that returned of all our company were these.

1 William Magoths of Bristol.
2 Richard Bush.
3 John Reade.
4 Richard Hodgkins of Westburie neere Bristol.

The two strangers.

5 Gabriel Valerosa a Portugal.
6 Peter, a Briton.

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A petition made by certaine of the company of the Delight of Bristol unto the Master of the said ship Robert Burnet, one of the consorts of M. Chidley, being in the Streights of Magellan the 12. of February 1589.

WE have thought good to shew unto you (being our Master) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlse, and Walter Street doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12. of Febr. both bread and butter, (such as was put in for the provision of the shippe and company) only to feed themselves, and a few others, which are of their messe: meaning thereby rather to sterve us, then to keepe us strong and in health: And likewise upon the same, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as swords, caleevers, and musquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes cast out unwares, wee may conjecture, that your death, which God forbid, by them hath bene determined: doe all most humbly desire you being our Master, and having charge of the shippe, and us, this present voyage committed unto you, to consider: First, that by Gods visitation wee have lost 16. men, and that so much the rather because they were not alotted such necessary provision, as was in the ship to be had. Also to consider the great losse of 15. of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7. good and serviceable men besides neere Port famine: and of three anckers, and our Carpenter. Over and besides all these calamities to consider how you have (without all reason and conscience) bene overthwarted, disgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Street, and Matthew Hawlse: Also what danger you now are subject unto, your death having bene so often

1590.

conspired, and what danger we should be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your selfe the great want of many necessaries in our ship: namely that we have but 6. sailers, (besides your selfe and your mate Street, whom wee dare not trust,) Also that wee have but one ancker, likewise the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, [III. 841.] treynailes, bolts, and plankes, and the want of a skilfull Chirurgian. And whereas a view being taken of our provision there was found but five moneths victuals of bread, meale, greets, and pease, and also but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogsheads of wine, ten gallons of aquavitæ (whereof the sicke men could not get any to relieve them,) foure hogsheads of syder and 18. flitches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three flitches. Also the said Captaine Hawlse and Street have taken and seased upon 17. potts of butter, with certaine cheese, and an hogshead of bread at a time, and have bene thereof possessed to their owne private uses: And have not onely immoderately spent the companies provision in butter, cheese, aquavitæ, &c. but have also consumed those sweete meates, which were layed up in the shippe onely for the reliefe of sicke persons (themselves being healthy and sound, and withholding the said meates from others in their sickenesse) and even at this time also (by reason of the small store of our provision, wee being enforced to come to a shorter allowance) they the saide Captaine Hawlse and your mate Street, doe finde themselves agrieved at the very same allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (besides our ordinary allowance, and more then all the rest of the company) they only have their breakefasts permitted unto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famish them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famish the company by feeding themselves fat, which doe no labour at all. These things being well weighed, you ought likewise to consider the long time that wee have lien here in these Streights of Magellan, having bene at, and seven or eight times, tenne leagues beyond Cape Froward, we have had but a small gale of winde with us: neither could wee come to an ancker, the water being so deepe: and (you know) the place is so dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and coulde scarce get out againe: And likewise, What fogges and mists are here already? Much more here wil be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, & we having not so much as a boate to seeke out any roade to ride in, saving a small weake boate made of mens chestes, in which it is not convenient to goe on shoare in a forreine countrey, where wee must goe with force: and having but one ancker left us, there is but little hope of life in us, as you may sufficiently judge, if wee should lose either the saide ancker or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the same in danger for feare of loosing them. Also wee having lien here these sixe weekes and upward, the winde hath continued in the North-west directly against our course, so that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South sea this yeere, and if we could, yet our provision is not sufficient, having spent so much thereof, in this our lingering aboade. Nay wee have scarcely victuals ynough to cary us home into England, if they bee not used sparingly, and with very good government. Therefore wee doe againe most humbly desire you to consider and have regard unto the premisses, as you tender your owne safetie and the safetie of us which remaine alive, that wee may (by Gods helpe) returne backe into England, rather then die here among wilde and savage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the utter decay and losse, both of our selves, and of the shippe: and in returning backe, it may please God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-yland (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlse, and your mate Street) and having found them, wee doe not despaire in Gods mercie, but that in our returne home-ward, hee will send us purchase sufficient, if wee would joyne our selves together in prayer, and love one another. And thus doing (as wee shalbe bound) even so wee will also heartily pray for the continuance of your good estate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleasure of Almightie God.

Lastly, wee doe most humbly beseech you to consider, that (after the losse of so many men and all the casualties aforesaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, our boate-swaine, the hooper, and William Magoths being on shoare) Matthew Hawlse did hallow to have them in all the haste come on-bord: saying therewithall these words: He that will come in this voyage, must not make any reckoning to leave two or three men on shore behinde him, whereas we had so lately lost all the foresaide men, having then but sixe sailers left us on-bord. Also the saide Matthew Hawlse did cary a pistoll for the space of two dayes secretly under his gowne, intending therewithall to have murthered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confession of Hawlse his man, William Martin, it is manifest: for the saide William Martine reported unto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled upon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlse in his owne cabin, desiring him, for Gods cause, not to kill either of them, especially because the saide Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Also the said Hawlse, at our second time of watering in the place aforesaid, came into the Gunners roome to speake with you (your selfe with the master Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then present) demanding of you, if he should send certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ship by land. Thomas Browne answered him [III. 842.] presently, that he should send none, for feare least the wind might arise, and by that meanes we should loose so many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlse replied that it was not material, for that he had made choyce of a company for the very same purpose, whose names were Emmanuel Dornel, Richard Hungate, Paul Carie, John Davis, Gabriel Valerosa, a Portugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniard which we had taken in at the same place, at our first time of watering. And thus we end, desiring God to sende us well into our native countrey. In witnesse whereof wee have subscribed our names.

The Spaniard taken in at Port Famine.

Thomas Browne, Gunner,
John Morrice, &c.

The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with 3. tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. John Jane, a man of good observation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages.

THe 26. of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barkes, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admiral, The Roebucke vice admirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rereadmirall whereof was Captaine M. John Davis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnesse, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

The 29. of November wee fell with the bay of Salvador upon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed untill the second of December: at which time wee tooke a small barke bound for the River of Plate with sugar, haberdash wares, and Negros. The Master of this barke brought us unto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues West from Cabo Frio, where wee arrived the fift of December, and rifled sixe or

Baya de Salvador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio. Isla de Placencia.

seven houses inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place, and the fourteenth we arrived at the yle of S. Sebastian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Davis presently departed with The Desire and the blacke pinnesse, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at evening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discovered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners. The cause why master Candish desired to take this towne was to supply his great wants: For being in Santos, and having it in quiet possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all our needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our governour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsover they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawnes to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people and provision.

Isla de S. Sebastian.

The towne of Santos taken.

Eight or tenne dayes after master Candish himselfe came thither, where hee remained untill the 22. of January, seeking by intreatie to have that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to live there, and were glad to receive a fewe canisters or baskets of Cassavi meale; so that in every condition wee went worse furnished from the towne, then when wee came unto it. The 22. of January we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we set saile, shaping our course for the Streights of Magellan.

The towne of S. Vincent burnt.

The seventh of February we had a very great storme, and the eighth our Fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our Captaine called unto him the Master of our ship, whom hee found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Desire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could never get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I have heard him with griefe report. In sayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case. Our Captaine hoised out his boate, and went abord him to know his estate, and returning tolde us the hardnesse thereof, and desired the Master and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to loose The Roe-bucke, and so wee both arrived at Port Desire the sixth of March. [III. 843.]

They arrive at Port Desire.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinnesse came unto us, but master Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, having their Captaine abord the Roe-bucke without any provision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence abord our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendship betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and master Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos: and being abord The Desire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, and of divers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to goe abord his owne ship, but to stay in The Desire. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speaches of our good friends; but having spoken with the

M. Adrian Gilberts barke returneth for England.

A pinnesse built at Santos.

gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them.

They fall with the Streights of Magellan.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Desire, master Candish being in The Desire with us. The eighth of April 1592, wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betweene Port Desire and the Streight. The 14. we passed through the first Streight. The 16. we passed the second Streight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and ½. The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small coove with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, upon the South shoare, where wee remained until the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but living by muskles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most uncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being abord the Desire. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he asked our Captaines opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the Northwest parts, in his 3. severall discoveries that way, imployed by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this snow was a matter of no long continuance, and gave him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby hee could not much be prejudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purposed not to stay in the Streights, but to depart upon some other voyage, or else to returne againe for Brasil. But his resolution was to goe for the Cape of

Buena Esperanza. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods favour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoever, rather then to give over the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieved them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and to give over this voyage. Then our Captaine, after master Candish was come abord The Desire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slendernesse of his provisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee have no more sailes then mastes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is over head, and among seventie and five persons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteene saylers. The rest are gentlemen, servingmen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprize in hand. These perswasions did our Captaine not onely use to master Candish, but also to master Cocke. In fine upon a petition delivered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Brasil.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

So the 15. of May wee set saile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to have our boat sunke at our sterne in the night, and to be split and sore spoiled, and to loose all our ores.

The occasion of losing the Generall.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Desire, in the night the Generall altered his course, as we suppose, by which occasion wee lost him: for in the evening he stood close by a winde to seaward, having the winde at

Northnortheast, and wee standing the same way, the winde not altering, could not the next day see him: so that [III. 844.] we then perswaded our selves, that hee was gone for Port Desire to relieve himselfe, or that hee had sustained some mischance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men unto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Every one sayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Desire. Then the Master being the Generals man, and carefull of his masters service, as also of good judgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee have no boate to lande our selves, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee stayed our course for Port Desire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinnesse, which had likewise lost the Fleete, being in very miserable case: so wee both concluded to seeke the Generall at Port Desire.

They come againe to Port Desire the 26. of May.

The sixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Desire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessaries for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the providence and fatherly protection of the Almightie, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods favour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Having mored our shippe with the pinnesses boate, wee landed upon the South shore, where wee found a standing poole of fresh water, which by estimation might holde some tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selves that God had sent it for our reliefe. Also

A quiet road.

A poole of fresh water on the South side of Port Desire.

there were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had never seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes every man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preserved our ships victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here.

Abundance of muskles and smelts.

Our Captaine and Master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set up a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and nayles, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their best course to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leaving the shippe and the rest of the company untill the Generals returne; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde us. The Captaine and Master of the pinnesse being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

A dangerous mutiny.

But the Generall having in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they utterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leave them in the countrey to bee devoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie: whereupon the whole company joyned in secret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muskets through the shippes side, and bullets made of silver for the execution, if their other purposes should faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the boteswaine of our shippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the slender ground thereof, reveiled it unto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murtherous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was constrained to use lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie: shewing, that to doe the Generall service, unto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why hee purposed to goe unto him in the pinnesse, considering, that the pinnesse was so necessary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, because hee was fearefull of the shore in so great shippes. Whereupon all cried out with cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse should not goe unlesse the shippe went. Then the Captaine desired them to shewe themselves Christians, and not so blasphemously to behave themselves, without regard or thankesgiving to God for their great deliverance, and present sustenance bestowed upon them, alleaging many examples of Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude; and withall promised to doe any thing that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speaches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Master at the request of the company were content to forgive this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord judge betweene you and mee: [III. 845.] which after came to a most sharpe revenge even by the punishment of the Almightie. Thus by a generall consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the Generals returne. Then our Captaine and Master, seeing that they could not doe the Generall that service which they desired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe under their handes the losing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then stoode: whereunto they consented, and wrote under their hands as followeth.

The testimoniall of the companie of The Desire touching their losing of their Generall, which appeareth to have beene utterly against their meanings.

THe 26 of August 1591 wee whose names bee here under written, with divers others departed from Plimmouth under M. Thomas Candish our Generall, with 4 ships of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Desire, and The Black pinnesse, for the performance of a voyage into The South sea. The 19 of November we fell with the bay of Salvador in Brasil. The 16. of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to revictuall our selves, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of January we set saile from Santos, shaping our course for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent stormes the sayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Desire arrived in Porte Desire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinnesse arrived there also: and the 18 of the same our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 of March in poore and weake estate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South sea, where wee rode untill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great store of snowe, with some gustie weather, the wind continuing still at Westnorthwest against us. In this time wee were inforced for the preserving of our victuals, to live the most part upon muskles, our provision was so slender; so that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Brasil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage against the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Desire 30 leagues off the shoare, the wind then at Northeast and by North, at five of the clock at night lying Northeast, wee suddenly cast about lying Southeast and by South, and sometimes Southeast: the whole fleete following the admirall, our ship comming under his lee shot ahead him, and so framed saile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were severed, by what occasion wee protest wee know not, whither we lost them or they us. In the morning we only saw The Black pinnesse, then supposing that the admirall had overshot us. All this day wee stoode to the Eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely, that he would stand to the shoare againe so suddenly. But missing him towards night, we stood to the shoareward, hoping by that course to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the winde at Northwest, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressletrees, so that wee could no more use our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise received a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best ende, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieve our selves, and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very loftie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for us to get out of the sea. And nowe being here mored in Port Desire, our shroudes are all rotten, not having a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being provided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top-sailes not able to abide any stresse of weather, neither have wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee live onely upon seales and muskles, having but five hogsheads of porke within bourd, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And forasmuch as it hath pleased

The maner how they lost their Generall.

God to separate our fleete, and to bring us into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwise we are hopelesse of comfort, yet because the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great favour toward us his creatures are farre beyond the scope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to have deliverance in this our deepe distresse. Also forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themselves remaine blamelesse, but also manifest the trueth of our actions, wee have thought good in Christian charitie to lay downe under our hands the trueth of all our proceedings even till the time of this our distresse.

Given in Port Desire the 2 of June 1592. [III. 846.] Beseeching the almightie God of his mercie to deliver us from this miserie, how or when it shall please his divine Majestie.

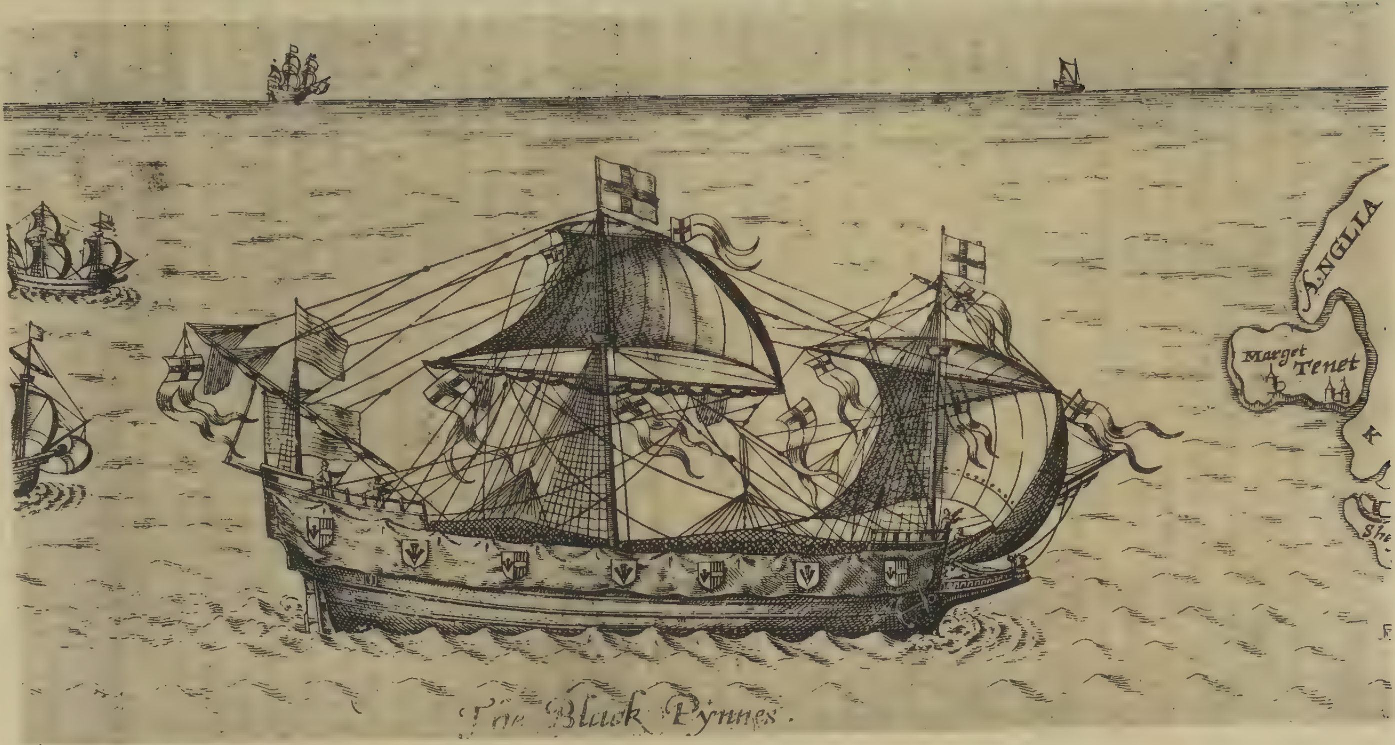
John Davis Captaine.
Randolph Cotton.
John Pery.
William Maber gunner.
Charles Parker.
Rouland Miller.
Edward Smith.
Thomas Purpet.
Matthew Stubbes.
John Jenkinson.
Thomas Edwards.
Edward Granger.
John Lewis.
William Hayman.
George Straker.
Thomas Walbie.
William Wyeth.
Richard Alard.
Stephan Popham.
Alexander Cole.
Thomas Watkins.
George Cunington.
John Whiting.
James Ling.
The Boat-swain.
Francis Smith.
John Layes.
The Boat-swaines mate.
Fisher.
John Austin.
Francis Copstone.
Richard Garet.
James Eversby.
Nicolas Parker.
Leonard.
John Pick.
Benjamin.
William Maber.
James Not.
Christopher Hauser.

After they had delivered this relation unto our captaine under their handes, then wee began to travell for our lives, and wee built up a smiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the rest gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Isle with foure small Isles about it, where there are great abundance of seales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinnesse, that she should sometimes goe thither to fetch seales for us; upon which condition wee would share our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore store, and shee laboured to fetch us seales to eate, wherewith wee lived when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames wee could get no muskles. Thus in most miserable calamitie wee remained untill the sixt of August, still keeping watch upon the hils to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke never flesh and blood endured more. Thus our miserie dayly increasing, time passing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Master were fully perswaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no course more convenient than to goe presently for The Streights, and there to stay his comming, for in that place hee could not passe, but of force wee must see him: whereunto the companie most willingly consented, as also the Captaine and Master of the pinnesse; so that upon this determination wee made all possible speede to depart.

An Isle neere Port Desire abounding with seales and penguins.

The sixt of August wee set saile, and went to Penguin-isle, and the next day wee salted twentie hogsheads of seales, which was as much as our salt could possibly doe, and so wee departed for The Streights the poorest

They depart the second time from Port Desire for the Streights of Magellan.


ANGLIA
Marget
Tenet
K
She
The Black Pynnes

A PINNACE

wretches that ever were created. The seventh of August towarde night wee departed from Penguin-isle, shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driven in among certaine Isles never before discovered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare East and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, unlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to have ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie have perished. But the winde shifting to the East, wee directed our course for The Streights, and the 18 of August wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the same night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee passed the first and the second Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Salvage coove, so named, because wee found many Salvages there: notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked, and live in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very strong, and threw stones at us of three or foure pound weight an incredible distance. The 24 in the morning wee departed from this coove, and the same day we came into the Northwest reach, which is the last reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankored in a good coove, within fourteene leagues of the South sea: in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the streight in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not passe but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter, our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunke most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heavie distresse, our captaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights

Certaine Isles never before discovered fifty leagues northeast off The Streights.

The first and second Streight.

Cape Froward.

Salvage coove.

[III. 847.]

The northwest or last reach of the streights.

Their first enterance into ye South sea.

They enter the South sea the second time.

into the South sea, and to go for the Isle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldivia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might have reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there stay for the Generall, for of necessity he must come by that Isle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recovered a coove 3 leagues within the streights from the South sea. Againe we put foorth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sails; for we never durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake: so againe we recovered the coove three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleased God to calme the storme, and wee unrived our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ship to the trees close by the rockes. We laboured to recover our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane covered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middest of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came faire the first of October; whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had five oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one strand helde: then wee praysed God; for we saw apparantly his mercies in preserving us. Being in the chanel, we rived our ropes, & againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured even for the last gaspe of life. Here our company was devided; some desired to go againe for Port Desire, and there to be set on shore, where they might travell for their lives, and some stood with the Captaine & Master to proceed. Whereupon

A.D. 1592.

the Captaine sayd to the Master: Master, you see the wonderfull extremitie of our estate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South sea: some say in secret, as I am informed, that we undertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainely make knowen unto you, that the love which I bare to the Generall caused mee first to enter into this action, whereby I have not onely heaped upon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also have in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not unknowen to some in this company. But now being thus intangled by the providence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire, that it may please his divine Majestie to show us such mercifull favour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwise: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being shal now take an ende, I rather desire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgive me in whatsoever I have bin grievous unto you; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then use hard speeches of him; and let us be fully perswaded, that not for his cause & negligence, but for our own offences against the divine Majesty we are presently punished; lastly, let us forgive one another and be reconciled as children in love & charity, and not think upon the vanities of this life: so shall we in leaving this life live with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find favour with God. And now (good master) forasmuch as you have bin in this voyage once before with your master the general, satisfie the company of such truths, as are to you best knowen; & you the rest of the generals men, which likewise have bin with him in his first voyage if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reproove it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow his mercy upon us. Then the master began in these speeches: Captain, your request is very reasonable, & I referre to your judgment my honest care, & great pains taken in the generals service, my love towards him, & in what sort I have discharged my duety, from the first day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I have performed. You all knowe, that when I was extreamely sicke, the General was lost in my mates watch, as you have well examined: sithens which time, in what anguish and griefe of minde I have lived, God onely knoweth, and you are in some part a witnesse. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gainesay [III. 848.] it: but this I assure you, if life may be preserved by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I doe assure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Also I will bring you to an Isle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee shall have meale in great plenty, besides all our possibilitie of intercepting some shippes upon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore doe as you like, I am ready, but my desire is to proceede. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall consent of proceeding; and so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take: to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground tackle: to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so bad. The pinnesse come roome with us, and tolde us that shee had received many grievous Seas, and that her ropes did every houre fayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make: wee being unable in any sort to helpe them, stood under our coarses in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end.

This Santos standeth upon the coast of Peru in 9 deg. of Southerly latitude.

They enter the South sea the third time.

The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse being in the winde of us, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had received some grievous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with us: but we durst not hull in that unmercifull storme, but sometimes tried under our maine coarse, sometime with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnesse, and never saw her againe.

The blacke pinnesse lost in the South sea.

The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne: then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our spritsaile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, with haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men having given over to travell, we yeelded our selves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moove a joint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words: Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me: and end our daies with speede, or shew us some mercifull signe of thy love and our preservation. Having thus ended, he desired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere; so that he and the Master both observed the true elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the Streights. Wherewithall our captaine and Master were so revived, & gave such comfortable speeches to the company, that every man rejoiced, as though we had received a present deliverance. The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Deseado being the cape on the South shore (the North shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, & sholds.) This cape being within two leages to leeward off us, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same: whereupon the captain told him: You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die: therefore loose your sails, and let us put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch & set sails. Our sailes had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oylet holes. The seas continually brake over the ships poope, and flew into the sailes with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or oversetting of the ship, and withall to our utter discomfort, wee perceived that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so neere the shore, that the counter-suffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horror of our present ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master veared some of the maine sheate; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee would have shored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare: and when [III. 849.] we were come so farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies delivered us, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserved unto us: and when we were shot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in sixe houres wee were put five and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.

The Cape Deseado most dangerously doubled, after they had been nine dayes in the South sea.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to moove; their sinewes were stiffe, and their flesh dead, and many of them (which is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miserie we were constrained to put into a coove for the refreshing our men. Our Master knowing the shore and every coove very perfectly, put in with the shore, and mored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankor to the seaward. Here we continued until the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reasonable calme: but before night it blew most extreamely at Westnorthwest. The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shore, the chanell being in some places scarse three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in

An excellent plat of the Streights of Magellan.

any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had every turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conveyed the ship through that crooked chanell: so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skilfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwise wee could never have passed in such sort as we did.

The 25 wee came to an Island in the Streights named Penguin-isle, whither wee sent our boate to seeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; so wee came to an ankor by the Island in seven fadomes. While our boate was at shore, and we had great store of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did drive over a breach and our boate sanke at the shore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shore leapt in the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recovered the ship: my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driving upon the lee-shore, when wee came aboord, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankor; for before our comming they could scarse hoise up their yardes, yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seven and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-isle within three leagues of Port Desire.

When wee were come to this Isle wee sent our boate on shore, which returned laden with birdes and egges; and our men sayd that the Penguins were so thicke upon the Isle, that shippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading upon the birds, whereat we greatly rejoiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on shore, and to stay upon the Isle, for the killing and drying of those Penguins, and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not onely for expedition, but also to save the small store of victuals in the shippe. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a devise of the Captaine to leave his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recover their countrey: and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would have slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for revenge hereof will they leave us on shore. Which when our Captaine understood, hee used these speeches unto them: I understand that you are doubtfull of your security through the perversenesse of your owne guilty consciences: it is an extreame griefe unto me, that you should judge mee blood-thirstie, in whome you have seene nothing but kinde conversation: if you have found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I have done; if not, why do you then measure me by your owne uncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the utmost of your powers, to murther me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which evil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceive without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some evill in bringing these matters to repetition: but God has so shortened your [III. 850.] confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Masters sake that I have forborne you in your unchristian practizes: and here I protest before God, that for his sake alone I will yet indure this injury, and you shall in no sorte be prejudiced or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God so favour us) your master shall knowe your honesties: in the meane space be voide of these suspicions, for, God I call to witnes, revenge is no part of my thought. They gave him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left upon the Isle, and the last of October we entred the harborough. Our Master at our last being

They enter Port Desire the third time.

here having taken carefull notice of every creeke in the river, in a very convenient place, upon sandy oaze, ran the ship on ground, laying our ankor to seaward, and with our running ropes mored her to stakes upon the shore, which hee had fastened for that purpose; where the ship remained till our departure.

Penguin Isle scarce a mile from the maine.

Nine men lost.

A great multitude of Salvages with vizards, or faces like unto dogs faces.

The third of November our boat with water, wood, and as many as shee could carry, went for the Isle of Penguins: but being deepe, she durst not proceed, but returned againe the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townesend, Purpet, with five others, desired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were against the Isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, advising them to take weapons with them: for (sayd he) although we have not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Savages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Ostriches; but if there were Salvages, they would devoure them: notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calievers, swordes, and targets: so the sixt of November they departed by land, and the bote by sea; but from that day to this day wee never heard of our men. The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of Salvages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared least they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled: they came to windward of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, & striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we never heard nor saw more of them. Hereby we judged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would have murthered our Captaine and Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the just judgement of God, and made supplication to his divine Majesty to be mercifull unto us. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Master went with the boat to discover how farre this river did run, that if neede should enforce us to leave our ship, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther than 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they sent the boate to the Isle of Penguins; whereby wee understood that the Penguins dryed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth under water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They live upon smelts, whereof there is great abundance upon this coast: in eating they be neither fish nor flesh: they lay great egs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twise so big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with egs, Penguins, yong Seales, young Gulles, besides other birds, such as I know not: of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scurvygrasse, which wee fried with egs, using traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge ye blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, & restored us to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour until the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Master, and my selfe had made some salt, by laying salt water upon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerned. Thus God did feed us even as it were with Manna from heaven.

The river of Port Desire but 20 miles passable by boate.

The great benefit of the herbe called Scurvygrasse.

They stayed 7 weekes in Port Desire.

A pretty devise to make salt.

The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where with great difficulty, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboord: & had not our Master bene very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for Brasil. Nowe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought us to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths; for our hope was, that within sixe moneths we might recover our countrey, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to have so twise a weeke, so that 5 ounces did serve for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three spoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peason, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and every day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewith (we praise God) we lived, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of January we arrived at the Ile of Placencia in Brasill, the first place that outward bound we were at: and having made the sholde, our ship lying off at sea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recover it. The last of January at sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houses, & by that meanes to recover some Casavi-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe: but when they came to the houses, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, so that we thought no man had remained on the Iland. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the company, and came aboord the ship, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caske. Our case being

A poore allowance of victuals.

[III. 851.]

The Isle of Placencia in Brasill.

very desperate, we presently laboured for dispatch away; some cut hoopes, which the coopers made, others laboured upon the sailes and ship, every man travelling for his life, & still a guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, every man having his weapon like wise by him. The 3 of February our men with 23 shot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from us upon the North shore, and fetched Cazavi-roots out of the ground, to relieve our company instead of bread; for we spent not of our meale while we staied here. The 5 of February being munday, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboord. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murther & slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine: and this was general through the ship. The captaine hearing this, who like wise had dreamed very strangely himselfe, gave very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himselfe delivered into the boat, & sent some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietnesse, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazavi-roots, & dined: after dinner some slept, some washed themselves in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus sleeping & sporting, having gotten themselves into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales upon them, and slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we understood of this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our

Ominous and forewarning dreames.

boat, & landed to succour our men; but we found them slaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces upward, and a crosse set by them: and withall we saw two very great pinnesses come from the river of Jenero very ful of men; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take us: because there came from Jenero souldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was strong in it. Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 27, having lost 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, calivers, powder, & shot. Our caske was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship, for want of caske, and that which we had was marvellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, & to be assayled by them of Jenero: what distresse we were now driven into, I am not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterve at sea, & in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had tasted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & small shot in a readines, for any assalt that should come, & having a small gale of winde, we recovered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then bemoning our estate one to another, and recounting over all our extremities, nothing grieved us more, then the losse of our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were lost, we found that al those that conspired the murthering of our captaine & master were now slain by salvages, the

Thirteene men lost at the Ile of Placencia by their owne extreme negligence.

gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; so that 3 weekes we were grievously vexed with crosse windes, & our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, & to submit themselves to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirst: but the captaine with faire perswasions altered their purpose of yeelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send us raine in such plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere unto the sun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most lothsome & ugly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increase, and devoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoide famine, but be devoured of these wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not devour, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings: and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would undoe us, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased; so that at the last we could not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos. In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was never heard of: for in their ankles it began to swell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cods; and their cods and yardes did swell most grievously, and most dreadfully to behold, so that they could neither stand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake

Cabo Frio 30 leagues east off the Ile of Placencia.

[III. 852.]

A most strange and noisome kind of worme bred of unsalted Penguins.

for sorrow, yet he perswaded them to patience, and to give God thankes, & like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this divers grew raging mad, & some died in most lothsome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, so that it grew not upon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to moove. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and my selfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health: upon us 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion served, would take in, and heave out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of us at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor heave out a saile: so our top-saile & sprit-sailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously grieved with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers upon the sea, the 11 of June 1593, it pleased God that we arrived at Bear-haven in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore: where the Irish men helped us to take in our sailes, and to more our ship for flooting: which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could have the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided us into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or foure of the company to keepe the ship; and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserved, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

They arrive at Bear-haven in Ireland the 11 *of June* 1593.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Majestie sent in the yere 1596 unto the great Emperor of China by M. Richard Allot and M. Thomas Bromefield marchants of the citie of London, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ships, to wit, The Beare, The Beares whelpe, and the Benjamin; set forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir Robert Duddely, and committed unto the command and conduct of M. Benjamin Wood, a man of approoved skill in navigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we have heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arrived upon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may have some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of Macao, or the Spaniards of the Philippinas.

Elizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & christianæ fidei contra omnes falsò Christi nomen profitentes invictissima propugnatrix &c. Altissimo, Serenissimóque Principi, potentissimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ partibus Insulísque adjacentibus imperatori, & magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multósque cum omni optimarum rerum copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cum honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad serenitatem vestram perferunt, Richardus Allott & Thomas Bromefield, civitatis nostræ Londini in dicto nostro regno Angliæ mercatores, im-

1596.

pensè a nobis efflagitaverint, ut eorum studia ad imperii [III. 853.] vestri regiones (commercii gracia) navigandi commendaremus: Cúmque regni vestri fortitèr prudentérque administrati fama, per universam terrarum orbem disseminata & divulgata, subditos hos nostros invitaverit, non solum ut dominationis vestræ regiones invisant, sed ut regni vestri legibus & institutis, dum in illis mundi partibus commorati fuerint, regendos se & moderandos permittant, prout mercatores decet, qui mercimoniorum commutandorum causa ad tam longè dissitas, nec adhuc nostro orbi satis cognitas regiones, penetrare cupiunt, illud unum spectantes, ut mercimonia sua, mercimoniorumque quorundam, quibus ditionis nostræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quædam sive specimina, serenitatis vestræ subditorúmque vestrorum conspectui offerant, & diligenter cognoscere studeant, si quæ aliæ sint apud nos merces quæ vestro usui inserviant, quas honesto & ubique terrarum licito commercii ritu aliis mercibus (quarum in imperii vestri regionibus, tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia est) commutare possint. Nos æquissimis honestorum hominum precibus acquiescentes, quia nihil ex justissimo hoc mercaturæ usu incommodi sive dispendii oriturum, sed plurimum potius emolumenti utriusque regni tum principibus tum subditis proventurum existimamus, dum earum rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, & aliarum quibus egemus invectione, æquissimis preciis ivuari utrinque & locupletari possimus; Serenissimam Majestatem vestram rogamus, ut subditis his nostris, cum mercimoniorum vendendorum & permutandorum gratia, ad imperii vestri stationes, portus, loca, oppida, civitates accesserint, eundi, redeundi, & cum subditis vestris negotiandi, plena & libera fiat potestas: Illísque hujusmodi libertates, immunitates, & privilegia, quæ aliorum principum subditis, apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi solent, serenitatis vestræ clementia inviolata conserventur; & nos vicissim, non tantùm omnia amicæ principis officia serenitati vestræ deferemus, sed ad majorem communis inter nos subditósque nostros

amicitiæ & commercii propagationem, subditis vestris omnibus & singulis, si serenissimæ Majestati vestræ ita visum fuerit, plenam & integram in ditionis nostræ quascunque regiones veniendi, commorandi, negotiandi, & revertendi, potestatem per præsentes has literas nostras libentissimè concedimus. Quæ omnia & singula regii nostri sigilli appositione communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli & terræ conditor, regiam Majestatem vestram diutissimè servet incolumem. Datæ in Palatio nostro Grenovici xj. mensis Julii Anno Christi 1596. annóque nostri regni xxxviij.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the most mightie defendresse of the true & christian faith against all that falsely professe the name of Christ &c. To the most high and soveraigne Prince the most puissant Governour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefest Emperour in those parts of Asia and of the Ilands adjoyning, and the great monarke of the orientall regions of the world; wisheth health, and many joyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things most acceptable. Whereas our honest and faithfull subjects which bring these letters unto your Highnesse, Richard Allot & Thomas Bromefield, marchants of our citie of London in our foresaid kingdome of England, have made most earnest suit unto us, that we would commend their desires and endevours of sayling to the regions of your Empire for traffiques sake: whereas also the fame of your kingdome so strongly and prudently governed, being dispersed and published over the face of the whole earth, hath invited these our subjects not onely to visite your Highnesse dominions, but also to permit themselves to be ruled and governed by the lawes and constitutions of your kingdome during the time of their aboad in those partes of the world, as it becommeth marchants, who for exchange of marchandize are desirous to travell unto regions so farre distant and not hitherto sufficiently knowen unto these nations of the world, having this regard onely, that they may present their wares and certaine examples or musters of divers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, unto the view of your Highnesse and of your subjects, & that they may indevour to know, whether here be any other marchandize with us fit for your use, which (according to the honest & lawfull custome of traffique in all countries) they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall: We yeelding unto the most reasonable requests of these honest men, because we doe suppose that by this most just intercourse of traffique, no inconvenience nor losse, but rather most exceeding benefite will redound unto the Princes and subjects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying foorth of those commodities wherewith we abound, and the bringing home of others which we want, wee may on either side at most easie rates helpe and inrich one another; doe crave of your most soveraigne Majestie, that these our subjects, when they shall come for [III. 854.] traffiques sake unto any the stations, portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may have full and free libertie of egresse and regresse, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your subjects, may by your Highnesse clemency most firmely enjoy all such freedomes, immunities, and privileges, as are usually granted to the subjects of other Princes which exercise traffique in your dominions; and we on the other side will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince unto your Highnesse, but also for the greater increase of mutuall love and commerce between us and our subjects, by these present letters of ours doe most willingly grant unto all and every your subjects (if it shall seeme good unto your Highnesse) full and entire libertie unto any of the partes of our dominions to resort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and every of which premisses we have caused to be confirmed by annexing hereunto our royall seale. God most mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, continually protect your kingly Majestie. Given in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of July, in the yeere of Christ 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

[Three severall

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES

Concerning the mighty kingdom of Coray, tributary to the king of China, and borthering upon his Northeast frontiers, called by the Portugales Coria, and by them esteemed at the first an iland, but since found to adjoyne with the maine not many dayes journey from Paquí the metropolitan citie of China. The more perfect discovery whereof and of the coast of Tartaria Northward, may in time bring great light (if not full certaintie) either of a Northwest or a Northeast passage from Europe to those rich countries. Collected out of the Portugale Jesuites yeerely Japonian Epistles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The first testimony containing a resolute determination of Quabacondono the great Monarch of all Japan, to invade and conquere China by the way of Coray, being a country divided from the Iles of Japan onely by an arme of the sea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other necessaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epistles of father Frier Lewis Frois, dated 1590.

QUabacondono having subdued all the petie kingdomes of Japan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis Frois writeth in his Japonian Epistles of the foresaid yeere) grew so proud and insolent that he seemed another Lucifer; so farre foorth, that he made a solemne vow and othe, that he would passe the sea in his owne person to conquere China: and for this purpose hee made great preparations, saying, that since hee is become Lorde of all Japan, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere China, and that although he should end his life in that enterprize, he is not to give over the same. For he hopeth to leave behinde him hereby so great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the same, and should ende his life in the action, yet should he alwayes remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will throughly attempt the same. And for his more secure passage thither, he is determined to leave behinde him two Governours (after his maner) in the parts of Miacó with the administration of Finqua; and of those of his Monarchie he saith that he will take with him all the great Japonish Lords, or at the least all his principall subjects, and leave in his dominions such guard and garisons as shall seeme best unto him. And so having passed the winter, he meaneth to come to these partes of Ximo, for from hence he is to set forth his armie, & to passe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being devided from Japan with an arme of the sea. And although the Portugales in times past thought, that it was an Ile or Peninsula, yet is it firme lande, which joyneth unto the kingdome of Paquí. And he hath now stricken such a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath sent his ambassadors hither to yeelde unto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambassadors are now in the city of Miacó. And by this Peninsula of Coray he may passe with his army by land in fewe dayes journey unto the citie of Paquí, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his residence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Japan so valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

Ximo.

Coray continent land with Paqui.

From Coray an armie may passe by land in few dayes to Paqui the chiefe citie of China.

A.D. 1590.

[III. 855.] But whatsoever become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cause great alterations in these partes of Ximo, especially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the princedomes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Christianity: and he told Don Protasio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remoove these lordes, and deliver their governments unto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Christianitie; neither should we have any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the custome of Japan in the alterations of estates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remoove all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leave onely the base people and labourers, committing them to the government of Ethnicks, wee shall hereby also leese our houses, and the Christians shall be dispersed with their lords; whom sometimes he handleth in such sort, that he giveth them nothing to susteine themselves, and so they remaine with all their followers, as men banished, and utterly ruined.

The second Testimonie containing the huge levies and preparations of Quabacondono, as also his warres and conquests, and the successe thereof in the kingdome of Coray. Together with a description of the same kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of government: and also of the shipping of China, Japan, and Coray, with mention of certaine isles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epistles of the aforesaid Father Fryer Luis Frois dated 1591, and 1592.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre against China in execution, assembled sundry of his nobles and captaines, unto whom he declared his intent; who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary

A.D. 1591-92.

opinion, yet all of them without any pretense of difficulty approved his determination. For he had given out that he would not abstaine from this warre, although his owne sonne should rise from death to life and request him; yea whosoever would moove any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be seene, but provision of ships, armour, munition, and other necessaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his subjects, willed every one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, injoyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they should bring. In all these kingdomes of Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his especiall favourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will have to be heads over all these new kingdomes, notwithstanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good providence) two are Christians, to wit, Augustine Eucunocamindono governour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the son of Quambioindono governour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranosuque governour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Augustins mortall enemie; and Iconocami governour of the residue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enemie both to Augustine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Christian lordes of Teximo to follow Christian governours. Whereupon the lord Protasius was there with 2000 souldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Augustins sonne in law, which lately became a Christian, with a thousand. Also he appointed that the governours of Firando and Goto should follow Augustine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Christians to their subjects. Wherefore Augustine was to conduct 15000 souldiers, besides mariners, slaves, and other base people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, so soone as they arrived in the kingdom of

Coray, were made souldiers, and bore armes. Unto the said Augustine, Quabacondono, in token of singular favour, granted the first assault or invasion of the kingdom of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the same, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues distant from Coray) till they should bee advertized from Augustine: which thing procured unto Augustine great envie and disdaine from them all; howbeit (as you shall forthwith understand) it prooved in the end most honourable unto him. The other Christian governour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 souldiers; so that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted unto 10000, besides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was most joyful newes to us, and to all the Christians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the governour of Riosogo together with Foranosuque to march with 8000: and likewise the king of Sazeuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongst all he gave the first and chiefe place unto Augustine. All the other souldiers of Japan hee caused to accompanie his owne person: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thousand persons: of whom two hundred thousand were souldiers.

[III. 856.]

A description of Coray.

The order prescribed in this whole armie was, that first they should make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almost an island, one ende whereof joyneth upon the maine lande of China; which though it be a severall kingdome of it selfe, yet is it subject and tributarie unto the king of China. And because this kingdom of Coray is divided but by an arme of the sea from Japan, Quabacondono determined to subdue the same, for that it so aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the easier invade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelve leagues distant from Firando, there should be erected a mightie

A.D. 1591-92.

great castle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to stay, till newes were brought of the successe of the aforesaid 4 governours or captaines. Hee appointed also another castle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another island situate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third castle in Ceuxima, that his passage might be the more commodious. The charge of building these castles he imposed upon the 4 aforesaid governours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their associates to assist them; all which so applyed that busines, that in 6 moneths space it was wholly finished. The castle of Nangoia was environed with a double wall of square and beautifull stone, with broad and deepe ditches like unto Miacó. The innermost wall being lesse then the other two was 100 fathom square, within the compasse whereof wer so many houses built both for the lordes, and their followers, and also for marchants shoppes, and victualers houses, distinguished with broad and direct streetes, that it seemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miacó to Nangoia, at the ende of every dayes journey, all the lords and governours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his jurisdiction new and stately palaces from the ground, so that for 20 dayes together he lodged every night with all his traine in one of those palaces. And because these things were done at the very same time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in hand, all Japan was so grievously oppressed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was most intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready every one is to do him service: which appeareth by these magnificent stately buildings reared up in so short a space, which in Europe would have required a long time and huge expences. In the meane season it was commonly given out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would have most unfortunate successe, as being a matter wrought by constraint, and that it would be an occasion of manifold dissentions in Japan: for no man there was, but misliked of this warre: yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that some one man at length would step foorth and restore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his hand to that businesse. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently constrained to prosecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boasted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would bestow upon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and unto the lord Protasius hee hath promised 3 kingdomes: but he with all the other lords giving him great thankes, had much rather retaine a smal portion of their estate in Japan, then to hunt after all those kingdomes which he promiseth.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation published, that he would personally be present at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troups and armies of men began to resort from all the quarters of Japan to these parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For so long as Quabacondono remained at Miacó, we might stay in these parts of Ximo without any danger: but after he began to come this way, it seemed impossible for our state to continue whole and sound, and we were put into no small perplexitie. For the Christian lordes advised us, that sithence Quabacondono was come so neere, all our companie that lived in the Colledge, in the house of Probation, and in the Seminary, should depart to some other place. And the Christians from Miacó writ dayly unto us, that wee shoulde pull downe our houses and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Cansaco, and that the fathers of Europe should return unto Nangasaque in the secular habite of Portugals, but that the Japonian Fryers should retire themselves unto several houses of Christians, that so they might al remaine safe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grievous and subject to many difficulties, so did it afford us but small comfort. In brief the Father visitor talking of this matter with

Eucunocamindono, the lord Protasius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the same fortitude of minde, being constant in their first opinion: neither would they give any other counsel or direction, then that the fathers should keepe themselves secret, and should only forsake their houses at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would have some of their kinsemen remaine. It was also thought convenient, that the number of the Seminary should bee diminished, and that of 90 there should onely remaine 50 in our scholes, namely such as studied the Latine tongue. With the Father Visitour [III. 857.] there came unto Nangasaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were said to be of Fungo and Firando. For the sayde Father under the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with some pastime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and also might declare, with how great confidence and securitie of minde hee tooke upon him this expedition for China; and likewise to obscure the most renowmed fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Joritono, who was Emperour over all Japan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of divers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had so good successe, that hee caught above 30000. fowles of all sortes; amongst which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the more solemnitie of the game, there were also added many dead fowles, which the Japonians with certaine poulders or compositions know how to preserve sweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe unto Miacó; before whom went great multitudes which carried those thousandes of fowles upon guilded canes. Next after these followed many horsemen sumptuously attired, carying

A meane to keepe dead birds sweete in their feathers a long time.

a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horses by the reines, most richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coscis or Littiers very stately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himselfe in a Littier of another fashion, like unto those which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with most curious and singular workemanship, and was presented unto him by the Father Visitour, and seemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of solemnitie hee useth the same. Last of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles bravely mounted on horsebacke, and gorgeously attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant sort beeing welcomed by the way, with the shoute and applause of infinite swarmes of people, entred the citie of Miacó.

Now when the time of sayling towardes China approched, Quabacondono determined first to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his successour, and governour of all Japan, to the ende hee might supply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to transferre unto his sayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himselfe, calling him by the name of Taicusama, that is to say, Great lord. Which dignitie was in such sort translated, that albeit he assigned unto his nephew large revenues, together with that princely title, yet himselfe remained the very same that he was before. The day of the sayd translation being appointed, hee summoned all the Princes of Japan to appeare, and to sweare obedience unto this his nephew: Who with great pompe going unto the Dairi to receive that dignitie at his hande, had surrendred unto him the Castle of Miacó, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he set forward on his journey to Nangoia, having before given order, that Augustine should passe over into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines should remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came unto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. persons, besides those that were conducted by the foure foresayde governours. In the meane season Augustine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred Ships, arrived at Coray. In whose armie the lord Protasius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. souldiers, yet for the goodnesse of his armour, and the beautie of his ships, he was admired of all men. At their very first entrance they wonne 2. castles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans reposed great confidence; for they were environed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of souldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. spannes and ½. long, which in stead of bullets discharged with a terrible noise woodden arrowes headed with forked points of yron: but the sayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a small distance off, and the Japonians being furnished with brazen ordinance unknowen unto the Corayans, they presently drave them from their walles, and with ladders made for the same purpose of great canes, they forthwith scaled the same, and planted their ensignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a short time making resistance, but after a while betaking themselves to dishonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being slaine, and of Augustines but 100. and 400. wounded. Augustine perceiving that the Corayans could not endure any long assault, determined to take upon himselfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not staying for the governours his associates, to march up into the heart of the kingdome, and to the principall City; [III. 858.] unto which determination all the lordes that were with him gave their consent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in some sort, a rash enterprise of Augustine: but yet it argueth a wise and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was so greevous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the successe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the surprize of the two Castles, they brought Augustine in suspition among

A Fleete of 800. *ships.*

Shorte gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

their friends, that hee ambitiously affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen unto Quabacondono, he was so troubled in mind even before he came to Nangoia, that suddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to set sayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Castles taken, and that Augustine pursuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miacó, that is to say, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to invade the same also (all which Augustine himselfe wrote, and requested him to send the other captaines and commanders to assayle the kingdom on all sides, and to furnish the castles which he had taken and should take, with garisons of souldiers, because as yet he had not men enough to hold those fortresses which he had wonne) he was surprized with such unspeakable joy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Japan he had no subject comparable to Augustine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himselfe ever knewe any man indued with so valiant and couragious a mind. I (saith he) knowing against whom and with what forces I waged warre, subdued by litle and litle all Japan unto me: but Augustine in so short a time and with so small forces, hath boldely set his foote in a forren region, and with most glorious victory hath subdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next unto my selfe the greatest Prince in all Japan. Hee added farther, that now his owne sonne seemed to bee risen from the death: and that whosoever durst either disgrace or extenuate the deedes of Augustine, he would grievously punish him, not respecting whether hee did it upon reason or malice. By this speach the name and report of Augustine grew so honourable amongst all men, that those which most envied his estate, durst not speake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

The signification of Miacó.

The length and bredth of Coray.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth 60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and strength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet because they pay tribute to the king of China, and exercise traffique with his subjects, they doe after a sort imitate the Lawes, apparell, customes, and governement of the Chinians. They border on one side upon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom sometimes they have peace, and sometimes warre: but with the Chinians they have continuall peace. They are speciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, because they have but few, and those bad, they are nothing so skilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Japonians, who by reason of their warres are continually exercised in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furnished with yron-peeces, with lances, and with excellent swordes. Onely in shipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reason of the hugenesse of their Ships which they use upon the sea. Wherefore, if they were to joyne battels by sea, there is no doubt but that both the foresayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now because they knewe nothing of the comming of the Japonian armie, or for that they doubted that their sea-forces were the stronger, or els because God was determined to punish them, he suffered them to be destitute of all the defence of their shipping, so that the Japonians without any resistance landed upon their dominions.

The people of Coray and China stronger in shipping, then they of Japan.

Now the fame of Augustines victory causing the armie notably to increase, and the Mariners, and many others which caryed burthens (as they were trained up in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captives supplied their baser offices: so great a terrour possessed all the people of Coray where Augustine came, that all the castles and fortresses which hee passed by were forsaken by their garisons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Christians sent from Ceuxima and Nangoia shaped their course for Coray, Augustine had pitched his campe neere unto the foresaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes journey, he was encountered by 20000. men; whom at the very first assault, having slaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere unto the citie, and having passed a river, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow passage against 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were slaine, and a great number drowned in the river. Heere while Augustine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might somewhat refresh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray seeing himselfe besieged by his enemie, and that many other Japonian lordes with strong armies invaded his kingdome on all sides, determined to have his citie strengthened with garisons, and to retire himselfe into the in-land of China. Which by reason of the abundance of horses that he had, he was able right commodiously to performe. Whereupon the second or third day after, Augustine without any resistance entred the head-city, being presented with great store of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Augustine, with other captaines his associates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory unto himselfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

The king of Coray fleeth out of his principall citie.

[III. 859.]

Quabacondono being advertised of this second victory, yeelded as much honour unto Augustine as he could possibly devise, speaking so highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his associates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promises come to effect, they shall be farre greater then they are, and Augustine (next unto himselfe) shall be the principall person in all Japan. And now he is become so famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Japan, that at all their meetings and assemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Augustine, who in twentie dayes space hath subdued so mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Japan. And all the Nobles account him a most happy man, being astonished at the immortall renowme which he hath attained unto by this exploite: yea, and Quabacondono sent forthwith unto him, as unto the conquerour and vanquisher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged sword and a horse, which among the Japonians is a pledge of the most peerelesse honour that can possibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times past send unto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great event the power of the Christians God, and his providence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Christians, but even to the very Ethnicks themselves, for that in the heate of such extreme persecution it hath pleased his divine Majestie to lay the honour of all this warre upon Christian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they wil prove more mighty and famous then ever they were.

Hence it commeth to passe that the Portugals ship come from China, hath wintered in Japan: by which occasion the presence of the father Visitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to us, but to all the other Christians, who in regarde of the departure of so many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they should have béne left utterly forsaken and destitute, had not the father Visitour, in whom they reposed all their confidence, remayned here. But the singular providence and love of God towards us appeared in this, that hee would have the sayd Ship, contrary to their usuall custome, to winter in Japan. For when Quabacondono having obteined that victorie, was determined to returne unto Ximo, they were all shrowded under the protection of the foresayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, caused Frier John Rodorigues and the governour of the Portugal ship to salute and welcome him. For the Christians of Miacó, which succeeded in their roomes that went for Coray, advised him in their letters so to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to see the

Portugals Captaine General attended upon by so many Portugals sumptuously attired, and comming with so many shippes in the company of Frier John Rodoriguez: and hee asked the Frier how the father Visitour did? And whether the presents to the Vice-roy liked him? As also, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Japan, and that the Frier should stay with him. Afterward writing an answere to the father, he declared therein the great favour which he bore to the captaine of the ship. Whom, having familiarly entertained him for the space of 2. houres, hee dismissed with evident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez staying behinde above a moneth, attempted very often to speake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes most kindly used. Afterward by reason of sicknesse hee returned to Nangasaque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the same place where himselfe remained? Jacuino answered, that beeing a stranger, hee was to bee cured with such diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which answere hee was satisfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reason of the ambassage, Quabacondono waxeth every day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occasions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath given out, that if he have good successe with his warre against China, he will make great alterations of estates, in assigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Christian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Japan: which thing might redound to the ruine and destruction of all Christianitie heere, neither should the Christians finde in Japan any place of refuge. And albeit Augustine had certainly informed the father Visitour of the sayde alteration of [III. 860.] estates, and Jacuine had written unto Augustine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the states or governments of Ximo, and so consequently the state of Augustine, and of the Christian princes of Arima and

Omura; yea, and that the said two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchsafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull servants (who for this cause were most perplexed and sorowfull) and to provide this remedie following.

The Corayans having intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee caried with him were in safety, went the greatest part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themselves in the mountains and woods, remaining there with such hate and indignation against the Japonians, that with promise of safe conduct they could by no meanes be drawen out of their starting holes. Wherefore albeit the Japonians have all the castles and places of defence in their owne possession, yet because they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other necessary services, they cannot chuse but foregoe all that which they have woon. Moreover, the common high wayes are so pestered with theeves and murtherers, that unlesse the Japonians march in whole troopes all together, they are suddenly oppressed with swarmes of Corayans issuing foorth of the woods. Many of the Corayans also have retired themselves unto the neighbour-islands, from whence with numbers of great ships, to the mighty losse of the Japonians, they assaile their small and weake ones, and have already sunke many of them. Wherefore all the Japonian lords which remaine in Coray have written unto Quabacondono, that his army must for a certaine time in no wise remoove from the place where it is, for avoyding of such imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Upon these advertisements Quabacondono being ready to take his journey to Coray, to divide the whole kingdome, was hindred from his purpose, and sent most friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their estates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eased of exceeding great care and grief. For albeit there is no great trust to be given to his words, yet we hope that

Ilands neere unto Coray.

this yere he wil not meddle: what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this present there are above 200000. Japonian souldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are divided throughout the whole kingdom. Augustine lieth upon the very extreame frontiers of China: but because the Chinians are separated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty river of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ships, and have planted innumerable troopes of men upon the shore, the successe of the warre remayneth most doubtfull and uncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Japonians will proceede any farther this yeere or no.

A mighty river of 3. leags broad.

The third testimony of Coray, signifying (amongst other notable and politicall observations) the later successe of the warres of Japan against Coray; and to what end Quabacondono still mainteineth garisons in that kingdome. Out of the Epistles of Father Organtino Brixiano, bearing date from Japan Anno 1594.

THe whole Empire of Japan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowen since the first creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Island, which is not absolutely subject unto him. And hee reigneth in so great peace and tranquilitie, that if his successors follow the same course of government, there is no likelihood of future sedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he useth to establish continuall peace and concord among the Japonians, are very great and effectuall.

One is, that after he hath passed his publique promise, he never putteth any of his adversaries to death, which his predecessour Nabunanga performed not: for he having subdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and governours to the sword. But this king granteth unto them not only life, but also yerely revenues, whereby to maintaine themselves in an honest and meane estate: in which regarde they all rest contented, and willingly submit themselves.

Another is, in that he hath brought the husbandmen and pesants (by whose assistance & wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a sort susteined) unto such extreme poverty, that they have scarce wherewithall to keepe life and soule together: as likewise hee hath bereaved them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, because hee hath most streightly forbidden all contentions, seditions, frayes, and skirmishes. For whosoever be found culpable of this crime, they dye every man of them on both parties. If any escape by flight, their kinsefolks are punished in their stead; and for lacke of them, their servants; and for defalt of both their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are punished and suffer death: but hence it commeth to passe, that many innocent persons are constrained to die. And this severitie is the cause, why there are at this present so seldome frayes and contentions in Japan. [III. 861.]

The fourth is, that in administring of justice hee is most upright, without all respect either to his owne kindred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzii, bee they never so famous: and being once advertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himselfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his subjects to have any concubines. For which cause not many dayes agoe, hee banished a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie most neere unto himselfe. And being informed that all the Bonzii of Miacó kept concubines, hee would have put them all to death, had not the governour of Miacó promised, that hee would undertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee caused all the Bonzii every moneth to bee sworne, that they should live honestly upon paine of death: as also hee hath sworne the heads or superiors of all their religious houses under paine of death, to give up their names whom they most suspect of the foresayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward estate) live in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee suffereth none of his souldiers, nor his great lordes to live in idlenesse. If there be no warres for their imployment, hee occupieth them in building of stately palaces, and in raising new fortresses, or in repairing and strengthening of olde, and also in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Japan, and to his owne lasting honour. So that at this present neere unto Miacó there are thirtie thousand men imployed about the building of one castle; and in the citie of Bozacca above an hundred thousand: which imployments afforde them neither place nor time to practise any rebellions.

The sixt is his altering of governments: for hee remooveth his governours from one extreme part of Japan to another.

The seventh, for that unto his souldiers (besides the ordinarie pay continually allotted unto them for their service) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne costes. Wherof it commeth to passe, that hee effecteth whatsoever hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemie was not vanquished, according to his owne desire: this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre surmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garisons, as well to keepe his honour, as to constraine the Chinians to sue for peace.

The warre of Japan against Coray and China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and restraineth persons of ambitious and aspiring mindes, who (as hee conjectureth) after his death might worke some innovations in the common wealth, or disturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, because hee hath on no side within foure or five dayes journey of Miacó, any mightie or industrious captaine or governour.

The tenth and last is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely revenues to two millions of gold.

By these courses and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee established in all these kingdomes, and also that a fit way will be prepared, for the conversion of all the great lordes unto Christian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne province of Japan called Zuegara, situate thirtie dayes journey from Miacó, which argueth the Isle of Japan to be of greater extension Northward, then it is ordinarily described in maps, or supposed to be: together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called Jeza inhabiting on the maine to the North of China, never heard of in these parts before: taken out of an Epistle written 1596 from Japan by Fryer Luis Frois unto Claudius Aquaviva, &c. Printed in Latine at Mentz in Germanie 1599.

NOt many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable personage called John Vongui the sonne of Taigarandono, who is governour of a certaine princedome situate on the borders of Japan towardes the North, being distant from Miacó thirtie dayes journey.

And after a few lines it followeth.

The Isle of Mateumai.

This Taigorandono being the most Northerly governour in all Japan hath traffique with the Jezi, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent resort unto the Isle of Mateumai, being about twelve or fifteene leagues distant from the foresayd Northerly princedome of Zuegara; where they sell fishes, the skinnes of beasts, and certaine herbes of the sea used by [III. 862.]

Jezi a nation of Tartars dwelling on the continent to the North of China using cloth.

the Japonians for foode, with other such like commodities. On the other side the said Jezi Tartari buy of the Japonians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other instruments. These Tartars (they say) are a most barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moscovites: they live by hunting and fishing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly princedome of Zuegara (as the sayd governour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promised the Fathers to bring some of these vines to Miacó, that they might be planted there.

Advertisements touching the shippes that goe from Sivil to the Indies of Spaine; together with some notes of the Contractation house in Sivil.

The Pilot.

YOur Pilot must be examined in the Contractation house, and allowed by such as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee be a sufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to governe and lead the same ship directly by his onely commandement to such ports as are convenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Master.

You must have a Master, that must give in sureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and such as be his sureties must be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that summe aforesayd, if the sayd ship be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if shee be more or lesse of burthen, then he must give sureties of a greater summe or lesse, according to the proportion of her burden.

He shall in all his voyage give a just and true accompt of all such goods, and marchandizes, as shall in all that voyage come into the ship: as also of such plate and money, as shalbe registred in the Kings Register, appertayning to the King, or any other particuler marchant: and if any default be, hee or his sureties are to pay all such losses as thereof shall growe: as also to see the mariners payed well and truely, the third part of all such fraights, as the sayde shippe shall get going and comming.

The ship being fraighted by her merchants, the Master shall take order that there be sufficient mariners abourd her to take in such lading from time to time, as the marchant shall send to her: And also the Purser must be a man sufficient of abilitie to take, & to give account of all such goods, marchandize, silver and golde, as shall come in and out of the sayd shippe that present voyage, as also give sureties of 1500 dukats at the least to come backe from the Indies in the said shippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee live.

The Purser.

The Master must provide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and bestow all marchandize in such place as is convenient: and that it be not put in place, where it may perish for lack that it be not fast, sure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the sayd marchandize.

A Romager.

When it is all bestowed, and the shippe able to beare no more, than a mariner called the Countermaster, or Masters mate, hath charge to locke fast the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or spoyled by the mariners. And if it fortune that any bee so spoyled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole fraight of the shippe that doth appertaine to the sayd marchants.

The Masters mate.

The shippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence she saileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Judges of the Contractation house commeth downe to dispatch the shippes that goe together in that fleete. And that Judge goeth abourd every ship, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two

The chiefe Judges of the Contractation house.

Visitors being skilfull mariners.
The names and markes of men taken.

called Visitors of the shippes, to know whether the sayd shippe or ships be well tackled: whether they have men sufficient: and in every ship every mans name is taken, and if he have any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) appertaining to the Contractation house, appointed for these causes. Also the Master is bound to bring backe every mariner againe, and to leave none behinde him there, upon great paines, unlesse he be a passenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the same purpose.

The Pragmatics or orders of the Contractation house.

The ship must be well appointed with ordinance of brasse, and yron, according to The orders of their house, of that there must want nothing, and every ship is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of brasse and yron, hand-guns, crossbowes, pikes, swords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance double shot, with powder, with new cables and ankers sufficient for the voyage. And moreover it is ordeined, that the shippes have double sailes, that is, that they bee thorowly sayled, and moreover all newe sayles of foresayle, and maine-sayle, of coarse, and bonnet newe made, [III. 863.] and kept in some driefat or chest in the same ship; that if the weather take the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Provision of victuals upon othe.

Every ship must have their master sworne before the sayd Judge of the Contratacion, that all this is in a readinesse in the shippe, as also so many newe pipes of fresh water, so many buttes of good rackt wine, so many kintals of bread, so many jarres of oyle, so many jarres or Botijas of vineger, so much flesh, so much fish, and such quantitie of every kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the shippe requireth, wherein every shippe according to her greatnesse is appointed by The ordinances of the house: Also so many gunners, so many mariners, so many gromettes, so many pages, and so many souldiers. Then all these aforesaide matters being under Register by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the

Judge doeth command the masters to hoyse up the yards acrosse unto the howndes of the mastes; and many times, if they perceive the shippe to be walty and overladen, as many covetous masters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to see whether the sayd shippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her side: if she doe helde, he commandeth barkes abourd, to discharge her of such lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ship depart before they cary the Register of the said Judges, howe that shee goeth by their order: and every shippe carieth her owne Register, and in the Register the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forfayted in the Indies, both shippe and goods.

The Register of every ship.

The masters are bound to keepe the course that the Admiral doeth leade, and every shippe to follow her, and shee must goe alwayes in the Sea before all the rest of the fleete, and by night cary light, that all may knowe where she goeth. The viceadmirall must come behinde all, and so every shippe in the fleete before her: if any be ill of sayle, all are bounde to fit their sayles in such order, that they goe no faster then she doeth.

The two ships of warre to waft the fleet in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmirall goe never but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more then any of the other have: because they may help to defend all the rest, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of these two shippes is alwayes borne upon the whole goods that are laden in the fleete, as also at the least there be two hundred souldiers in every of these two shippes besides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

The voyages bee so appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the best of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to discharge their lading and recharge backe againe.

Note.

The ships that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greatest nor the smallest shippes, but of 3 hundreth or 4 hundreth tunnes at the most: but they be very good saylers, and strong chosen for the purpose, to sayle well and to beare good store of ordinance. In these two shippes are alwayes going and comming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and souldiers expert in the warres.

A Captaine in every ship.

And in every other ship is a Captaine, which ruleth in all causes of controversie, or fights in the seas; the Pilot directeth onely in government and leading the shippe to her port.

All the Captaines, Masters, Pilots, Maryners, and passengers, and all others bee obedient to the two shippes, so appoynted to passe: they doe, as in all other commandements what is by them appoynted, having power to hang, or doe any justice upon any man, as to them seemeth good at sea, and this is the last commandement upon payne of death, if the General please.

Concerning the Contractation house, there are therein sixe Judges of the highest sort.

Sixe Judges.

Foure visitours.

The reader of the arte of Navigation.

There are visitours of shippes, as it is sayd before, to see whether the ships goe in order well, and sufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Masters of the ships and Pilots are, whether they be able to answere to all such articles, as the reader is able to objecte unto them, in matters of Navigation: if they be not found sufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

The booke of orders, called in Spanish Pragmatics, common in writing among the masters.

The master must knowe whether the ship be sufficiently calked, tackled, and furnished in all things accordingly, as with mastes, sayles, cables, ankers, and all other necessary furniture: that at such time as any of the high judges with their ordinary visitours appointed for such causes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which every shippe proportionable to her burthen ought to have, which is not unknowen to any of the masters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge given to the Master and Pilot serveth onely to conduct the ship from port to port.

The counter Master, or masters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee shall bee commanded by the master and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ship.

The shippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our shippes doe in any voyage.

[III. 864.]

The order of the Carena given to the ships that go out of Spaine, to the Indies.

THe shippe of what burthen soever shee bee must give a Carena, as they call it in the Spanish tongue, which is in English, shee must be throughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to set knees into her, and any other tymbers appertaining to the strengthening of a shippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her sides; and that kinde of calking is not used, as ours is here in England; but first before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the shippe the voyage before, and so drive in new.

Calking with thinne plates of lead.

If the seame of the shippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde shippes be, by reason of often raking them, upon that seame there is clapt a piece of caste leade, nayled upon the calking, and seame with speciall nayles, which leade is cast a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the same purpose, and at every voyage it is taken off and renued, and by that meanes their shippes are very stanch a yeere or two.

The Calker or Carenero.

The Carenero or the Calker doeth give in suerties, that if the shippe so cast over, as they doe commonly use to cast them, in such sort as any man may goe drie upon the keele, as I have done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber under her sides, more then with counter-poyze of stones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a cheste; and with the stones the Carenero doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or rysing: and if shee miscarrie in her Carena, then is the Carenero bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or sinking, or any other misfortune, to pay for the valew of the ship.

The Carena of a shippe of one hundred tunnes being done so substantially as they use to doe it, will cost two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, sixe hundred Duckets, and so according to the greatnesse of the shippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reason that the necessaries that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This Carena may not be given at any hand but in a river where no tempest can arise, as in this river of London in such a place, where at al times the sayd ship may ride aflote: it may not be done in any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring up the waves of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heave and set.

The calking of Sivill is so substantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not throughly calke past one yarde and an halfe in one seame, or two yardes at the most, and to that he doeth, the master calker is at hand to oversee him, and this done, the Carenero doeth with his ballast set her upright, and so shee beginneth to lade.

Examen de los maestros y Pilotos, que navegan en las flotas de Espanna para las Indias del mar oceano, escrito por Pedro Dias Piloto, natural de la Isla de la Palma, 1586.

Alonso de Chiavez Piloto mayor.

PRimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al presente Alonso de Chiavez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y sufficiente para ello.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que se quiere examinar. Luego presenta cinco o seis testigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y suf-

ficiente para ser Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos de Espanna; y que no es de casta de Moro, ni Judeo, ni Negro.

Y hecha la enformacion, presenta la al Piloto mayor. Y visto el Piloto mayor la enformacion ser buena, manda que el Cathedratico Rodrigo Zamorano lo admita a la Cathedra. Y alli se juntan a vezes quatorze o quinze que pretenden examinarse, y acuden alli a una casa, que El Cathedratico tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la mannana, y estan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratico tiene por costumbre de leer en la Cathedra una ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarse los unos a los otros muchas cosas convenientes a la arte de navegar en presencia del Cathedratico. Y el que no responde a proposito, El Cathedratico le emienda, y le dize de la manera que es cade cosa. Y este estudio dura nos meses, en los quales no ha de faltar de ir dos vezes al dia, como tengo dicho.

Rodrigo Zamorano Cathedratico.

Y despues de aver oido la Cathedra estos dos meses, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la Contratacion. Y alli esta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui son por lo menos veinte cinco: y alli estando todos assentados por su orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones; y despues de aver leidas las enformaciones o testimonios, pregunta el piloto mayor al piloto y maestro, que se quiere examinar, de que parte de las Indias se quiere examinar? Y luego el piloto responde, que de Nueva Espanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no son platicos de estas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba y luego demanda el Piloto mayor, que tienda la carta en la mesa, y en presencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Islas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, hasta llegar a aquella parte de donde se examina, y buelve para Espanna, a tornar, a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio.

[III. 865.]

La Sala del examen.

Y el Piloto mayor le preguntas Que si yendo navegando por la mar le diese un viento contrario, que remedio haria para que su nao no trabajasse tanto en la mar? Y el le responde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta uno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Estrella del norte, y que cuenta le hara en todo tiempo del anno? A lo qual ha de responder el piloto que se examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las sennas de las tierras que estuvieren en el camino, hasta llegar al puerto de donde se examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que si con tormenta se le quebrasse los arboles, Que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan, Que si la nao abriesse un agua, a donde peligrassen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos riesgo? Y otros le preguntan, que si le faltasse el timon, que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas. Y otros le preguntan, Que si lo tomasse un corsario, y lo dexasse sin carta y sin astrolabio, y otros instrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Estrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas necessarias a un marinero, que quiere ser piloto. A todo esto esta attento, respondiendo a todo. Y despues que todos le an preguntado todo lo necessario, le mandan, que salga fuera de la sala, paraque a solas dé cada uno su boto debaxo de juramento en un libro, que prometen de dezir verdad. Y luego ponen dentro de un vaso de plata, que alli esta para aquel efeto, tantas havas, y tantos garvanzos, como ai pilotos dentro de la sala: y va cada uno por su orden; y el que le parece que es sufficiente, saca una have, y el que le parece, que no lo es, saca un garvanzo. Y despues que todos an sacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene; y si halla que tiena tantos botos en su favor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje: y si tiene mas botos en su favor, que en contrario, luego le dan una carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Escrivano, y sellada con el sello de la Contratacion. Y teniendo esta carta, luego da de presente al piloto

La manera de elecion de los maestros, y pilotos.

Carta del examen.

mayor, y al Cathedratico para guantes y gallinas, conforme que cada uno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego se puede concertar por piloto en qualquier navio que quisiere, para aquella parte dedonde se examino. Y si hallare en las Indias algun navio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el navio por el mismo concierte, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

Sueldo de los pilotos.

Suelen llevar los pilotos de partido y concierte por un viaje de yr y bolver, conforme que es el navio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta; y si es de quatrocientas o de quinientas, lleva de partido; y mas, todos los dias que estuviere en tierra, quatro reales para su comida. Y las naos grandes siempre llevan los pilotos mas viejos, porque el son mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los manzebos, que comienzan a navegar, y a ser pilotos.

Maestros y sus officios.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la navegacion: porque los maestros de los navios tienen cuidado de fretar, y aderezar sus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es menester para su nao: porque el piloto no viene a la nao, si no es quando los visitadores vienen a visitarla, si tiene todo lo necessario para el viage.

Los quatro visitadores, y su officio.

Los visitadores son quatro hombres qui estan puestos por el rey, y estos son hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a visitar los navios, antes que tomen carga, por ver si estan bien aderezados para hazer el viage. Y despues que estan los navios cargados, buelven otra vez a visitarlos, por ver si tienen todas las cosas necessarias, conforme a la Prematica; y si tienen todos los marineros, y bastimentos, y polvere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas necessario para el viaje. Y si alguna cosa les falta, les mandan con graves penas que lo compren, antes que salgan del puerto.

Prematica.

Escrivano y su officio.

Suelen llevar los navios que van a las Indias un escrivano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que se cargan en la nao, y tomar las

[III. 866.] marcas, para por ellas entregar la carga a sus duennos, despues de aver acabado su viaje: y sirve tanbien, si un hombre caesse enfermo, para hazer testamiento y otros recaudos que se suelen hazer delante un escrivano: y gana por su sueldo en un viaje tanto como dos marineros.

Primero navio de aviso.

Tiene el general de las flotas por costumbre, despues que llega a las Indias, de embiar un navio de aviso, para dar relacion al rey, de como ha llegado. Y despues que estan prestas para partir despacha otrio navio de aviso, para hazer relacion, de como estan ya prestas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Segundo navio de aviso.

Dos naos de guerra.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes, la una por Capitana, y la otra por Almiranta, cada una de seiscientas y de sietecientas tonelladas, que no llevan mas que bastimentos y soldados para defensa de la defensa de la demas flota: y lleva cada una como docientos soldados: y estas se pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a uno por ciento, y algunas vezes a uno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla una tabla que sirve de Aranzel, escrita con letras de oro; en que stan avaliadas todas las mercaderias que se embarcan para las Indias.

EN esta tabla se puede saber quantas botijas hazen una tonellada de vino y quantos quintales y quantos bariles, y quantos coffres sea una tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias estan alli taxadas, para pagar los derechos al rey, y el flete al maestro.

Y alli esta puesto que ningun maestro puede llevar a las Indias ningun passagero, ni frayle, ni clerigo, ni otras personas, ni estranieros de los reynos de Espanna, sin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puerde llevar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica, y todo lo que llevaren, lo lleven registrado, so pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maestro ni piloto puede llevar

instrumentos que no sean firmados por el piloto mayor Alonzo de Chiaves, y el cosmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como son la carta, el astrolabio, la balestilla, y el regimiento.

Y mas, que yendo en la compannia de la flota, obedescan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare, so pena de la vida.

The same in English.

The examination of the Masters and Pilots which saile in the Fleetes of Spaine to the West Indies: Written in the Spanish tongue by Pedro Dias a Spanish pilot taken by Sir Richard Grinville 1585.

First they make suit unto the Pilot major (who at this present is called Alonzo de Chiavez) that he would admit them to examination, because they are naturall Spaniards, and sufficient for the same.

The witnesse of five or sixe pilots.

Hereupon the Pilot major commandeth the party to be examined, to give information that he is a mariner, and well practized in those parts, about which hee desireth to be examined. And then immediately he bringeth five or sixe pilots before examined to give testimonie that he is a good mariner, and sufficient to become a pilot, that he is a Spaniard borne, and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Jewes or Negros.

The pilots admission to the lectures of the Kings reader.

They heare the Kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths.

Having made this information, hee presenteth it unto the Pilot major. And the Pilot major seeing the information to be good, willeth the Kings publique reader of navigation (who is now Roderigo Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whither there doe resort foureteene or fifteene persons that desire to be examined: and they come to a certaine house which the kings reader hath appointed unto him for the same purpose, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they stay two houres, and two houres likewise in the afternoone: in one of which houres Zamorano readeth unto them, and in the other they aske one another many particulars concerning the art of navigation in the presence of the said kings reader: and him that answereth not to the purpose the sayd reader instructeth more perfectly, and telleth him how everything is. And this exercise continueth two moneths, during which time the examinates must not faile to bee present twise in a day, as is aforesaid.

Their disputations of the art of navigation before the Kings reader who is their moderatour.

And having heard the kings reader those two moneths, they resort then unto the hall of examination which is in the Contractation house, where there are assembled the Pilot major and divers other pilots, to the number of 25 at the least; who all sitting there in order, the Pilot major demandeth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he desireth to be examined: Whereto the examinate answereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueva Espanna, or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra Firma. And others that are not experienced in those partes, crave to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico, and Cuba.

The hall of examination.

[III. 867.]

The maner of the yong pilots examination.

Then the Pilot major commandeth the examinate to spread a sea-chart upon the table, and in the presence of the other pilots to depart or shewe the course from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie-Islands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then also to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Also the Pilot major asketh him, if when he saileth upon the sea, hee be taken with a contrary wind, what remedie he is to use, that his ship be not too much turmoiled upon the sea? And the examinate answereth him aswell as he can.

Then one of the other pilotes opposeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the North-starre, and how hee ought to use the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere: whom the examinate is bound to answere in every thing that hee demandeth. Then another asketh him of the signes and markes of those lands which lye in his way to that haven whereof he is examined. And then another demandeth, that if his mastes should be broken by tempest, what remedy hee would use? Others aske him, if his ship should take a leake, to the hazarding of the lives of himselfe and his company, what remedy he would find to stop the same with least danger? Others aske him, what remedy, if his rudder should chance to faile? Others oppose him about the account of the Moone and of the tides? Others aske him if a Pirate should take him and leave him destitute of his Chart, his Astrolabe, and his other instruments serving to take the height of the Sunne and of the starre, what course hee would take in that extremitie? Others demand other questions needfull for a mariner to know, which desireth to be a pilot. Unto all which the examinate is very attentive, and answereth to every particular.

The maner of their election.

After they have all asked him so much as they think expedient, they bid him depart out of the hall, to the ende that every one of them may severally bee sworne upon a booke, that they will speake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine vessell of silver standing there for the same purpose so many beanes, and so many peason as there are pilots within the hall: and every one putting his hand into the vessell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be sufficient, taketh up a beane, and he that thinketh him not sufficient, taketh up a pease. And after that all have taken out what they please, the Pilot major looketh what voyces the examinate hath: and if he finde him to have as many voyces for him as against him, he commandeth him to make another voyage: but if he hath more voyces for him then against him, then they give him letters testimoniall of his examination signed by the Pilot major, by the kings reader, and the secretary, and sealed with the seale of the Contractation house. And upon the receipt of these letters testimoniall, the new pilot giveth a present unto the Pilot major, and the kings reader, for their gloves and hennes, every one

Letters testimoniall of every new pilots examination and approbation, under the hands of the Pilot major, the kings reader, and the secretary, and seale of the Contractation house.

according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily some two or three ducats.

And then he may take upon him to be pilot in any ship whatsoever, unto that place for which he was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ship under the charge of a pilot not before examined, hee may put him out of his office, and may himself take charge of that ship for the same wages that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen of the ship. If she be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if shee bee of 400 or 500 tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if she be bigger, he hath a greater allowance: over and besides all which, he hath every day while he remaineth on land, foure reals for his diet. And the greater shippes are alwayes committed unto the more ancient pilots, because they are of greater experience and better skill, then the yonger sort which newly take upon them to be pilots.

The pilot undertaketh no farther travell nor care, but in directing the course or navigation: for the masters of the ships take charge of the freighting and preparing their ships, and to pay the mariners, and to doe all things needefull for the ship; for the pilot commeth not unto the shippe, untill the visitours come to visite the same, to see whether he hath all things necessary for the voyage.

Foure Visitours.

The visitours are foure men which are appoynted by the king, and these are men of great understanding: and they come to visite the shippes before they take in their lading, to see whether they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ships bee laden, they returne againe to visite them the second time, to see whether they have all things necessary, according to the orders of the Contractation house: and whether they have all their mariners, victuals, pouder, shot, and ordinance, and all other things necessary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them upon grievous penalties, to provide the same before they set out of the haven.

The orders of the Contractation house.
[III. 868.]

The ships that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to have with them a Notarie, whose charge is to keepe a note of remembrance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ship, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliver the commodities in the ship to their particular owners, after they have finished their voyage, and he serveth likewise to make willes, and other instruments, which are wont to be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall sicke. And his wages in eche voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The first barke of Aviso.

The second barke of Aviso.

The Generall of the fleetes useth continually, after hee is arrived in the Indies, to send into Spaine a barke of Aviso, to advertise the king of the state of his arrivall; And after the fleetes be ready to come home, he dispatcheth another pinnesse of Aviso to certifie them how the fleetes are now ready to set saile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ships, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and souldiers for the wafting of the rest of the fleete, and these are payd out of the marchandize which come in the fleete, after the rate of one in the hundred, and sometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

There is in the Contractation house of Sivil a table which serveth for an Aranzel, or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are embarqued for the Indies, are set downe.

A table of rates, &c. set up in the Contractation house.

BY this table a man may know how many Botijas or jarres make a tunne of wine, or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many chests make a tunne.

And all marchandize have their rates set downe, to pay the king his customes and the Master his due fraight.

A.D. 1586.

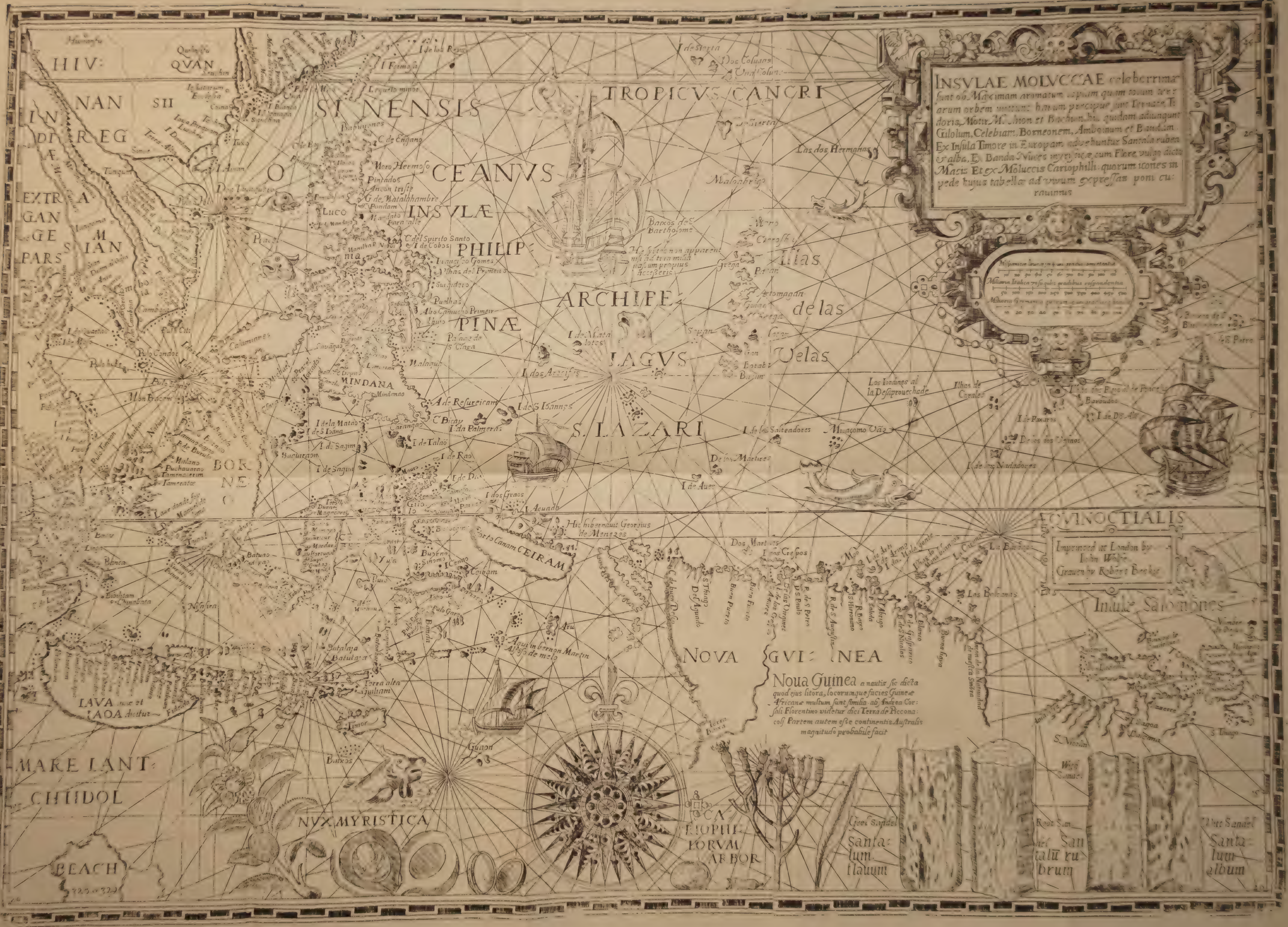
And therein is set up in writing that no Master may carry any passenger to the Indies, without licence, especially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergyman, nor any body else without licence of the king: nor any strangers not borne in the kingdomes of Spaine.

Moreover, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foresaid orders, under paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the same registred; under paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Master nor Pilot may carry any Chart, nor Astrolabe, nor Crosse-staffe, nor regiment, without they bee signed and sealed by the Pilot major Alonzo de Chiavez, and the Cosmographer the kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreover, that going in company with the fleete, they doe and obey all such things, as their Generall shall command them, under paine of death.

Written by me Pedro Dias borne in the Isle of Palma one of the Canaries, upon the request and gratification of M. Richard Hakluyt, in February 1586.


INSULAE MOLUCCAE celeberrimæ sunt ob Maximam aromatum copiam quam totum terrarum orbem mittunt harum precipue sunt Ternate, Tidoris, Motir, Machion et Bachian, his quidam adiungunt Gilolum, Celebiam, Borneonem, Amboinum et Bandam. Ex Insula Timore in Europam aduehuntur Santala rubea & alba, Ex Banda Nuces myristicæ, cum Flore vulgo dicto Macis Et ex Moluccis Cariophilli: quorum icones in pede hujus tabellæ ad vivum expressas poni curavimus
Imprinted at London by John Wolfe.
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TROPICUS CANCRI
AEQUINOCTIALIS
SINENSIS
OCEANUS
INSULÆ PHILIPPINÆ
ARCHIPELAGUS S. LAZARI
Ilhas de las Velas
HIV: NAN
QUAN
IN REG
EXTRA GANGEM PARS
MINDANA
BORNEO
CEIRAM
Insulæ Salomones
NOVA GUINEA
Noua Guinea a nautis sic dicta quod ejus litora, locorumque facies Guineæ Africanæ multum sunt similia. ab Andrea Corsali Florentino videtur dici Terra de Piccinacoli Partem autem esse continentis Australis magnitudo probabile facit
Hic hibernauit Georgius de Menezes
IAVA maior et IAOA dicitur
Timor
MARE LANTCHIDOL
BEACH
NUX MYRISTICA
CARIOPHILLORUM ARBOR
Geel Sandel
Santalum flauum
Root Sandel
Santalu rubrum
Witt Sandel
Santalum album

MAP OF THE MOLUCCAS, OR SPICE ISLANDS

The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century

By Walter Raleigh

I

The Epic of the Voyages.

'THE great prose epic of the modern English nation' is itself but an incident or episode in a greater and wider world-drama. The discovery and settlement of America by the western peoples of Europe is the last act in a play which began in the cradle of the Aryans and which unrolls its vast theme leisurely, observing none of the unities. In this historical pageant the hero is often changed; one nation after another presses to the front and draws to itself the eyes of all spectators; one after another falls from its pre-eminence and yields its place to a new-comer. For many ages the light which permits us to follow the fortunes of humanity is focussed on the Mediterranean; we witness the struggle of conflicting civilisations, the rise and fall of the monarchies of the East, the passionate and lyrical intrusion of the Greek on the slowly unfolding plot, the rivalry of Roman and Phœnician, and the grouping of the actors under the spell of Rome in a towering world-polity. But the group falls asunder almost before it is completed; the interest of the action shifts from the centre of the stage, and a new purpose declares itself. There is confused fighting of Saracen with Christian, the decorum of place and time is no longer observed, alarums and excursions and the breathless tales of messengers disturb the even development of the story, until, as on the stage which vexed the soul of Sir Philip Sidney, 'you shall have Asia of the one side, and Affrick of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the Player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is; or else the tale will not be conceived.' When the Island race makes its late appearance among the heroes of this romantic drama, the tale it has to tell is the diffused and exciting tale embodied in these *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, compiled by Richard Hakluyt.

The Quest of the Far East.

Like the drama to which it belongs, the compilation of Hakluyt has seemed to some critics to be lacking in form and unity. Here are voyages and travels to all parts of the world, prosecuted through many ages, undertaken by all kinds of adventurers, and animated by the most divers purposes. Men have travelled, as they have lived, for religion, for wealth, for knowledge, for pleasure, for power and the overthrow of rivals. Yet no very profound acquaintance with Hakluyt's book is needed to discern, as he clearly discerned, the single thread of interest running through all these pilgrimages. The discovery of the new Western World followed, as an incidental consequence, from the long struggle of the nations of Europe for commercial supremacy and the control of the traffic with the East. In all the dreams of the politicians and merchants, sailors and geographers, who pushed back the limits of the unknown world, there is the same glitter of gold and precious stones, the same odour of far-fetched spices. While the main trade routes to the East still lay overland, the maritime states of Italy, Genoa and Venice, held the keys of that traffic. By their rivalry navigation was improved; the mariner's compass came into general use early in the Fifteenth Century; and although the power of Genoa was broken by the surrender of her fleet at Chiozza in 1380, her ancient enemy was not left for long in undisputed possession. Beyond the gates of the Mediterranean a new rival arose; and during the whole of the Fifteenth Century, the Portuguese, having learned their craft from the Italians, were steadily creeping down the western coast of Africa, rounding capes, discovering islands, making maps and charts, always with the same hope of finding a new and safer passage to the markets of the East. In the year 1410 Prince Henry the Navigator, a younger son of King John I of Portugal, began his systematic explorations. His aims and methods were those which, in a later age, Hakluyt constantly recommended to the government of England. He established a naval college, and called to his service the best science of the time. In 1419 Madeira was discovered. In 1439 Cape Bojador was rounded, and, seven years later, Cape de Verde. In 1448 settlements were established on the Azores or Hawk Islands. So, step by step, advance was made, until, in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1498, five and a half years after the first voyage of Columbus, Vasco de Gama crossed the Indian Ocean and cast anchor on the coast of Malabar. Thus the way was opened by sea to China and Japan, and the Portuguese, by their own labours, and by the

Venice and Genoa.

Portugal.

Portuguese Voyagers

Papal Bull of Pope Martin V, granted in 1444, came into possession of all the lands they had visited, as far as the Indies.

Spain.

To a Spaniard of the later Fifteenth Century the politics of Europe must have worn something the same aspect that they wore for an Englishman of the Sixteenth. The world had been divided among rival claimants, and his country had been left portionless. But it was not by the genius of a Spaniard that the balance was redressed. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, who had passed his youth in the commerce and wars of the Mediterranean, settled in Lisbon about 1470, married the daughter of one of Prince Henry's men, and devoted himself to map-making and the study of navigation, diversified by occasional cruises to the coast of Guinea. At Lisbon, which was the headquarters of the best and latest school of navigation, he was kept in touch with the progress of Portuguese discovery, and must have learned all there was to know concerning the difficulties and dangers of the circumnavigation of Africa, and the hopes that inspired the Portuguese in their unceasing efforts. He was a dreamer, a grave and pious man, of a simple mind, and great tenacity of imagination. To him there came the idea that Cathay, the ultimate goal of all Eastern travel, and Cipangu, 'the richest island in the world for gold and spices,' might best be reached by striking directly across the trackless Atlantic. Memories of his reading, whether in boyhood at the University of Pavia, or in the hours of study stolen from an active life, confirmed him, by the opinions of the Ancients, and the mistakes of mediaeval geographers, in his belief that the width of the Atlantic

The Scheme of Columbus.

was easily passable, and that on the other side, over against the coast of Spain, lay the fabled riches of China and Japan. He planned his voyage to America because he believed that no such country existed; and he died without being undeceived.

Offered to Portugal.

The story of Columbus has been told a hundred times, and need not be repeated at length. His overtures to King John II of Portugal came to nothing, from causes readily intelligible and eternally operative in the affairs of this world. A great man's ideas are too broad and simple to be understood by the trained official mind. The King referred the proposal of Columbus to a council of bishops, astronomers, and learned persons. The fame of the Portuguese school of navigation stood high; the exploration of the coast of Africa and the use of the astrolabe at sea were among its most recent achievements; and the school-bred geographers and professors of navigation were in no mind to listen patiently to the projects of a private visionary. Nevertheless the confidence and enthusiasm of Columbus made an impression on some of his judges, and, at the instigation of the bishop of Ceuta, a caravel was surreptitiously equipped and despatched to attempt the adventure. The seamen lost heart; the attempt failed; and when this piece of sharp practice came to the knowledge of Columbus he left Portugal, in 1484, to offer his services elsewhere. For years his scheme went a-begging. It was during this time, in 1488, that he sent his brother Bartholomew into England with an offer to King Henry VII. Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates, and was long delayed in his journey, so that when at last he returned to Spain to notify King Henry's joyful accept-

And to England.

ance of the offer, he was too late; the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella had already been obtained, and Columbus had set sail for the West. The pirates, in the pursuit of their calling, were 'the occasion,' as Hakluyt has it, 'why the West Indies were not discovered for England.' The time of England was not yet come.

The shipmen of England.

A striking contrast might be drawn between the two nations, Spain, which gained the whole credit and profit of the enterprise of Columbus, and England, which so narrowly missed it. A hundred years later, in the defeat of the Great Armada, the contrast was to be pointed, but already it was apparent. 'The English sailors,' wrote Ferdinand's ambassador at the Court of King Henry VII, 'are generally savages.' They were unchanged since the days of Chaucer, and picked up a living, without loss of temper, from a precarious coasting trade and adventures not easily distinguishable from piracy. The character of the English sailor is the most inalterable and valuable of national assets; while the British Constitution has moved from precedent to precedent, he has remained the same. His life is a hard one, but he takes it as it comes. He is untouched by the formal punctilios of the cavalier and the cankered scruples of the puritan. He is careless of the graces and ornaments of life. Though he has a warm heart, he is no humanitarian. Danger is his daily companion, and he has learned the lesson of Sir Edward Howard, that a seaman is useless unless he is resolute to the degree of madness. Above all, he is alert and serious in what concerns his craft. Of all professions, the sailor is habituated to subordinate himself most completely to the necessities of the work to be done. We know little of the English sailors of the time of King Henry VII. But we know them at an earlier time, and we shall meet them again later, in the day of their triumph.

The cavaliers of Spain.

When Columbus arrived at Cordova, in 1486, to lay his propositions before the allied monarchs of Castile and Arragon, he found there a Court and a nation little disposed to pay attention to nautical adventure. The campaign against the Moors for the conquest of Granada was being inaugurated with all the pomp and splendour of mediaeval chivalry. Decadent feudalism, trained in the stately formalities of Courts and the subtleties of Catholic theology, was to have the task of conquering and settling the West Indies. But the hidalgos and cavaliers who thronged with their retinues to the camp at Cordova had no foreboding of their destiny. Many of them were to be lost at sea, or to die miserably in remote islands, at the bidding of the poor man in simple apparel who was unable to gain a hearing from them. In the meantime Spain, with the infidel at her gates, cared little for the sea. The marvel is not that Columbus crossed the Atlantic, but that by his resolute importunity he secured the help of the Court of Spain. His scheme was little understood; but in Spain religion is understood, and, by long cherishing, his belief in his mission had acquired the intensity and the elevation of a creed. It was this which won him the friendship of Friar Juan Perez, at the convent of La Rabida, and it was this which, in the end, secured for him the whole-hearted sympathy and support of Isabella of Castile. In October, 1492, he landed at San Salvador in the Bahama Islands.

By the conquest and settlement of Cuba and the West

Indies Spain entered on her career as a candidate for the dominion of the world. *The Bull of Partition.* To avoid an internecine struggle between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI, who was a Spaniard by birth, issued, in 1493, his famous Bull, whereby the world was divided by a line running from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and all newly discovered lands to east and west of this line assigned in absolute possession to the crowns of Portugal and Castile respectively. For the next half-century both Spain and Portugal were busy in consolidating and extending their domains, little disturbed by newer competitors.

But the tale of the nations was not yet complete. Venice, Genoa, Portugal and Spain were to be followed by France and England in the race for the Far East. *Italian Navigators.* Each of these latter countries, like Spain, owed its earliest impulse to the genius of an Italian navigator. One land sent forth the masters of the Old World and the discoverers of the New; though they were never to enter into their inheritance, they saw it with their eyes; and the beginnings of modern science, art, and civilisation are the debt of the world to Italy. *John Cabot.* In 1497, John Cabot, a citizen of Venice who had settled as a trader at Bristol, having obtained letters patent from King Henry VII, sailed with two ships out of Bristol and discovered the coast of Labrador. As his was the first expedition to reach the mainland of America, which Columbus never set eyes on till a year later, much has been made in controversy of the priority of the English claim. But indeed in these timid beginnings nothing was further from the purpose of England than to enter on a contest with other powers for the possession of America. The success of

Columbus had set the court of King Henry aflame with the promise that it offered of a direct route to Cathay, 'insomuch that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to sail by the West into the East, where the spices grow, by a way that was never known before.' Shortly after this it was ascertained that beyond America there lay a halcyon sea, yielding direct access to the promised land. In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, from a height above his colony at Darien, saw the Pacific Ocean; and in 1520 the Portuguese navigator, Magellan, rounded South America through the straits that bear his name, and sailed across the Pacific to the Philippines, where he met his death.

The Pacific discovered.

From this time forward, for many years, the aim of European navigators was not to explore or settle America, rather to discover a passage whereby America might be avoided, and a way opened to the lands beyond. But the progress of investigation revealed no break in that great barrier. The French voyagers, who, like the English, followed the lead of a native of Italy, were long buoyed up by the hope of finding a better route than the Straits of Magellan, which were far south, dangerous to navigate, and, moreover, were in the possession of Spain. In 1523, Giovanni Verazzano, a Florentine in the service of King Francis I, explored the coast of what is now the United States, from Georgia northward, and of great part of Canada. He was followed by the brothers Parmentier; by Jacques Cartier, who in 1535 sailed up the St. Lawrence and discovered and named Montreal; by the Sieur de Roberval; and many others. To the earliest voyagers, as in the earliest

The French Voyagers.

The barrier continent.

maps, America was known as a chain of islands, and there was something inherently incredible in the idea of a great continent stretching North and South over the tropical and temperate zones. When that idea was accepted, there remained a last hope, the discovery of a passage through one of the innumerable inlets of the North, whereby the nations situated in colder seas than those of Spain might redeem their disadvantages, and claim a share in the spoils of the world. It is at this point that the story of the English Voyages begins.

Cathay.

The actions that move the world have been prompted and inspired by dreams and visions. The search for the philosopher's stone laid the foundations of modern chemistry; modern travel and geography owe their chief advances to the search for the fabled realm of Cathay. Traditions and fantasies concerning the Golden Age and the Earthly Paradise are interwoven with all the practical designs of the early navigators. The poets of the ancient world are the true fathers of later science. So early as the sixth century the monk Cosmas, in his *Universal Christian Topography*, states the object of many a later quest. 'If Paradise,' he says, 'were really on the surface of this world, is there not many a man among those who are so keen to learn and search out everything, that would not let himself be deterred from reaching it? When we see that there are men who will not be deterred from penetrating to the ends of the earth in search of silk, and all for the sake of filthy lucre, how can we believe that they would be deterred from going to get a sight of Paradise?' All through the Middle Ages the dream held sway, and Paradise was sought in the East. Columbus, seeking it by another route, believed

The Earthly Paradise.

that he was near it when, on his third voyage, he came to the mouths of the Orinoco, and found a mild climate, green hills, fresh foliage, and a people light in colour and graceful in form. The earth, he explains, is probably not spherical, but elongated like a pear, and on the summit of the protuberance is situated the Earthly Paradise, 'whither no one can go but by God's permission.' 'I think also,' he goes on, 'that the water I have described may proceed from it, though it be far off, and that stopping at the place I have just left, it forms this lake. There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise, for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned; and moreover, the other evidences agree with the supposition, for I have never either read or heard of fresh water coming in so large a quantity, in close conjunction with the water of the sea; the idea is also corroborated by the blandness of the temperature; and if the water of which I speak, does not proceed from the Earthly Paradise, it appears to be still more marvellous, for I do not believe that there is any river in the world so large or so deep.' Whether approached by the East or by the West, this Earthly Paradise was to be sought, all were agreed, in the neighbourhood of Cathay.

Columbus on shape of the Earth.

This great kingdom of the East had long been dimly known as an object of curiosity and wonder. By the revival of Christianity at the time of St. Francis and St. Dominic a great impulse was given to missionary travel, and the marvellous tales brought back by wandering friars took a firm hold on the imagination of Europe. Rubruquis, a Flemish Franciscan, who, about the middle

Franciscan Missionaries.

of the thirteenth century, was sent by St. Louis on a mission to the Tartar chiefs, brought back the report that 'there is a certain province on the other side of Cathay, and whatever a man's age be when he enters that province he never gets any older.' The friar is careful to add that he does not believe a word of this report, but it found credence from others, and so late as 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon, an old Spanish cavalier, *The Fountain of Youth.* Governor of Puerto Rico, landed in Florida while he was cruising in search of a country alleged to contain a miraculous Fountain of Youth. Besides Rubruquis there were other friars whose accounts of the East were well known to later explorers. John of Plano Carpini in the Thirteenth Century was followed later by John of Monte Corvino, who passed many years of his life at the Court of the Grand Khan of Cathay, founded a flourishing Christian community, built a church, and was made Archbishop of Cambalu, or Pekin. Odoric of Pordenone was, like these, a Franciscan; his residence at Pekin belongs to the early part of the Fourteenth Century. The reports brought by these travellers of the survival of some remnants of Nestorian Christianity in the East lent colour to the legend of Prester John, the mythical Christian potentate, who continued to be an object of research down to the time of the Portuguese voyages. The greatest of all mediaeval *Marco Polo.* travellers, Marco Polo, who spent a quarter of a century, from 1271 to 1295, in the East, was a Venetian of a noble merchant family, and did more perhaps than any other writer to excite interest in the glories of Cathay. The accounts given by Marco Polo and Odoric, long believed to be adorned and heightened by fables, have come to be recognised as veracious and exact narratives, erring here and there only from natural misconceptions. Their descriptions of the Great Khan's Court, of the magnificence of his retinue, and the resources and extent of his Empire, might well excite Western curiosity and stimulate the efforts of voyagers. It was not without reason that Hakluyt included in his compilation the stories of some of these Eastern travellers; without them his epic would lack its true beginning. The travels of Marco Polo were too well known to be inserted, but they are essential to the completeness of the book.

Khubla Khan.

The quest of Cathay, then, is the main theme of this long poem of adventure; it is the purpose and soul of centuries of travel. But the theme is diversified with episodes and digressions and underplots. The singleness of an enterprise is not necessarily reflected in the minds and hearts of all who take part in it. Men who left their homes, and sailed to an unknown world, were influenced by the most diverse motives, political or religious, commercial or scientific. In not a few cases the 'good unsought discoveries' made by the way caused the original purpose to be forgotten. The Letters of Columbus, at the outset of the history, foreshadow some later developments. Columbus himself was full of zeal for the spread of Christianity, and the increase of knowledge. But it was necessary to show that his expedition would pay its promoters in temporal coin. 'I gave to the subject,' he says in the account of his Third Voyage, 'six or seven years of great anxiety, explaining, to the best of my ability, how great service might be done to our Lord, by this undertaking,

The aims of Columbus.

in promulgating His sacred name and our holy faith among so many nations;—an enterprise so exalted in itself, and so calculated to enhance the glory and immortalize the renown of the greatest sovereigns. It was also requisite to refer to the temporal prosperity, which was foretold in the writings of so many trustworthy and wise historians, who related that great riches were to be found in those parts. And at the same time I thought it desirable to bring to bear upon the subject, the sayings and opinions of those who have written upon the geography of the world. And finally, your Highnesses came to the determination that the undertaking should be entered upon.' To add a whole realm to Christendom was in the opinion of Columbus a sufficient object and reward. The people of the West Indian islands, he says, 'all clearly understand each other's speech, a circumstance very propitious for the realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene King, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ.' And again,—'Let the King and Queen, our Princes and their most happy Kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made, and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us also rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain, but all Christendom will be partakers.'

The spread of Christianity.

To reinforce this magnanimous and generous motive Columbus quotes instances 'of what great princes throughout the world have done to increase their fame: as, for example, Solomon, who sent from Jerusalem to the uttermost parts of the East, to see Mount Sopora, in which expedition his ships were detained three years; and which mountain your Highnesses now possess in the island of Hispaniola; . . . Alexander, who sent to observe the mode of Government in the island of Taprobana, in India; and Cæsar Nero, to explore the sources of the Nile, and to learn the causes of its increase in the Spring, when water is needed; and many other mighty deeds which princes have done, and which it is allotted to princes to achieve.' Lastly, there is 'the recent noble example of the Kings of Portugal, who have had the courage to explore as far as Guinea, and to make the discovery of it, expending so much gold and so many lives in the undertaking, that a calculation of the population of the kingdom would show that one half of them have died in Guinea; and though it is now a long time since they commenced these great exertions, the return for their labour and expense has hitherto been but trifling; this people has also dared to make conquests in Africa, and to carry on their exploits to Ceuta, Tangier, Algiers, and Alcazar, repeatedly giving battle to the Moors; and all this at great expense; simply because it was an exploit worthy of a prince, undertaken for the service of God, and to advance the enlargement of His Kingdom.' In consonance with these aims, the behaviour of Columbus to the natives of Hispaniola was ordered by the loftiest code of a Spanish gentleman. 'I gave,' he says, 'to

The increase of Knowledge.

The example of Portugal.

Columbus and the Indians.

all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return: but they are naturally timid and fearful. *Indian virtues.* As soon however as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves; they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I however forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys, and leather straps) should be given to them, although if they could obtain them, they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. . . . They bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles and jars; which I forbade, as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes, and all Spaniards.' *The fate of Hispaniola.* With this fair dawn of mutual courtesy, sincerity, and the traffic of honourable men, began a day of pillage and cruelty and devastation such as the world has seldom seen. Twelve years after the first landing of Columbus the five great tribes of Hispaniola were all but exterminated. Many of the Indians perished by the sword, many under the lash of the

Spanish task-master; others died of hunger in the mountains, or took their own and their children's lives, to escape from the cruelty of Spain. The successive names of the island—Hispaniola, San Domingo, Hayti—embody its miserable history. The generous and gentle designs of Queen Isabella gave way to a persecution worthy of the fierce St. Dominic, and when the Indians were dead, 'by sundry kinds of death,' the island was peopled with imported negroes, under whose government at last it fell. In the full Nineteenth Century, the gold-laced officials of the Black Republic have been known to retire by night to the mountains, to celebrate their magic rites, attended by human sacrifice.

The search for gold.

Presages and omens of this tragedy are to be found even in the Letters of Columbus. There are oft-repeated mentions of gold. 'You will say to their Highnesses,' he writes to Antonio de Torres, 'that I should have ardently desired to send them a larger quantity of gold, . . . but that the greater part of the people we employed fell suddenly ill.' Again,—'I think it will be impossible to go this year to make discoveries until arrangements have been made to work the two rivers, in which the gold has been found, in the most profitable manner for their Highnesses' interest.' Again,—'We hope, with the aid of God and with the washers that we have here with us, when they shall be restored to health, to send a good quantity of gold by the first caravels that shall leave for Spain.' And later,—'Though we have not sent home ships laden with gold, we have, nevertheless, sent satisfactory samples, both of gold and of other valuable commodities, by which it may be judged that in a short time large profit may be

Providence and the gold-washers.

derived.' The pressure put on him to get gold, no matter how, was unremitting. 'With respect to the gold,' he writes again, 'which belongs to Quibian, the cacique of Veragua, and other chiefs in the neighbouring country, although it appears by the accounts we have received of it to be very abundant, I do not think it would be well or desirable, on the part of your Highnesses, to take possession of it in the way of plunder: by fair dealing, scandal and disrepute will be avoided, and all the gold will thus reach your Highnesses' treasury without the loss of a grain.' In the same letter, written in 1503, he complains of the class of adventurers whom gold allures, and who make the voyage only for plunder. Yet Columbus, though he was disgusted by the self-interest and narrow outlook of these gold-seekers, did not fail to appreciate the significance and importance of a store of gold. 'Gold,' he says, 'is the most precious of all commodities; gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of paradise.' His opinion, so far as it concerns this world, was to be echoed later by many a patriotic Englishman who urged that the strength of the King of Spain lay in his treasure, and that he could be most effectively attacked in the New World.

The importance of gold.

The complex significance of the Voyages.

So, as the drama proceeds, the plot thickens. He who would make an epic of it must follow a single strand of the twisted yarn. But this is work for the poet rather than the historian. The late Mr. Froude, with a poet's instinct for unity, chose to regard the whole story of the English Voyages as an aspect of the Protestant Reformation. Many other equally promising aspects invite a similar treatment. The fascination and the power of gold; the doom of the races of America, met by them with a tragic simplicity; the pathos of Christian missions; the romance of map-making; or the tardy growth, when all else had failed, of the idea of colonisation; these and many other things may be severally disentangled from the complicated web of history, and trusted as a clue. History, which takes for its hero that many-sided creature, man, must reckon with all of these, and exhibit a stage where pirates, buccaneers, and slave-traders rub shoulders with saints and seers, where martyrs to science and religion are associated with politicians and misers; and where, to complete the disorder, most of the actors play many parts. It is permissible, at least, to simplify the problem by concentrating attention on the fortunes of a single nation. The history of the English Voyages is the most important chapter in the history of the English nation, and the preface to the history of the British Empire.

The drama of History.

During the half-century after the voyage of John Cabot, a period more than covered by the long life of his son, Sebastian Cabot, English exploration made but little progress. There were sundry expeditions, fitted out at Bristol, to the New-found-land, and some worthless commodities, as well as three natives of the island, were brought back and displayed to King Henry VII. The first of these voyages was undertaken by Sebastian Cabot, after the death of his father, in 1498; he failed to penetrate the North, and coasted America southward to Florida. But this southern tendency, which might bring England into conflict with Spain, was not encouraged by the King; and when Henry VIII succeeded to the

The beginnings of English voyaging to the West.

throne, Sebastian Cabot was relegated to the safer employ of making charts of the coast of France. In 1512 he went to Spain, and for the next thirty-six years, with one brief interval after the death of Ferdinand, he was in the service of the Spanish government. On the accession of Edward VI he returned to England, at a time when a fresh impulse was given to English navigation. But in the meantime the dominion of the New World had been strengthened in foreign hands. While Mexico and Peru were being added to the dominion of Spain, the voyages made by the English, under King Henry VIII, were few and profitless. In 1517 Sir Thomas Pert, assisted by Cabot, attempted the North West passage, without success. In 1527 a nameless canon of St. Paul's in London, who was 'a great mathematician, and a man endowed with wealth,' fitted out two ships for Labrador, where one of them was lost. In 1536 Master Hore, a learned lawyer, took a company of a hundred to the same coast, whence, their stores being exhausted, they returned in a stolen French ship. It was to speak with the only surviving witness of this voyage, one Master Thomas Buts, that Hakluyt, at a much later date, travelled two hundred miles on horseback. But the most important document of this early period is 'the Book made by the right worshipful Master Robert Thorne,' in the year 1527, where the true policy of England is outlined and discussed at length. Thorne, who was a native of Bristol and a friend of the Cabots, dwelt long in Seville, and his writings show traces of the later sententious courtly style which Guevara brought to perfection. In 1513 he exhorted King Henry to take the business of discovery in hand; fourteen years

The progress of Spain.

Thorne's Treatise on the Northern passage.

later, at the request of the English ambassador, he expounded his ideas at length. The world, he says, has been divided between the Kings of Spain and of Portugal, and he gives an account of the contested ownership of the Philippines, which he takes to be the richest prize of all. For 'the preciousness of these things is measured after the distance that is between us and the things that we have appetite unto'; moreover, the inhabitants of these spice islands 'set more by a knife and a nail of iron than by his quantity of gold.' But the way to these islands is barred to us. The Spaniards hold the westward route, by the Straits of Magellan; the Portuguese the eastward, by the Cape of Good Hope. The English have left to them but one way to discover, and that is by the North. If the seas toward the North be navigable, we may go to these spice islands a shorter way by two thousand leagues than Spain and Portugal, who have each of them more than four thousand leagues to traverse. 'And,' says Master Thorne, anticipating an objection which, forty years later, became a burning question of practical politics, 'though we went not to the said islands, for that they are the Emperor's, or King's of Portingale, we should by the way, and coming once to the line equinoctial, find lands no less rich of gold and spicery, as all other lands are under the said line equinoctial; and also should, if we may pass under the North, enjoy the navigation of all Tartary, which should be no less profitable to our commodities of cloth, than these spiceries to the Emperor and King of Portingale.' But the Northern seas, it may be objected, are blocked with ice; and the Northern lands are too cold for man to dwell in. To which

The way to the Spice Islands.

Perils of the North.

objection Master Thorne replies in a single sentence, fit to be inscribed as a head-line on the charter of Britannia—*There is no land unhabitable, nor sea innavigable.*

The North East Voyages.

It was in this belief, and in this heroic temper, that England set herself to take possession of her heritage, the North. The adventures to the North West had been but poorly rewarded; and for a time attention was turned to the possibility of reaching Cathay by way of the North East. At the close of the reign of Edward VI a Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed 'for the discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown'; Sebastian Cabot, now in advanced old age, was made its governor; and in May, 1553, three ships, under the leadership of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancelor, were despatched for the Northern coasts of Asia. They carried with them letters from King Edward VI, written in Latin, and opportunely addressed 'to all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governors of the Earth, and all other having any excellent dignity on the same, in all places under the universal heaven.' Willoughby and Chancelor were separated by a storm, and Willoughby, after reaching Nova Zembla, put back and landed with his two ships' companies on the coast of Lapland. Here they wintered, and here they all died of cold and hunger. Chancelor, with his single ship, had better fortune. He too was obliged to turn back, but he established friendly relations with the fisher folk in the neighbourhood of the White Sea, and, when news of the visit of strangers reached the Emperor of Russia, he was invited with all his company to the Court at Moscow. His account of the

Richard Chancelor.

Kingdom of Muscovy led the Merchant Adventurers to concentrate their efforts on developing trade with Russia, and gave a motive to further voyaging. Chancelor himself was cast away and drowned on the coast of Scotland in 1556, as he was bringing the first Russian ambassador to the Court of England, but his work went on. Stephen Burrough, who had served under him, in the same year explored the coast of Nova Zembla; and Anthony Jenkinson, in 1558, went as far as Bokhara to seek for an overland route to Cathay. The last of the North Eastern voyages was undertaken by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman in the year 1580. They sailed as far as the Sea of Kara, but the ice and fogs were too much for them; Jackman never reached home, and the failure of the expedition cast grave doubts on the possibility of reaching Cathay by the North East. By this time, moreover, Frobisher's voyages to the North West had awakened hopes of gold to be found in that inhospitable region; and Hawkins and Drake, by their exploits in the Spanish Indies, had begun a new era in English navigation, and given a new direction to English policy. In the excitement of these later developments the North East passage was forgotten.

Trade with Russia.

When the North West attempt, after a lapse of many years, was again taken up, it led to far-reaching consequences. The only incidental gain of the North Eastern voyages was the establishment of trading relations with Russia. There was no word of treasure to be found on the frozen Siberian coast, no prospect of settlement there, and the voyagers came into conflict with no rival nations. The search for gold, the beginnings of colonisation, and the gradual entanglement of England in a death-struggle with Spain are developments intimately connected with the voyages to the North West. Many of the seamen,

The North West Voyages.

> 'Feared by their breed and famous by their birth,'

who were to be the terror of the Spaniards upon the high seas, had their hard training in this forlorn hope. When England found herself baffled in her efforts to escape from her ring-fence by way of the North, she struck Southwards; timidly at first, then, surprised and elated by her own success, with ever increasing vigour, until, after a few years, the small barks that cruised to Greenland and Labrador gave way to armed fleets, prepared to assert a right of way and a right of conquest in all the seven seas.

The suddenness and rapidity of this development might well surprise the world. The English naval power, like the English drama, seemed to be the growth of a single night. In either case, hidden causes had been at work; the power that startled Europe had long been nurtured in the quiet. Yet these causes are so obscure, and seem so inadequate, that it is difficult to put off the language of miracle. Fuller frankly invokes a special Providence. 'Observe, by the way,' he says, in narrating the death of Captain Edward Fenton, in 1603, some days after Queen Elizabeth's, 'how God set up a generation of military men, both by sea and land, which began and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like a suit of clothes made for her, and worn out with her; for Providence designing a peaceable prince to succeed her (in whose time martial men would be rendered useless), so ordered the matter, that

Queen Elizabeth's men.

they all almost attended their mistress before or after, within some short distance, unto her grave.' However this may be, no language is extravagant to praise the deeds of the greatest generation of Englishmen, the generation of Drake and Raleigh, of Bacon and Hooker, of Shakespeare and Marlowe. If the names of Queen Elizabeth's men, the men born in the early part of her reign, or just before it, were struck off the roll of fame, England would be robbed of half her glory.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

It was one of the eldest-born of these, Humphrey Gilbert, the son of a Devon gentleman, who revived the North West project. He had been trained, during the years of peace, in that school of war, government, and adventure which gave Elizabeth the best of her servants. Under Sir Henry Sidney, in Ireland, he had spent years of warfare with the rebels, and for his achievements there was knighted. Thence he had passed to the Low Countries, where he headed a band of volunteers to give help to the people of the Netherlands in their struggle with Alva and the power of Spain. In these rough experiences of Continental war and Irish government Raleigh also was trained, and Grenville; while Hawkins and Frobisher were learning their elements in trade and piracy on the coast of Guinea. With all its evil lessons of cruelty and craft, it was a school that fostered reckless courage and self-confidence in its pupils, and gave leaders to all kinds of perilous adventure. During his periods of active service, Gilbert cherished, deep in his heart, the dream of Cathay. He plotted a North East passage with Jenkinson; and, when that scheme was thwarted, bent his studies to the West. He repeatedly importuned Queen Elizabeth for assistance;

The School for Adventure.

and in a period of enforced idleness, about 1574, he wrote the *Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-west to Cathaia and the East Indies*; which was published in 1576, and begat the voyages of Frobisher and Davis.

Gilbert's Discourse on the North West passage.

Gilbert's argument is so full and reasonable, so fair in its treatment of objections, and so strong in its appeal to tradition and authority, that it is no wonder if many were convinced by it. America, he says, is an island, and was known by report to Plato and the ancients, who called it Atlantis. If it be joined at its northern extremity with the continent of Asia, how comes it that no civilised man has ever found his way to America by land, and that the animals of America differ wholly from the animals of Asia? Need makes the old wife to trot, and the Scythians and Tartars would have found their way there, if any way had been by land. The current of the sea is known to run westward from the Cape of Good Hope, and on striking America is deflected along the coast to the North. If it found no outlet there, it would run eastward again to the coast of Europe, which it does not do; therefore there is a fair and broad waterway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, somewhere between the 62nd and the 72nd parallels of latitude. But if a passage had existed, it may be said, it would have been discovered long ago by the navigators of Spain and Portugal. This objection is met in triumphant fashion by Gilbert. It is against the interest of these nations that a passage should be found; and he repeats a tale of Ulloa, that the King of Portugal gave the Emperor Charles V three hundred and fifty thousand crowns to leave the discovery unattempted. 'It is to be thought,' he adds, 'that the King of Portugal would not have given to the Emperor

The cunning ignorance of Spain.

such sums of money for eggs in moonshine.' The pilots of these nations are now forbidden, on pain of death, to explore to the North West, lest they 'should beat the bush, and other men catch the birds.' The enterprise is reserved for the English, who have most to gain by it. And Gilbert concludes with a declaration of the antique Roman faith which inspired his life—'He is not worthy to live at all, that for fear or danger of death shunneth his Country's service and his own honour; seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal.'

Gilbert's creed.

The three Voyages of Martin Frobisher.

The influence of Gilbert's *Discourse* was seen immediately in the voyages of Frobisher and Davis. After a vain attempt to stir up the Muscovy Company (as the Merchant Adventurers were now called) to Western enterprise, Queen Elizabeth granted, in 1575, a licence to Martin Frobisher; the Court and the City stood in with the adventure, which was largely financed and controlled by Michael Lock, a London merchant of scientific tastes; and in 1576, with two small barks of twenty-five tons and a pinnace, Frobisher set sail. The pinnace was wrecked, and the barks separated, but Frobisher in the *Gabriel* reached Meta Incognita, or Cumberland's Island, made acquaintance with the Esquimaux, and partly explored the inlet to which he gave its optimistic name of Frobisher's Straits. The expedition was without substantial results in discovery or profit, and but for an accident, would hardly have been repeated. One of the company chanced to pick up and bring home a piece of shining black stone, which the assayers of London tested and pronounced to be rich in gold. So Frobisher was despatched again next year, his small fleet reinforced with a vessel of two hundred tons' burthen, lent by the

Queen. The worthless stuff he brought home did not extinguish the hopes of the promoters, and in 1578 he put out once more, this time in command of no fewer than fourteen vessels. But his success was no greater than before. His explorations were hampered by the quest for gold ore, and the outcome of his three voyages was the discovery of Hudson's Straits, much recrimination among the undertakers, and no gold. A fourth expedition was planned, but when at last it was ready for sea, the command was given to Captain Fenton, and its purpose changed to piracy in the South Seas. The return of Drake in 1580, treasure-laden from his voyage round the world, had cast a pallor upon Northern enterprise.

The three Voyages of John Davis.

The three voyages of John Davis, in 1585 and the two following years, were the last Elizabethan effort to discover the North West passage. It is a testimony to the geographical enthusiasm of the time that these voyages were undertaken in the very years when the Spanish invasion of England was imminent. Like Frobisher, Davis found a wealthy merchant patron and support in high quarters; like Frobisher, he was crippled in his explorations by the necessities of gain. Some of his ships were told off for cod-fishing and the fur-trade, yet he explored Cumberland Sound, coasted the West of Greenland by Davis Straits, and reached Baffin's Bay. By the death of Sir Francis Walsingham in 1590 he lost his chief friend at Court, but his heart was still set on the North West, and he took service under Cavendish in the following year, induced only by the promise that he should have the loan of a vessel to search for the farther entrance to the passage, on the back parts of America. Nor did he give up hope after the tragic failure of that voyage. In the preface to *The Seaman's Secrets*, his nautical handbook of 1594, and still more earnestly and fully in *The Worldes Hydrographical Description* of 1595, he expounds the certainty of a North West passage, and the gains that its discovery would bring to England. Davis was a single-minded seaman, whose life was given to trade and exploration while others fought with Spain; and the great idea that dominated him sometimes kindles his language to an almost poetic fervour. The North Pole, he says, is the place of greatest dignity in the world; and the people who dwell near it 'have a wonderful excellency, and an exceeding prerogative above all nations of the earth.' 'How blessed may we think this nation to be: for they are in perpetual light, and never know what darkness meaneth, by the benefit of twilight and full moons, as the learned in astronomy do very well know: which people, if they have the notice of their eternity by the comfortable light of the Gospel, then are they blessed and of all nations most blessed. Why then do we neglect the search of this excellent discovery, against which there can be nothing said to hinder the same? Why do we refuse to see the dignity of God's creation, since it hath pleased his divine Majesty to place us the nearest neighbour thereunto? I know there is no true Englishman that can in conscience refuse to be a contributor to procure this so great a happiness to his country, whereby not only the Prince and mighty men of the land shall be highly renowned, but also the merchant, tradesman, and artificer mightily enriched.' His eloquence was in vain: and his later years were

His belief in the North West passage.

The dignity of the North Pole.

spent as pilot on the East India route, in the service at first of the Dutch and afterwards of the East India Company. He was killed in 1605 by the treachery of Japanese pirates, to whom the Master of his ship, the *Tiger*, had offered hospitality and courtesy while the two vessels lay alongside in the Straits of Malacca. The North Western enterprise which had been the dream of his life passed into the hands of the Dutch, who were beginning also, before the century closed, to supplant the English in the trade with Russia.

Death of Davis.

The stalwart honesty and simplicity of the character and writings of Davis give a singular charm to his name and story. He was a man after Hakluyt's own heart, a fearless explorer, a trusted leader, an ardent student and professor of the science of navigation. He yields to none in esteem and zeal for his profession. 'Sith Navigation,' he says, 'is the mean whereby countries are discovered, and community drawn between nation and nation, the word of God published to the blessed recovery of the foreign offcasts from whence it hath pleased his divine Majesty as yet to detain the brightness of his glory: and that by Navigation common-weals through mutual trade are not only sustained, but mightily enriched; with how great esteem ought the painful Seaman to be embraced, by whose hard adventures such excellent benefits are achieved, for by his exceeding great hazards the form of the Earth, the quantities of countries, the diversity of nations, and the natures of Zones, Climates, Countries, and people, are apparently made known to us; besides the great benefits mutually interchanged between nations of such fruits, commodi-

The praise of Navigation.

ties, and artificial practices wherewith God hath blessed each particular country, coast and nation according to the nature and situation of the place.' Moreover, Davis, almost alone among the English navigators of his time, believed sincerely in the mission of England to take the Gospel to the heathen. He was a student of the Bible, and quotes the prophecies of Isaiah concerning the salvation and union of the Gentiles. 'Then sith it is so appointed,' he goes on, 'that there shall be one shepherd and one flock, what hindereth us of England (being by God's mercy for the same purpose at this present most aptly prepared) not to attempt that which God himself hath appointed to be performed? There is no doubt but that we of England are this saved people, by the eternal and infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent unto these Gentiles in the sea, to those Isles and famous Kingdoms, there to preach the peace of the Lord: for are not we only set upon Mount Zion to give light to all the rest of the world? Have not we the true handmaid of the Lord to rule us unto whom the eternal majesty of God hath revealed his truth and supreme power of Excellency? By whom then shall the truth be preached, but by them unto whom the truth shall be revealed? It is only we, therefore, that must be these shining messengers of the Lord, and none but we; for, as the prophet saith, "O how beautiful are the feet of the messenger that bringeth the message from the mountain, that proclaimeth peace, that bringeth the good tidings and preacheth health, and saith to Zion, *Thy God is King*." So that hereby the spiritual benefit arising from this

The Christian mission of England.

The chosen people.

discovery,' he concludes, returning to his fixed idea, 'is most apparent; for which, if there were no other cause, we are all bound to labour with purse and mind, for the discovery of this notable passage.'

The evangelical argument.

During the reign of Elizabeth, and for many years after, this scheme for the evangelisation of the heathen had no history. It was a stock weapon in the argumentative armoury of determined explorers, many of whom allude to the religious mission of England in cursory fashion, or plead for it like sharp Christian attorneys, with none of the fire and sincerity that shine in the eloquence of Davis.[1] Hakluyt, who had the same object at heart, writing in 1584, was troubled by his inability to answer the Papist adversary. 'The Papists,' he says, 'confirm themselves, and draw others to their side, showing that they are the true Catholic Church because they have been the only converters of many millions of infidels to Christianity. Yea, I myself have been demanded of them, how many infidels have been by us converted? Whereunto, albeit I alleged the example of the ministers which were sent from Geneva with Villegagnon into Brazil, and these that went with John Ribault into Florida, as also those of our nation that went with Frobisher, Sir Francis Drake, and Fenton; yet in very deed I was not able to name any one infidel by them converted.'[2] Hakluyt was indeed

Catholic Missions.

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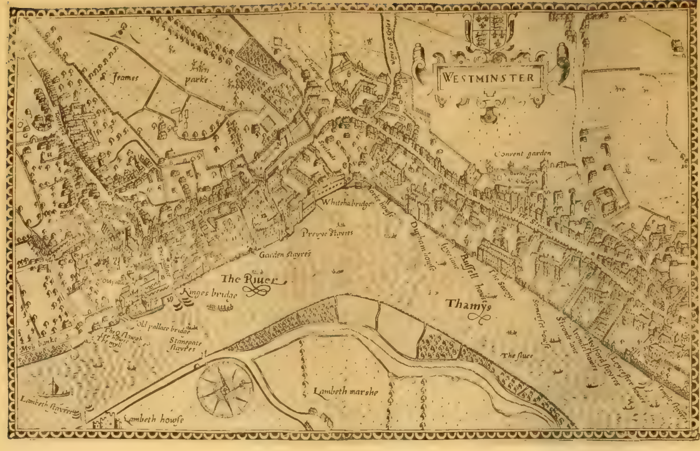
[1] The too familiar compound of avarice, self-righteousness, and hypocrisy may be tasted in Sir George Peckham's treatise of *The Western Planting* in vol. viii. of this edition of Hakluyt.

[2] From *A Discourse of Western Planting, written by M. Richard Hakluyt, 1584.* This valuable discourse was first printed, from the MS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, by the Maine Historical Society in 1877.


WESTMINSTER
S. Jeames
parke
Charinge
Waye to S. Gyles
Scotlande
Convent garden
The Stronde
Whitehabridge
Yorke howſe
Preyve ſtayres
Garden ſtayres
Durham howſe
Ivy lane
Ruſſell howſe
The Savoye
The Palace
Old pallace
Kinges bridge
The River
Thamys
Old pallace bridge
Stanegate ſtayres
Mylbanke
The myll
Somerſet howſe
Stronde lane
The ſluce
Leyceſter howſe
Temple ſtayres
Lambeth ſtayres
Lambeth howſe
Lambeth marshe

PLAN OF WESTMINSTER

English chaplains.

hard put to it to be driven to make shining messengers of Master Wolfall, who went with Frobisher's third voyage as chaplain to the hundred of the company that were to gather ore for a year on Cumberland's Island; and of Master Francis Fletcher, Drake's chaplain, whom, for his faint heart and double dealing, Drake solemnly excommunicated, causing a posy to be bound about his arm—'Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth.' On these two pillars of the cause, Thwackum and Square, English evangelical effort was fain to rest for the time; but it is to be hoped, says Hakluyt, that volunteers will soon be forthcoming. 'For those of the clergy which by reason of idleness here at home are now always coining of new opinions, having by this voyage to set themselves on work reducing the savages to the chief principles of our faith, will become less contentious, and be contented with the truth in religion already established by authority.' In a later part of the same *Discourse* Hakluyt throws a curious side-light on this question of religion. It is imperative, he says, that England should seek some new outlet for her trade, and some region where she may establish a monopoly:—'the rather to avoid the wilful perjury of such of our English nation as trade to Spain and other of King Philip's dominions.' Before being admitted to trade at any Spanish port, the English are required to make oath, on the sign of the Cross, that they adhere to the faith of the Catholic Church of Rome, and they and their companies must attend mass on Sundays and Holy days. This they do; and thus 'the covetous merchant wilfully sendeth headlong

The religion of the trader.

to hell from day to day the poor subjects of this realm. The merchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communion, and sendeth his son into Spain to hear Mass. These things are kept secret by the merchants; and such as depend upon the trade of merchandise are loth to utter the same.'

The Protestant Buccaneer.

There was no English counterpart, then, or counterblast, to the devoted work of Las Casas and the Spanish missionaries. But year by year, as English trade to the South increased, there was a growing hostility to Spain, and a growing disinclination to accept her mastery of the New World. The merchant might feign submission; the buccaneers and sea-dogs avenged his disgrace by challenging and harrying the power they were soon to overthrow. And these men, though there was little of saintliness in their character, had a religion, and fought and suffered for it. It was a religion not wholly unlike that of the later Orangeman, a Protestant compound, made up of fervid patriotism, a varied assortment of hates, a rough code of morals, and an unshaken trust in the providence of God. To the heathen they brought not peace but a sword. To the Pope, whom they named with the Turk and the Devil, they wished destruction. For Queen and Country they would go anywhere and attempt anything. Their mission was quite unlike his 'that bringeth the message from the mountain'; they coveted the things of the Gentiles, and their purpose and methods are set forth, in imperial language, by Michael Drayton:—

'A thousand Kingdoms will we seek from far,
As many Nations waste with civil war;

Where the dishevelled ghastly sea-nymph sings,
Our well-rigged ships shall stretch their swelling wings,
And drag their anchors through the sandy foam,
About the world in every clime to roam;
And those unchristened countries call our own
Where scarce the name of England hath been known.'

The North East and North West voyages failed in their primary purpose; and the men of peace gave place, in the end, to the men of war. But before the Queen and her Ministers recognised the necessity of an armed conflict with Spain, all pacific devices for the readjustment of the balance had been examined and patiently put to the test. One more series of these remains to be chronicled. The idea of colonisation, of appropriating some part of America as yet unsettled by the Spaniards, and there establishing a prosperous English community, whose imports and exports might benefit the mother country, received its first effective impulse from Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Already in 1555 Richard Eden had outlined this idea, in the preface to his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades.* From Florida northward to Newfoundland, says Eden, there are lands 'not yet known but only by the sea-coasts, neither inhabited by Christian men.' His suggestion that England should take possession of these was not likely to bear fruit while Mary reigned and Philip governed. In his notable *Discourse* of 1576 Gilbert pointed not obscurely in the same direction. There are 'divers very rich countries,' he says, 'both civil and others, . . . where there is to be found great abundance of gold, silver, precious stones, cloth of gold, silks, all manner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandise of an inestimable price, which

Colonisation.

Eden's suggestion.

both the Spaniard and Portugal, through the length of their journeys, cannot well attain unto.' What was to be the weakness of all early English attempts at colonisation is foreshadowed in his further suggestion that 'we might inhabit some part of those countries, and settle there such needy people of our country, which now trouble the commonwealth, and through want here at home are forced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are daily consumed with the gallows.' And this scheme might be carried out, he adds, 'without injury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their used trades, whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.' Hakluyt, writing in 1584, makes the same recommendation and supports it by the same arguments, which no doubt were intended to appeal to the Queen's well-known resolve to maintain peace. Portugal and Spain, he says, have found employment for all their subjects, so that these two nations breed no pirates; 'whereas we and the French are most infamous for our outrageous, common, and daily piracies.' By planting the coast of America, between 30 and 60 degrees of Northern latitude, we may provide for the unprofitable members of the commonwealth, and greatly advance English trade.

Transportation.

Hakluyt was by profession a man of peace; but there is little doubt that Gilbert would have been glad to be let slip at the throat of Spain. In a paper of 1577, probably drafted by him, the Queen is advised to prepare a fleet of warships under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and to attack the Spaniards in their cherished West Indies. When in 1578 he succeeded in obtaining a charter 'to inhabit and possess

Gilbert's Charter.

at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince,' the expedition that he fitted out was, in point of fact, diverted from peaceful purposes. He got together a fleet of eleven ships, and enlisted the assistance of many gentlemen adventurers, the most notable among them being his own step-brother, Walter Raleigh, who was weary of land-service, and desired to try his fortunes by sea. Feuds and divisions broke out at the beginning of the voyage; four ships refused the expedition; and Gilbert, intending an attack on the West Indies, fell across some Spanish vessels, and was beaten in fight. The second and more memorable adventure of 1583, in which he met his death, was of less ambitious design. Five vessels were equipped; the *Delight*, of 120 tons, in which Gilbert sailed as Admiral, the *Bark Raleigh*, of 200 tons, with its owner as Vice-admiral, the *Golden Hind* and *Swallow*, of 40 tons each, and the *Squirrel*, of 10 tons. The purpose was to plant a colony on some convenient site near Newfoundland. The men proved disorderly and mutinous; Raleigh, who never took kindly to a subordinate command, deserted the expedition for some reason unknown; the *Swallow* was employed by its crew in piracy, and was ultimately sent back to England with the sick; and the *Delight*, after the failure of a three weeks' experiment in colonisation at St. John's Harbour, struck on a rock, and was lost with its men and cargo of mineral. But these failures and disasters were destined to give Gilbert his undying fame. Starting for home with his two remaining ships, he chose to sail in the *Squirrel*, which he had made much use of to explore the coast. 'I

His last Voyage.

Disasters.

will not,' he said, 'forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.' They met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and high, pyramid-wise.' But Gilbert was undismayed. The last vivid scene has been stamped for ever on the memory of his countrymen by the narrative of Edward Hayes. 'Monday, the ninth of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land.*' At twelve o'clock that night the *Squirrel's* lights suddenly disappeared, and she was seen no more. Gilbert's last speech is his sufficient memorial: perhaps it was ringing in Robert Burton's memory, when, writing of the remedies for discontent, he paraphrased Gilbert's great saying, and embroidered it after his own fashion. 'So it is, Fortune favours some to live at home to their further punishment; 'tis want of judgement. All places are distant from Heaven alike, the Sun shines haply as warm in one city as in another, and to a wise man there is no difference of climes: friends are everywhere to him that behaves himself well, and a prophet is not esteemed in his own country.' Gilbert, at least, is esteemed in his own country as the pioneer of North West discovery, and the first who set his hand to the building up of Greater Britain.

Death of Gilbert.

Virginia.

His work was taken up immediately by Raleigh. 'After a night of storm so ruinous,' the scene rises on a fair landscape and the innocent and gentle happiness of Arcadia. In the spring of the year after Gilbert's disaster, Raleigh despatched two small ships, under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, to prospect the coast of America, from Florida northwards, with a view to a permanent colony. They had a prosperous voyage by way of the Canary Islands, and reached the continent in the latitude of North Carolina. Here they landed on the islands of Wocoken and Roanoak, taking possession of the land in the Queen's name and establishing relations of the most friendly kind with the natives. Their description of the country, fertile and luxuriant to the water's edge, and of their joyous reception by the Indians, makes the dreams of pastoral poets seem true. 'We found the people,' they report, 'most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden Age.' The King, or chief, being absent, his brother, with a retinue, received the visitors, and showed them every possible courtesy. 'When we came to the shore to him,' says Captain Barlow, 'with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and, being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shew the best he could of love and familiarity.' 'He was very just of his promise'; the narrator goes on, 'for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise.' He loaded the voyagers with gifts; and his wife, who was equally hospitable, tended them in

The people of the Golden Age.

Indian courtesy.

her house. 'While we were at meat there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half-dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to intreat us to rest in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure anything, although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.'

Who does not recognise, in this description of native humanity and delicate courtesy, the beginning of an oft-repeated drama, played to its bitter end in Hispaniola, in North America, and in many an island of the South Seas?

The first attempt to colonise Virginia.

The report of the captains pleased Queen Elizabeth, who stood god-mother to the new colony, naming it Virginia; and in 1585 Raleigh furnished a fleet of seven ships to go and take effective possession. There was some question of entrusting the command of the venture to Sir

Philip Sidney, who longed to escape from the fetters of the Court; but the Queen would not relax her hold, and the choice fell on Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's cousin, as Admiral, with Ralph Lane as Governor of the colony. Had Sidney gone, it is possible that the whole course of the history of Virginia and of North America might have been changed. But Sidney was to die, a year later, at Zutphen, and that ever-memorable and heroic fire-eater, Sir Richard Grenville, was to work his will on the people of the Golden Age. He spent the summer in exploring the islands, dragooning the natives, and burning their crops and houses; on his way home with the fleet he fought and captured a rich Spanish ship. His right work was fighting, not civilising. Lane, who was left in charge, spent his time in gold-seeking and organising forced labour among the Indians. Before a year was out they were in open rebellion, and the business of massacre began. Thenceforward no help was to be had in sowing corn and catching fish; and the colonists rejoiced when Drake, on his way back from his famous West Indian exploits, lent them ships to go home in. A fortnight after their departure, Sir Richard Grenville turned up with three ships, and put fifteen men in possession, who were never seen again. Raleigh's last attempt was made in 1587, with a hundred and fifty colonists, under Captain John White. White himself returned to England the same summer, and in the turmoil that followed was unable to send ships to the relief of his colonists until 1590, when none of them could be found. A few were naturalised among the Indians, and when Virginia was at last planted, nearly twenty years later, seven English were found alive. 'It is the sinfullest thing in the world,'

Grenville and Lane.

Failure of the Colony.

says Bacon, ‘to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness: for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.’ Perhaps he is glancing at Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom, it cannot be denied, some part of this guiltiness attaches. Raleigh was always impatient of the day of small things, and when his colony languished, made over his patent to a company of merchants, and turned his attention to El Dorado, the latest comer in the gorgeous pageant of his dreams of world-empire. The miscarriage of the Virginian attempt is the least magnificent of the failures that make up the story of his life.

The long Peace.

So the voices that had counselled discovery and peaceful settlement were silenced, or were caught up and went to swell the clamour of war. For its first thirty years the reign of Elizabeth was, in effect, one long preparation for the great day. It is a time singularly barren, in the English annals at least, of notable political events. Events were what the Queen and her cautious Ministers, Burghley and Walsingham, most dreaded. Their business was to hold on to the reins of power, to retard natural developments, to refuse action, to disclaim responsibility, to chasten the impulses of fervid patriots, and to avoid the open hostility of rival powers. The Government sat still, and deprecated all vigorous intentions, and waited. The Queen's fixed policy, her single resource for many long years, was to continue saying ‘Peace, Peace,’ when there was no peace. Her subjects were not slow to grasp the situation. They were free to serve the Crown, but it must be at their own risk. They might give battle to the enemy of their country and their religion, but they must fight in the character of pirates. If they

The price of patriotism.

won, the Crown would gladly accept a share in the spoil; if they lost, they knew what doom to expect. It is surely a high tribute to Elizabeth, and to the trust and love she inspired in her subjects, that they accepted these conditions without a murmur. They knew that the Queen had no care but the country, and that her courage was without blemish. They were content to let her work in her own way, so they might work in theirs. A Prince, in the high political doctrine of Tudor England, has no friends, only servants; and owes no gratitude, only acceptance or approval. When this doctrine was inherited, along with other great things, by Stuart pedantry from Tudor state-craft, it made clumsy havoc of the happiness of a people, and tumbled the Crown in the mire. But the hands that fashioned it knew how to wield it for the safety and glory of the nation. Towards the close of her reign, when Elizabeth was able at last to speak with kings in the gate, she spoke with the voice of England.

Tudor sovereignty.

The Privateers.

The meaning and interest of English history, therefore, during this long period of incubation, is to be found not in the doings of the Government, but in the unauthorised activities of the people. The political history of a country is commonly an affair of great dignity; it deals with the legitimate acts of the rightful government. But the great deeds of Elizabeth's reign were most of them unlawfully begotten, and were legitimated when they came of age. The volunteer efforts of the nation gathered yearly in strength and volume; at last the Queen threw off her mask of indifference, and accepted the command. Until the time was ripe, she held sedulously aloof. The body politic was full of life, but the brain was careful not to know what the hands were doing. It is not what Burghley and Walsingham were writing, but what Shakespeare and Jonson were saying, that makes the greatness of the reign; not what the Treasurer of the Navy was commanded to do, but what Drake and Hawkins did without waiting for the Royal command. The public acts of the regularly constituted Government were tame and few. But the Queen knew what was going forward. The Catholic power of Spain, overshadowing and threatening Europe, was never out of her mind. She is sometimes accused, on plausible evidence, of neglecting her Navy. 'In February 1559,' says an excellent recent historian, 'she possessed twenty-two effective ships of a hundred tons and upwards; in March 1603, twenty-nine; practically, therefore, she did little more than replace those worn out by efflux of time, for only two were lost in warfare.'[1] But, as the same writer justly points out, there was great plenty of pirates,—some four hundred were known in 1563,—and, by a merciful dispensation of Providence, they did far more harm to foreign commerce than to English. Twenty-nine ships is not a large navy; but when the Armada came, a hundred and thirty vessels were waiting for it in the narrow seas. The history of the Royal Navy under Queen Elizabeth is as little adequate to express the growth of national sea-power as is the history of the Royal Academy under Queen Victoria to express the progress of the nation in the Fine Arts.

The Navy.

The Policy of Elizabeth.

The main policy of the Queen was, at any cost, to prevent disunion among her subjects, and to win their firm allegiance. She foresaw the dangers of internal religious disruption, and succeeded in staving it off. Her strength at sea depended on the loyalty of the irregulars; she kept in with the police, and did not fall out with the thieves. A wonderful good understanding prevailed between the two parties. When Drake came back in 1580, laden with pillage, from his voyage of circumnavigation, he was nicknamed by the people 'The Master Thief of the Unknown World.' His old friend and chief, John Hawkins, was then the official head of the Navy. 'The Queen,' says Stow, 'not yet persuaded to accept and approve his unknown purchase, paused a while, and heard every opinion, which at that time were many.' In the end she went aboard his ship at Deptford, and knighted him. By this act, with full knowledge of what she was doing, she cast the die. Everywhere her over-ruling hand was felt. If Burghley, and others of her statesmen, had had their way, she would have broken with France. 'For my own part,' wrote Lord Howard of Effingham, in the very year of the Armada, 'I have made of the French King, the Scottish King, and the King of Spain, a Trinity that I mean never to be saved by, and I would others were of my opinion.' The Queen was not of his opinion. She was a Unitarian in her enmity. It was a saying of hers 'Whensoever the last day of the Kingdom of France cometh, it will undoubtedly be the eve of the destruction of England.' The division of France would have meant an accession of strength to Spain. The French pirates and Huguenots had shewn Englishmen the way to trouble Spain upon the seas; and Elizabeth approved their work. But the King of

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[1] M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy 1509-1660.* (1896).

National Unity.

Attitude to France.

France, if he had lost control of his realm, would have been driven into the arms of Spain; and Elizabeth lent him her support. She isolated her enemy, and she united her people. She understood a free nation, and was worthy of the seamen who served her.

The English Sea Power.

A more important thing than the actual number of ships in the Navy was its efficiency of organisation, and this was greatly improved during the Queen's reign. By the institution of the Navy Board, in 1546, Henry VIII had created the means of organisation. The practice of piracy made for the efficiency of the units. Long before an armed conflict seemed probable, English ships and English seamen were, as Mr. Corbett has shown, far superior in warlike qualities to those of Spain. The ships were smaller, better designed, quicker in handling; and they could sail nearer to the wind. The prime importance of gunnery had been learned by the English, and was to be taught by them to Spain. 'For the new school,' says Mr. Corbett, 'the arm of the sailor was his ship. Hitherto the offensive force of a war-vessel had been measured mainly by the number of boarders it could throw upon the deck of an enemy, and guns had been valued chiefly as a means of crippling his power of eluding this form of attack. But now the ship with its guns was itself the weapon, the captain the eye, the crew the muscles that played it. Already during Henry's last French war the power that lay in the broadside had begun to be seen by English seamen.'[1] Meantime the navigators of Spain had no thought of war. The Pope had guaranteed to them their new possessions, and they took their ease on the sea. Their great treasure-coffers

The ship as a gun-carriage.

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[1] *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1899) Vol. I. p. 137.

were wafted lazily to and from the Indies, unprotected save by a few inferior guns. It was the enterprise of the French pirates which first awakened them to a sense of danger, and caused them to take precautions. The galleons of the Indian Guard, a squadron of twelve for the protection of trade, were sent out to the Indies for the first time in 1568, the very year that Hawkins first brought the Spaniards acquainted with English gunnery in the affair of San Juan de Ulloa.

John Hawkins.

His trading Voyages to the West Indies.

Sir John Hawkins, who more than any other single man, was responsible for the rise of the war-spirit, came of a line of seamen. His grandfather had served in King Henry VIII's Navy. His father, William Hawkins, had been the first, in 1530, to carry on trade with Brazil. The voyage to Brazil was subsequently frequented, about 1540, by several wealthy merchants of Southampton. English traders were active enough during the early part of the century; it was John Hawkins who first taught them how arms might signally help the expansion of trade. He served his apprenticeship in the usual voyages to the West African coast, and in 1562 launched on a bolder scheme. By this time negroes were in great demand at Hispaniola, and Hawkins was determined to supply them. With the help of some city merchants, he equipped three vessels, and sailed to Sierra Leone, where, by force and purchase, he obtained three hundred negroes; then, with the help of a Spanish pilot, he crossed the Atlantic, and obtained 'reasonable utterance of his living commodities' in the ports of Hispaniola. He gained in exchange an enormous quantity of valuable merchandise; some of it he took home with him, some he sent to be disposed of at Cadiz, where it was seized and confiscated.

Orders were at once despatched to the Indies that no English vessel should be allowed to trade there.

Hawkins intended to trade there. In 1564 he equipped a fleet of five ships, among them the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship of the Royal Navy, lent him by the Queen. He collected his negroes and proceeded with them, this time, to the ports of the Spanish Main. Negro slaves were much coveted; and by a mixture of persuasion and armed force he succeeded in disposing of them all. He brought back to England a handsome profit for those who had financed his expedition.

The affair of San Juan de Ulloa.

His third voyage, begun in 1567, is a date in English history. It brought him into open conflict with the Spanish galleons; it proved the weakness of the Spanish power; it settled him in his life-long enmity to Spain; and it baptised with fire the greatest fighting sailor of the age, Francis Drake. The father of Francis was Edmund Drake, a Protestant seaman, who, after performing a chaplain's duties in Edward VI's Navy, took orders and was given a Vicarage under Elizabeth. He had twelve sons; 'and as it pleased God to give most of them a living on the water, so the greatest part of them died at sea.' The eldest and most famous of them had been conversant with the sea from boyhood, and when his cousin, John Hawkins, was preparing this third expedition, he was entrusted, at the age of twenty-two, with the command of the *Judith*, a bark of fifty tons. The Queen contributed two great ships, and did her best to allay the suspicions of the Spanish ambassador. Hawkins had more trouble than formerly in laying hands on his negroes, and much more trouble in disposing of them. The West Indian ports were warned and closed against

Hawkins and Drake.

him. At Rio de la Hacha Drake seized a Spanish despatch-boat; Hawkins took the town by assault, and held it while he disposed of his negroes to purchasers who came in secretly by night. Carthagena was bombarded; and trade was forced on many a lesser place. Thus, 'making their traffic with the Spaniards as they might,' Hawkins and Drake found that the season of hurricanes was near at hand. Lacking other shelter, they resolved to take refuge in the chief port of Mexico, San Juan de Ulloa.

Elizabethan free traders.

Hawkins, it is true, held that by ancient treaty and the law of nations the English had a right to trade in the Spanish dominions. But the purpose of his expedition had been laboriously concealed from the Spanish ambassador, and it had assumed a piratical complexion even on the coast of Africa, where several Portuguese slave-ships were seized and plundered. There is all the more reason, therefore, to admire the cool assurance of the English captains. They sailed into the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa, and anchored inside the island which protected the roadstead. Over against them, on the landward side, was a Spanish treasure-fleet. How Hawkins would have dealt with this does not appear. How Drake would have dealt with it, had he been in command, is fairly certain. The question did not arise. On the morning after the arrival of Hawkins there appeared in the offing thirteen Spanish ships, escorting Don Martin Enriquez, the new Viceroy of Mexico. Hawkins had guns mounted on the island, and was well able to hold the harbour. But he feared the wrath of the Queen, and would not take the responsibility of unprovoked war. So, after mutual defiances, the English and the Spaniards treated. It was agreed that the two fleets should be amicably moored side by side; the island to remain in possession of the English.

The treachery of the Spaniard.

To the Spanish commanders Hawkins and his company were no better than corsairs, and a treacherous plot against them was put in action. While the crews were entertaining each other, the signal was given, the English ashore were murdered, the guns on the island seized, and the English vessels boarded. The *Jesus of Lubeck* was taken. Only by extraordinary promptitude and heroic valour were the *Minion*, which was also a Queen's ship, and the *Judith* drawn clear of the entanglement, leaving the three other ships to their fate. A terrific action followed, at close quarters, and the damage inflicted by the English gunners on the great ships of Spain was so severe, that when at last the two English vessels got out of the haven, they were not further molested, though for two days they took shelter close to the port. On the first day of their voyage home they were separated;

Sufferings of Hawkins' men.

Hawkins, with two hundred men on board the *Minion*, was unable to provide for so large a company, and agreed to the proposal of a hundred of them, who volunteered to be set on shore in the Bay of Mexico, to shift for themselves. The miseries and persecution that these men suffered at the hands of the Indians and the Inquisition were narrated, years later, by the few survivors, and fanned the flame of English hatred for Spain. When Drake and Hawkins reached home, with their tale of Spanish treachery, 'military and seafaring men,' says Camden, 'all over England fretted, and desired war with Spain. . . . But the Queen shut her ears against them.'

Queen Elizabeth's difficulties.

The Queen was not ready to face the great Catholic coalition in open warfare. She was struggling in the meshes of conspiracy. While Hawkins was selling his negroes in the Indies, Ridolfi was plotting in London; the Queen of Scots had arrived in England, to become a centre of disaffection; Alva was inaugurating his reign of terror in the Netherlands; and the Guises were putting in operation their scheme for extirpating the Huguenots in France. The Queen did what she could. She detained the treasure destined for Alva, which, conveyed in five ships from Spain, had been driven by French pirates into English ports; and she sent money and munitions of war to the Huguenots. This policy of hers gave a broad hint to her subjects. There was to be no war; but short of war, acts of hostility and reprisal were the order of the day. When the efforts of the King of Spain and Pope Pius V to stir up rebellion against Elizabeth became known to the maritime people of England, 'incredible it is,' says Camden again, 'with how great alacrity they put to sea, and how readily they exercised piracy against the Spaniards.'

Francis Drake.

Hawkins was to take no further part, for the present, in these forays. He was needed for defence at home. But, as the Portuguese chronicler justly remarks, 'there was a certain Englishman, called Francis Drake.' At San Juan de Ulloa Drake had learned his lesson. The Spaniards were never to be trusted; extreme measures, such as Hawkins had shrunk from, were in the end the safest; a well-furnished English ship could go anywhere in the Spanish seas. For the next twenty years he put the lesson into practice, waxing bolder and bolder by success. When precautions were taken against the repetition of his exploits, he made precautions foolish by rising from height to height of daring, until the very wind of his name cleared the seas before him.

His Exploits on the Spanish Main.

In 1570, the year after his return in the *Judith*, Drake was back on the coast of the Spanish Main, where he robbed divers barks of their merchandise. In the following year he cut out a Spanish ship of a hundred and eighty tons from the harbour of Carthagena. To provide himself with a convenient retreat, he established a base in the Gulf of Darien, a natural harbour, far from any Spanish settlement. Hither he came in 1572 with two ships, the larger only seventy tons, and with seventy-three men. He entered into friendly relations with the Maroons, or hill-tribes descended from escaped negroes, who shared his hatred of Spain. With his diminutive force he surprised the city of Nombre de Dios, and, if he had not been wounded, would probably have emptied its treasure-house. He planned the capture and sack of Carthagena itself; then, finding that watch was kept for him at all the Spanish ports, he changed his plans, and transferred his operations from sea to land. The yearly produce of the mines of Peru was wont to be brought fifty miles overland by mule-trains from Panama to Nombre de Dios, and thence shipped to Spain. 'By the abundant treasure of that country,' wrote Sir Walter Raleigh, 'the Spanish King vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a few years from a poor King of Castile the greatest monarch of this part of the world.' It was Drake's purpose to surprise and capture the treasure as it crossed the isthmus. He made his first attempt on the Panama side with eighteen

The Peruvian treasure.

men, all that were available of his original company; but by an accident the mule-trains were alarmed and the attempt failed. Nothing disheartened, he joined hands with a Huguenot privateer and, aided by Maroon scouts, succeeded, near the very gates of Nombre de Dios, in waylaying and rifling the convoy. In order to fit out pinnaces for river-work he had dismantled his ships; his homeward voyage was made in new Spanish frigates, of the latest design, captured by his pinnaces. During his abode in these parts he had disorganised the whole coasting trade of the Spanish Main; he had taken the spoils of many vessels, had boldly entered more than one town, had diverted the steady flow of the Peruvian gold, and, as an earnest of what was yet to come, had seen the Pacific Ocean and vowed that with the help of God he would sail on that sea in an English ship. He arrived in Plymouth, after an absence of about fifteen months, in August, 1573.

A year's doings.

Hakluyt and Drake.

It is to be regretted that these early exploits of Drake are barely recorded in Hakluyt's compilation, and rest on later authority,[1] eked out with Spanish State papers. Hakluyt, who was willing enough to memorise deeds of war, shows a certain tenderness of conscience with regard to sheer piracy. He was bound, moreover, to pay heed to the possible international bearings of his publication. In his 1589 preface *To the Favourable Reader* he apologises for his omission of the Voyage of Circumnavigation, and explains it on the ground that a collection of Drake's voyages was being made by another hand. He speaks somewhat slightingly of Drake's great voyage, and offers no excuse for omitting the raids on the Spanish Main. Yet the greatness of Drake is perhaps best seen in these early buccaneerings. Time and again he is within an ace of irreparable failure; time and again his incredible quickness of resource uses the material of his broken plans for a new and startling success. His spirits are at their highest when things seem most hopeless. His decisions are taken and his blows delivered like lightning. He makes a fine art of surprise, and escapes from difficulties by the unguarded way, the way of the impossible. A single purpose animates all his exploits, and the chart of his movements is like a cord laced and knotted round the throat of the Spanish monarchy. Withal he is an adept at dealing with men, French Protestants, English adventurers, Negro Maroons, or Spanish emissaries; and carries himself in the pirate's profession with a courtesy, magnanimity, and unfailing humanity that give to his story the glamour of romance. Like Napoleon's Italian campaign, the achievements of Drake on the Spanish Main show a master at work, unburdened and unfettered as yet by responsibility and reputation, adapting himself solely to his material, and inventing at every stroke.

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[1] *Sir Francis Drake Revived . . . by Philip Nichols, Preacher.* (1626).

Drake's earlier achievements.

The Voyage of Circumnavigation.

Drake's object was to drive England into war. The object of the Government was to keep a free hand. For some years he was hindered from further expeditions, and work was found for him in Ireland. But the Queen had a soft corner in her heart for him, and when the whirligig of time once more cast into the shade the hope of a peaceful understanding with Spain, she offered him secret encouragement. In the autumn of 1577 he started on the greatest of his voyages in the *Pelican*, of a hundred tons, (afterwards re-named the *Golden Hind*), with the *Elizabeth*, two lesser ships, and a pinnace, carrying among them a company of about a hundred and fifty men. His purpose, as he explained to the Queen, was to sail into the Pacific, and raid the Spanish possessions from the West. There was no word, at the outset, of sailing round the world. It is more likely that he intended to circumnavigate America, and to return by the North West passage, which, earlier in the same year, Frobisher had gone for the second time to seek. But whatever his plan, Drake was no longer the obscure buccaneer. He kept the state of a King; was served on silver plate stamped with his own arms, and was attended by musicians and painters. There dined with him at table nine or ten gentlemen of good family, who were in training for similar adventures, and he offered them delicacies, the gift of Queen Elizabeth.

Trouble with the gentlemen adventurers.

The presence of these gentlemen was a chief cause of trouble on the outward voyage. If we are to believe one of them, there were fallings out and quarrels, and no one was certain whom to obey, because there were many who took upon them to be masters. The Elizabethan gentleman adventurer was the ruin of many an expedition on which he embarked; he was full of courage and initiative, but headstrong, giddy, and insubordinate. And this was not the worst. By the time the ships had made the coast of Brazil, taking on the way such booty as they fell across, Drake found cause to suspect that treason was at work, that an attempt was being made to induce some of the crew to mutiny and

Thomas Doughty executed

become pirates on their own account. His suspicions fell on Thomas Doughty, a gentleman of good parts, whom he had met in Ireland, and to whom he had given a place of trust and honour in his enterprise. The rights and wrongs of this dark business are beyond our recovery. Drake believed, not without grounds, that Doughty had betrayed his plans to Burghley before starting, and was doing what in him lay to wreck the success of the voyage. Doughty, for his part, believed that Drake, being embarked on piracy, could claim no ultimate legal authority over his followers. At Port St. Julian, where Magellan, almost sixty years before, had hanged one of his captains, Doughty was tried by jury and condemned to death; and Drake, after receiving the sacrament with the prisoner, and dining with him by way of farewell, executed the sentence with his own hand. The speech that he made, a few weeks thereafter, still glows, in the imperfect report which has come down to us, with the passion of that tragedy. When the men were assembled by command in a tent on shore, Master Fletcher, the chaplain, offered himself to make a sermon. 'Nay, soft, Master Fletcher,' quoth he, 'I must preach this day myself, although I have small skill in preaching. Well, be all the company here, yea or not?' Answer was made that they were all there. Then he commanded every ship's company to stand severally together, which was also done. Then he said, 'My masters, I am a very bad orator, for my bringing up hath not been in learning, but what so I shall here speak, let any man take notice of what I shall say, and let him write it down if he list, for I will speak nothing but I will answer it in England, yea, and before her Majesty, and I have it here already

Drake's Sermon.

set down. Thus it is, my masters, that we are very far from our country and friends, we are compassed in on every side with our enemies, wherefore we are not to make small reckoning of a man, for we cannot have a man if we would give for him ten thousand pounds. Wherefore we must have these mutinies and discords that are grown amongst us redressed, for by the life of God it doth even take my wits from me to think of it; here is such controversy between the sailors and the gentlemen, and such stomaching between the gentlemen and sailors, that it doth even make me mad to hear it. But, my masters, I must have it left; for I must have the gentleman to hale and draw with the mariner, and the mariner with the gentleman. What, let us show ourselves all to be of a company, and let us not give occasion to the enemy to rejoice at our decay and overthrow. I would know him that would refuse to set his hand to a rope,—but I know there is not any such here; and as gentlemen are very necessary for government's sake in the voyage so have I shipped them for that, and for some farther intent, and yet though I know sailors to be the most envious people of the world, and so unruly without government, yet may not I be without them. Also, if there be any here willing to return home, let me understand of them, and here is the *Marigold*, a ship that I can very well spare; I will furnish her to such as will return with the most credit I can give them, either by my letters or any way else; but let them take heed that they go homeward, for if I find them in my way I will surely sink them; therefore you shall have time to consider hereof until to-morrow; for, by my troth, I must needs be plain with you, I have taken that in hand that I know not in the

The right doctrine of the Navy.

world how to go through withal; it passeth my capacity; it hath even bereaved me of my wits to think on it.'

The question of Drake's commission from the Queen.

None of the company was for returning. Then he asked them whether they had any claim against him for wages, or would trust to his good will. They declared they would trust to his good will. Then he formally discharged from their command all the captains of the ships. Two of them asked him what moved him so to displace them. He asked whether they could give any reason why he should not do so. The explanation that he added of the origin of his voyage is of the deepest interest. The Queen, he said, was a party to it; and he showed a bill of a thousand crowns which she had given towards the expenses. Walsingham was in the secret; but she had straitly commanded that the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, to whom Doughty had revealed the plan of the voyage, should have no knowledge of it; and she had sworn by her crown that if any one in her realm should send word to the King of Spain, they should lose their heads. 'And now, my masters,' quoth he, 'let us consider what we have done. We have now set together by the ears three mighty princes, as first her Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and if this voyage shall not have good success, we shall not only be a scorning, or a reproachful scoffing-stock, unto our enemies, but also a great blot to our whole country for ever; and what triumph will it be to Spain and Portugal: and never again the like will be attempted.' So, after restoring the captains to their command, and promising the men that he would pay their wages though he should have to sell his shirt, he concluded: 'For,' quoth he, 'I have good reason to promise, and am best able to perform it, for I have somewhat of mine own in England, and, besides that, I have as much adventure in this voyage as three of the best whatsoever; and if it so be that I never come home, yet will her Majesty pay every man his wages, whom indeed you and we all come to serve; and for to say you come to serve me, I will not give you thanks, for it is only her Majesty that you serve, and this voyage is only her setting forth.'[1] So, willing them all to be friends one with another, he sent them to their business.

His bold policy.

This speech deserves to be set out in full in any story of the English Voyages. It is the speech of a man not in love with speech, whose thoughts are wrung from him at a crisis; it throws a vivid light on the situation, and on Drake's manner of dealing with it. The troubles with his men, and the treachery of Doughty, had brought him to a hard pass. He must either admit himself a baffled man, or must take the enormous risk of angering the Queen by declaring openly his full commission from her. It is highly unlikely that he had any such commission in writing. What he counted on rather was her approval, and support against the Lord Treasurer's party, if he should bring his voyage to a successful issue. According to his wont, he chose the bolder way; and from this time forward the failure of his expedition would have meant his doom, whether from England or from Spain.

Drake driven South.

The dreaded Straits of Magellan were passed in safety, and Drake was in the Pacific Ocean. Here a terrific storm, or series of storms, fell upon the ships. The *Marigold* was overwhelmed and lost; and the *Elizabeth*, separated from the *Golden Hind*, waited for a time at the mouth of the Straits and then returned to England. The two other vessels had been broken up or cast off on the coast of Brazil. Drake's ship was left alone to finish the voyage. The storm brought him the discovery that Tierra del Fuego was not a continent, as had been supposed, but that there was open sea to the south of it. And now his reward was near. The Pacific had been treated by the Spaniards as if it were an inland lake; their route to it lay overland; and the ships they sailed on it were built on its own shores. No enemy had as yet entered it by water; the ports were feebly guarded; and the crews of the merchant ships were very small. The *Golden Hind* was well-manned, and bristled with guns; the Pacific fell a prey to her. Her voyage northwards along the coast was a carnival of plunder, the richest prize of all being the *Cacafuego*, a treasure-ship bound from Guayaquil to Panama. Drake's ship was now heavy with precious metals, and the only question was how to get her home. He sailed northward, almost to Vancouver's Island, but was deterred by the cold and fogs from proceeding further. Turning to the south again, along the coast of California, he put into a bay near San Francisco, repaired his ship, and was solemnly crowned by the Indians as their king. He named the district 'New Albion,' and nailed a sixpence to a great post, leaving it, with the Queen's name inscribed above it, for the Indians to worship. Then he struck across the Pacific, to the Philippines and

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[1] Narrative of John Cooke, in *The World Encompassed* (Hakluyt Society, 1854).

The looting of the Pacific.

Drake crowned by the Indians.

Moluccas, where he entered into alliance, amity and traffic with the princes of those islands; and so back by the Cape of Good Hope. In September, 1580, after an absence of almost three years, the *Golden Hind* sailed into Plymouth Sound. Drake's first question, before he cast anchor, was whether the Queen was alive and well.

His reception by the Queen.

The Queen was alive and well, and his anxieties were soon ended. 'She received him graciously,' says Camden, 'and laid up the treasure he brought by way of sequestration, that it might be forth-coming if the Spaniards should demand it.' She was by this time storing a good deal of treasure on trust for the Spaniard. Drake was allowed to retain a rich share of the booty for himself and his men. The thing that troubled him most, we are told, was 'that some of the chief men at Court refused to accept the gold which he offered them, as gotten by piracy. Nevertheless the common sort of people admired and highly commended him, as judging it no less honourable to have enlarged the bounds of the English name and glory than of their Empire.'

The mid-point of Drake's career.

The completion of Drake's voyage round the world marks the mid-point of his career. For fourteen years he had forced his policy on the government; and now he had gained his point. There was to be no further question, during his life-time, of conciliating the good graces of Spain. By the failure of the royal line of Portugal, King Philip had acquired, soon after Drake's return, a new vast empire, and had more than doubled his naval power. Drake was now a knight, and a trusted naval counsellor. For fourteen years more he was to

The Indies Voyage of 1585.

work in the open for the overthrow of Spain. The change is well seen in the equipment of his expedition of 1585. In place of the two or three small ships which had hitherto sufficed him, he sailed from Plymouth in command of twenty-one ships and eight pinnaces, with a force of more than two thousand men. Frobisher was Vice-Admiral, and their destination was the West Indies, there to waylay the Plate fleet laden with the wealth of Peru.

Defects of the buccaneering system.

After an armed demonstration off the harbours of Portugal the fleet reached Santiago, which was taken and sacked, but yielded little treasure. The same disappointment awaited them in the West Indies. Despising smaller game, they took and held for a time San Domingo, the oldest town in the Indies, and Carthagena, the capital of the Spanish Main. The moral effect of these exploits was no doubt great, but the material profit was less than had been expected, and Drake, in order to indemnify the Queen and the other promoters of the expedition, exacted a large ransom in either case for the evacuation of the town. It had been a part of the original plan to seize Havana, but losses from sickness and war caused the expedition to turn homeward, not without a fair share of plunder. St. Augustine, on the coast of Florida, was looted on the way, and the miserable colonists of Virginia were visited and taken home. It is difficult and presumptuous to criticise Drake's plan of action. In his later expeditions he was hampered by the instructions of the Government and the opinions of others, as he had not been hampered earlier. He had proposed in 1581 to seize Terceira, and make it a naval base for harassing and plundering Spanish commerce.

Lack of a naval base.

Many of his critics held, and some still hold, that he should have kept possession of Carthagena with the same object. But the profit-sharing system of naval enterprise made a policy of this kind almost impossible; and to the end of his life the buccaneer in Drake held the upper hand of the statesman. If the English had established and fortified themselves on the main trading route of the Spanish Indies the story of the Armada might have remained unwritten.

The singeing of King Philip's beard.

It is unnecessary to touch, except very briefly, on what followed. The founding of Colonies and the exploration of unknown lands had given way to the necessities of war; and the history of Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher henceforward is a part of the history of England. In 1587 Drake was despatched with another fleet to make havoc of King Philip's preparations for invading England. It is from the realm of the Indies, says an Elizabethan sailor, that King Philip 'has feathers to fly to the top of his high desires.' Drake had singed his feathers; he was now to singe his beard. He took and burned the shipping in Cadiz harbour, seized Cape St. Vincent, threatened Lisbon, and struck terror into the heart of the Spanish commanders.

The Invincible Armada.

When the great Armada at last set sail, Drake, if he had had his way, would have met and fought with it at the mouths of the Spanish harbours. But he was controlled by men who feared the boldness of his strategy, and the Spanish preparations were permitted to proceed in quietness. Let the rest be told in the grand style which reached its maturity in English at this very time, as if it had been designed for the deeds it was to celebrate. 'This great preparation,' says Bacon, 'passed away like a dream.

The Invincible Navy neither took any one barque of ours, neither yet once offered to land; but after they had been well beaten and chased, made a perambulation about the Northern seas, ennobling many coasts with wrecks of mighty ships; and so returned home with greater derision than they set forth with expectation.'

Expedition to Lisbon.

The repulse of the Armada gave Drake no rest. The next year, in joint command with Sir John Norris, he led the expedition to Lisbon. They failed in their main purpose; their losses were heavy, and their booty small. 'But the truth is,' says Camden, 'England reaped this benefit by the voyage, that from this time forward she feared nothing from Spain, but took greater heart and courage against the Spaniards.' Drake fell into disgrace, and was restored to favour only to share with Sir John Hawkins the command of another expedition, their second and last. In 1595, twenty-eight years after their fateful adventure in slave-trading, they put out again for the Indies with a fleet of twenty-seven sail, and strong land-forces. Sir John Hawkins was now over seventy years of age, burdened and saddened by the long cares of administration; and the differences of temper and character between the two admirals had not been lessened by time. Thomas Maynarde, who served in the expedition, has left a vivid account of these differences.[1] Of Drake he says,—'It may be his self-willed and peremptory command was doubted, and that caused her Majesty, as should seem, to join Sir John Hawkins in equal commission,—a man old and wary, entering into matters with so leaden a foot, that the other's meat

The last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins.

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[1] *Sir Francis Drake, His Voyage, 1595; by Thomas Maynarde.* (Hakluyt Society, 1849.)

would be eaten before his spit could come to the fire: men of so different natures and dispositions, that what the one desired the other would commonly oppose against; and though their wary carriages sequestered it from meaner wits, yet was it apparently seen to better judgments before our going from Plymouth, that whom the one loved, the other smally esteemed.' When they reached the Indies they found the Spaniards forewarned and forearmed against them; and their voyage was an unbroken tale of ill-success. The Spanish sea-power was enormously increased, the towns guarded, the payment of ransom forbidden, and the treasure concealed, so that even if Drake had been permitted to follow his old methods, it is doubtful whether he could have averted failure. Maynarde, in conversation, asked him where were the rich places he had promised to his followers. 'He answered me with grief, protesting that he was as ignorant of the Indies as myself, and that he never thought any place could be so changed, as it were from a delicious and pleasant arbour into a waste and desert wilderness; besides the variableness of the wind and weather, so stormy and blustrous as he never saw it before. But he most wondered that since his coming out of England he never saw sail worth giving chase unto; yet, in the greatness of his mind he would, in the end, conclude with these words: "It matters not, man; God hath many things in store for us; and I know many means to do her Majesty good service, and to make us rich; for we must have gold before we see England"; when, good gentleman, (in my conceit), it fared with him as with some careless living man who prodigally consumes his time, fondly persuading himself

Its failure.

The ruined Paradise.

that the nurse that fed him in his childhood will likewise nourish him in his old age, and, finding the dug dried and withered, enforced then to behold his folly, tormented in mind, dieth with a starved body.' To redeem his favour with the Queen, Drake had thought to repeat some of his brilliant early exploits. No good thing can be repeated; and this last voyage saw a dramatic reversal of his most fortunate achievements. His forces were repulsed at Las Palmas and at Puerto Rico. Here Hawkins sickened and died. They sacked and burned Rio de la Hacha, seized Nombre de Dios, and thence sent forward a land expedition to surprise and plunder Panama. The isthmus was held in force by Spain, and the English were beaten off. Drake's chief hopes were now shattered, and he did what he had seldom done while his star prevailed; he asked the advice of his officers. 'Since our return from Panama,' says Maynarde, 'he never carried mirth nor joy in his face; yet no man he loved must conjecture that he took thought thereof.' It was resolved to make an attempt on Granada, Leon, and the towns on the Lake of Nicaragua. The course was laid for St. John's Harbour, but the wind was steadily against them; sickness broke out in the crews, and after some weeks' struggle, Drake 'resolved to depart, and to take the wind as God sent it.' He had been attacked by the prevalent sickness; on the morning of the 28th of January, 1596, he died, and was buried in the sea off Puerto Bello. 'He was as famous,' says Stow, 'in Europe and America, as Tamburlaine in Asia and Africa.' When the news of his death was brought, there was joy in Spain, and the people felt that the heavy hand of God had at last been lifted from them.

Death of Hawkins.

Death of Drake.

The three great Vice-Admirals who defeated the Armada were now dead; for Frobisher had died in 1594, of a wound received at the work of dislodging the Spaniards from the coast of Brittany. The Lord High Admiral, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, under whose command they had all served, led a great armament to Cadiz in the summer of 1596, seized the city, and inflicted enormous damage on the shipping in the harbour. He was created Earl of Nottingham, and lived on to an advanced old age. And how many more are there not, whose names are less famous, and whose deeds, recorded or unrecorded by Hakluyt, served to raise the name of their country? John Oxenham, Drake's follower, the first Englishman who launched a boat on the Pacific; Captain Thomas Fenner, one of three brothers, each of whom commanded a ship against the Armada; Captain Edward Fenton, who explored the Arctic Seas, and harried the ships of Spain; George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who made ten voyages in twelve years; Sir William Monson, author of the *Naval Tracts*, who began as a common sailor on board a merchantman, and rose to be an Admiral; or James Lancaster, who in the years immediately after Hakluyt's publication opened a way for English commerce to the East;—all these deserve celebration. And the sailors who manned the ships, who ate putrid penguins and drank bilge-water on strange seas, and who often, when their service to their country was rendered, pined in foreign prisons, or died by hundreds of starvation and cold and plague in the streets of the sea-ports of England,—they most pass without other memorial than the saying of the Lord High Admiral, 'God send us

Other Voyagers.

The Elizabethan mariners.

to see such a company together again, when need is.' They were a cheerful race; and, as Drake says, when they were blessed with some little comfortable dew of heaven, some crowns, or some reasonable booties, they would take good heart again, although they were half dead. Last of all, and among the most characteristic figures of the Elizabethan age, there are the gentlemen adventurers, the ambitious courtiers like Essex, the single-minded warriors, like Grenville, the spendthrift sons of fortune, like Cavendish, to whom the world was their oyster, which with their sword they must open. Never was there a set of men worse adapted for the sober business of establishing a colony, or governing a subject race; yet they too were servants of the Empire, and cleared a way for those who came after them. Long generations of training and many hard blows were needed before the British race learned those lessons of justice and tact and tolerance which every Civil Servant in India must have by heart, now that the round world is mapped and settled. Whatever their faults, these Elizabethans bear the stamp of the heroic age; they lived in an illimitable world, and had nothing about them of tame civility. They are arrogant, excessive, indomitable, inquisitive, madmen in resolution, and children at heart. The great fight of the *Revenge* was undertaken against all the rules of orthodox naval tactics, and in defiance of common sense. Its hero, says Linschoten, 'was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains, while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse three or four glasses of wine, and in a bravery take the glasses between his teeth and crash them in

The Gentlemen Adventurers.

Sir Richard Grenville.

pieces and swallow them down, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth.' In his own age his action off the Azores was recognised as something out of the beaten path of history, and to be matched only by poetry in its strongest and highest flights. 'In the year 1591,' says Bacon, 'was that memorable fight of an English ship called the *Revenge*, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, memorable (I say) even beyond credit and to the height of some heroical fable: and though it were a defeat, yet it exceeded a victory; being like the act of Samson, that killed more men at his death, than he had done in the time of all his life. This ship, for the space of fifteen hours, sate like a stag amongst hounds at bay, and was sieged and fought with, in turn, by fifteen great ships of Spain, part of a navy of fifty-five ships in all; the rest like abettors looking on afar off. And amongst the fifteen ships that fought, the great *San Philippo* was one; a ship of fifteen hundred ton, prince of the twelve *Sea-Apostles*, which was right glad when she was shifted off from the *Revenge*. This brave ship the *Revenge*, being manned only with two hundred soldiers and marines whereof eighty lay sick, yet nevertheless after a fight maintained (as was said) of fifteen hours, and two ships of the enemy sunk by her side, besides many more torn and battered, and great slaughter of men, never came to be entered, but was taken by composition; the enemies themselves having in admiration the virtue of the commander and the whole tragedy of that ship.'

The Last Fight of the Revenge.

Thomas Cavendish, who served as a volunteer under Sir Richard Grenville in the Virginian Expedition of 1585, is perhaps the most typical of the adventurous gallants of

Thomas Cavendish.

the time. Like Bassanio, in *The Merchant of Venice*, he had

> 'disabled his estate
> By something showing a more swelling port
> Than his faint means would grant continuance';

and in 1586, encouraged by the success of Drake, he furnished three ships to go in quest of the golden fleece. His voyage round the world was completed in a shorter time than Drake's; he returned in September, 1588, soon after the repulse of the Armada. The nature of his doings by the way is well set forth by himself in a letter to Lord Hunsdon:—'I navigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva España, where I made great spoils: I burnt and sunk nineteen sails of ships, small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled; and had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure.' This account is not complete. He also slaughtered the Indians, devastated crops and orchards, and wherever he could lay hands on the symbols of ancient Christianity, crosses and images, he destroyed them with great zest. His violent and petulant temper breaks forth in his last melancholy letter, written when his second voyage, undertaken in 1591, had failed, and he was a broken man. His crew are 'hell-hounds'; and John Davis, whose ship had been separated from the others by storms, is 'that villain, that hath been the death of me and the decay of this whole action.' Boastful and brave, careless of others, unflinching, unrelenting, unforgiving, Cavendish has yet that intensity and wholeness of purpose which is the pith and marrow of great deeds.

His methods.

The greatest adventurer of them all lived on into the next reign, to be a monument of the age that was irrecoverably past, and, by his death, to cast a stain (if anything so dark and small can take a stain) on the character of James I. Of all the notable Elizabethans, Sir Walter Raleigh is perhaps the most difficult to understand. He has the insolent imagination of Marlowe, and the profound melancholy of Donne. 'The mind of man,' he says in his *History of the World*, 'hath two ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and overgrown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations.' Both gates of his mind stood open; worldly hopes and braggart ambitions crowd and jostle through one entrance, but the monitors of death and eternity meet them, and whisper them in the ear. He schemes elaborately, even while he believes that 'the long day of mankind draweth fast towards an evening, and the world's tragedy and time are near at an end.' The irony of human affairs possesses his contemplation; his thoughts are high and fanciful; he condescends to action, and fails, as all those fail whose work is done stooping. He is proud, sardonic, and aloof. His own boast is true—'There is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto.' He takes part with others in no movement, and stakes little or nothing on the strength of human ties. The business of men on this earth seems trivial and insignificant against the vast desert of eternity; and great deeds alone are worth doing, for they, when they perish, add pomp to the triumph of death and oblivion.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

His political schemes are grandiose and far-reaching: the mere unfolding of them dwarfs the exploits of more practical men. Has Cavendish gained fame by plun-

His pride.

dering the Spaniard? 'It became not the former fortune,' says Raleigh, 'in which I once lived, to go journeys of picory; it had sorted ill with the offices of honour, which by her Majesty's grace I hold this day in England, to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes.' Has Drake earned praise and reward for his assaults on the Indies? 'The King of Spain,' says Raleigh, 'is not so impoverished by taking three or four port towns in America as we suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueva España, so left by the sea side, as it can be easily washed away with a great flood or springtide, or left dry upon the sands on a low ebb.' So he introduces his promise of El Dorado, the finding in Guiana of a better and richer Indies for her Majesty than the Indies of the King of Spain.

Bacon on Sea-power.

The whole problem of English policy is admirably summarised by Bacon in his *Considerations touching a War with Spain.* 'For money,' he says, 'no doubt it is the principal part of the greatness of Spain; for by that they maintain their veteran army; and Spain is the only State of Europe that is a money grower. But in this part, of all others, is most to be considered the ticklish and brittle state of the greatness of Spain. Their greatness consisteth in their treasure, their treasure in the Indies, and their Indies (if it be well weighed) are indeed but an accession to such as are masters by sea. So as this axle-tree, whereupon their greatness turneth, is soon cut in two by any that shall be stronger than they by sea.' Drake and the seamen had put this argument into action; Raleigh, though no one better knew the importance of sea-power, must needs give it an original turn. It is useless, he says, to cripple the Spanish navy; in a year the losses are repaired, and the King of Spain 'beginneth again like a storm to threaten shipwrack to us all. . . . It is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe.' The way to defeat him is to appropriate a richer source of gold than any in his dominion. It seems likely that Raleigh was already chasing the phantom of El Dorado when he urged the settlement of Virginia. Then stories and fables reached him from the South American continent, and in 1595 he led his expedition up the Orinoco, and recorded his adventures in his tract, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, printed in the following year. The tract has been condemned as being full of impostures and deceits. On the contrary, it is soberly and veraciously written; the disappointing results of the expedition are accurately recorded, but so strong is the author's belief in his preconceived idea, that, from the title onward, his narrative conveys the impression of great things on the verge of achievement and untold wealth ready at a touch to fall into England's lap. It is the work of a poet, who bridles in his struggling Muse with pain. The will-o'-the-wisp of gold, which had led a thousand adventurers by devious paths about the world, led Raleigh to the scaffold, where he found relief from 'those inmost and soul-piercing wounds which are ever aching while uncured,' and expiated his pride and his dreams. His death marks the end of the heroic age; with him the poets and architects who had prophesied and planned pass away, and the accountants and builders begin their long and tedious task of erecting the fabric of the Empire.

Raleigh on the importance of gold.

Guiana.

The last great Adventurer.

II

Richard Hakluyt.

Richard Hakluyt, the recorder of all these matters, desired no memorial save his book. His relics lie buried under the 'star-ypointing pyramid' which, by his own incessant labour, he erected to the honour of his country. 'Master of Arts,' he calls himself, 'and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford.' Except to show that he is not unqualified for his task, and to express his gratitude to the learned foundations where he had his training, he does not speak of himself. He is a Scholar, Bibliographer, and Editor, and so has a threefold title to modesty and self-renunciation. On the title-page of his first book, the *Divers Voyages* of 1582, his name does not appear; in the second and third volumes of the *Voyages* he pays his tribute to the Church of which he was a minister by describing himself as 'Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.' He was less of a preacher than was his disciple, Samuel Purchas, and his book is the gainer by it. No biography of him, in any full sense of that word, is possible. Except for a few bare facts and dates, all that we know of him is told us by himself, in his Prefaces and his few extant letters. No portrait of him has been recovered. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, but no inscription marks his grave, nor is it known in what part of the Church he lies.

His modesty.

There can be no doubt that this obscurity was of his own choosing; and belonged, as of right, to his character and temper. He had many famous and influential friends, and was constantly in traffic with them for the enrichment of his book. They answered his questions, gave him their help, were led to think on the topics he had broached, and thought nothing further of the questioner. He acknowledges his obligations to many 'virtuous gentlemen,' who, partly from their private affection to himself, but chiefly from their devotion to the furtherance of his work, had lent him their assistance. Sir John Hawkins and Sir Walter Raleigh helped him with the Western voyages. William Burrough, Clerk of her Majesty's Navy, and Anthony Jenkinson, the Russian traveller, gave him the benefit of their experience for the voyages to the North East. The Lord Treasurer, Burghley, let him have access to a cabinet, or museum, of curiosities brought home by travellers. Sir Robert Cecil, in 1597, consulted him concerning the country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English. Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral of England, accepted his dedications, approved his purposes, and held converse with him. Mercator, Ortelius, Thevet, and other foreign cosmographers and scholars were his friends and correspondents. Yet it is vain to look for traces of him among the works and memorials of the brilliant company that knew him in life. He is the silent man, seated in the dark corner, who is content to listen and remember, and whose questions, interpolated from time to time, divert attention from himself, and direct it to the moving tales that come in answer to them.

His friends.

His character.

His own allusions to himself, though they are not infrequent, bear curious witness to his complete absorption in his theme. Where he mentions himself it is to give authenticity to the remarks and memories which

Personal Reminiscences.

he has collected in conversation. These stray references reveal him to us as indefatigable in research, at the Court, or on the highway, losing no opportunity of adding a single fact or observation to his store. We learn that at Paris he talked twice with Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, who showed him a map of the North West passage; and with 'five or six of his best captains and pilots, one of whom was born in East India.' We find him 'in the Queen's privy gallery at Westminster,' or in the King's Library at Paris, or introduced by his friend, the Bishop of Chichester, to Lord Lumley's stately library, examining globes, consulting originals, copying manuscripts. Or he is in conversation with Mr. Jennings and Mr. Smith, 'the master and master's mate of the ship called the *Toby*, belonging to Bristol,' who bring him tales from Spain concerning the natives of Florida; or with 'an English gentleman, Captain Muffett,' who has been a prisoner in Spain, and reports how the King of Spain fears nothing so much as the planting of an English colony in America; or with a nameless sailor, 'one of mine acquaintance of Ratcliffe,' who tells how the French fishers attacked the Spanish fishers at Newfoundland, and how he, the English sailor, in the name of fair play, defended the Spaniards. So we catch glimpses of Richard Hakluyt wandering and enquiring without rest or remission. He has friends among French sailors; one of them, Stephen Bellinger of Rouen, gives him a piece of supposed silver ore, and shows him beasts' skins, dressed and painted by the Indians; another shows him a piece of the tree called Sassafras, brought from Florida, and expounds its high medicinal virtue. Mr.

Pryhouse, of Guernsey, meets him in London, and gives him news of the French scheme for colonising Canada; another friend, unnamed, brings him an account of the setting up of a saw-mill in Worcestershire, which suggests to him that saw-mills might be set up on the Virginian coast. Among all these, his friends and fellows, the Preacher moves like a shadow, giving his heart to search out concerning all things that are done under heaven, exercised with sore travail, and writing words of truth. The English nation may well be proud of him, and glad that, while its great destinies were still in the making, there lived a man quick enough to discern the significance of the deeds done around him, and steady enough, in purpose and perseverance, to encounter and overcome the difficulties of giving to them an enduring chronicle.

Never-ending research.

The Life of Hakluyt.

He was born, probably in London, about the year 1553. His family belonged to Eyton, or Yatton, in Herefordshire, and from the time of Edward II onward, supplied not a few sheriffs and members of Parliament to the service of the country. The family was English, and the name, in its accepted form, owes its alien suggestion to the preservation of archaic spelling. It was pronounced, and sometimes spelt, Hacklewit. So Drayton, in his *Ode to the Virginian Voyage*:

> 'Thy Voyages attend,
>   Industrious Hackluit;
> Whose reading shall inflame
> Men to seek fame,
>   And much commend
>   To after times thy wit.'

Richard Hakluyt was early left an orphan, and possibly was under the guardianship of the cousin to whom he owed his initiation and calling. He was educated at *Westminster and Christ Church.* Westminster School, where he was a Queen's Scholar. Thence he passed to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1570, and proceeded in due course to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, and of Master of Arts in 1577. But before ever he went to Oxford he had taken the ply that shaped his whole life. There is something of ritual and emphasis in the unusual detail with which he tells Sir Francis Walsingham of his chance visit, in his boyhood, to his cousin, also called Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple. A map of the world lay on the table, and Master Richard Hakluyt took occasion to give his young cousin a lesson in geography, showing how knowledge had been recently advanced; explaining also (what seems to have been his own special study) the application of geography to commerce, and enumerating the products *His ordination.* and the wants of each country. Then, although no vows were uttered, there followed a kind of dedication of the Preacher to his life's work. 'From the map,' says Hakluyt, 'he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107th Psalm, directed me to the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses, where I read that *they which go down to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep.* Which words of the Prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature) took in me so deep an impression that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time and more convenient place might be ministered for these studies, I would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature, the doors whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.'

His work at Oxford.

At Oxford, in the time he could save from prescribed studies, he set himself to read and master all the Travels and Voyages extant in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, Spanish, or Portuguese. The first five of these languages he acquired; Spanish remained long unknown to him, if we may judge from his habit of quoting Spanish treatises in Italian, French or English translations. Having taken his Master's degree, he lectured, 'in the common schools,' on the subject nearest to his heart, and was the first, he says, to demonstrate the advance of geography by comparing the new 'lately reformed maps, globes, and spheres' with the old inaccurate representations. He mentions these lectures but slightly, and we do not know who were his audience. Thomas Lodge, the dramatist, whose father was interested in navigation, and who voyaged with Cavendish, may possibly have attended them. In 1582 the first-fruits of the Preacher's study appeared, with a dedication to Sir Philip Sidney. The title of this book (which has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society) gives a clue to the patriotic ambitions of its author. It is called *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Ilands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons.* It is in effect a pamphlet and collection of documents in support of England's prior claim to possess and settle the coast of America. In the dedication the main idea is expounded. 'The time approacheth,' says Hakluyt, 'and now is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves), both with the Spaniard and the Portingale, in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered.' There is good hope, he says, that, besides possessing America, we may find out a

His first book.

short and easy passage, by the North West, to more distant lands. And for these purposes what is chiefly necessary is a good system of technical education in nautical affairs.

Nautical Education.

Throughout his life Hakluyt continued to urge on the government and public the importance of sound nautical education. His scheme, though nothing came of it, was a modest one. A lectureship should be established 'in London or about Ratcliffe, in some convenient place'; and he tells how Sir Francis Drake offered twenty pounds a year to this end; but forty pounds a year was found needful to secure a fit man, and, no other donor presenting himself, the scheme fell through. The Spaniards, says Hakluyt, maintain at the Contractation House, or Exchange, in Seville, a learned Reader in the art of Navigation: and no-one is given charge of ships for the Indies until he has attended the instructions of the Reader and has satisfied a board of examiners who are joined with the Reader to test theoretical and practical knowledge. This Readership, he points out, has already given to Spain the services of learned writers on the art of navigation, as for instance Geronimo de Chavez, and Pedro de Medina, whose works are text-books for the navigators of all nations.[1] What Hakluyt desires, in short, is a Nautical University or Faculty, where men may be trained and graduated in all the sciences and crafts that are necessary to furnish forth the complete navigator, and to make him an efficient servant of his country. He returns to

Spanish Professors.

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[1] Pedro de Medina's *Arte de Navegar* (1545) was translated into English by John Frampton and published in London in 1581, a year before Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages.*

8

Jan. 7. 1583

[illegible] Letter from Hakluyt to Walsingham.

From mr Richard Hakluyt

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

STATE PAPER OFFICE

To the right honorable
Sir Frauncis Walsingham
principall Secretarie to
her Maiestie these.

Januarii 7o 1583

From mr Richard Hackluyt at
Paris

fo. 170

Right honorable, the famouse disputations in al the partes of the mathematikes which at this present are held in Paris for the gaining of the lecture, which was erected by the worthy scholler Petrus Ramus to the greate increase of those excellent sciences, put me in mynde to solicite your honour againe and againe for the erection of that lecture of the arte of navigation, whereof I have had some speache with your Honor, Sir Frauncis Drake, and Alderman Barnes and others. And that you might meet with al inconveniences which might frustrate the expected profit, which is hoped for by the erection of the same, I send your honor herewith the testament of Petrus Ramus newly put out againe in printe and sett forth by monsieur Bergeron Ramus his executor, whereby you may see first the exceding zeale that man had to benefit his countrey, in bestowing 500. livers (which as your honor knoweth) is fiftie pound sterling, uppon the establishing of that lecture, bequeathing not halfe, but wellnye al the goodes and landes he had. ~~in the world~~. Besides you may note that he being one of the most famous clerkes of Europe thought this science next after divinitie to be most necessarie for the common welth, in that he erected a newe lecture of the same, which alone there was one before erected and endued with fiftie pound stipend by the kinge of Fraunce. Which that most provident order which the good man by his will hath taken, is most requisite to be put in execution in England: which is, that every three yeares, there shalbe publike disputations signified to al men by publike writing, wherein it shalbe free for any man for three monethes space to dispute against the reader for the tyme being, who if he be found negligent or if any one of the competitours be founde more worthy by the opinion of certayne indifferent men of learninge chosen out of purpose to be iudges, that in the universitie shal come placed to the more sufficient: now these beinge placed is founde in ten yeares space to read through the course of the mathematikes. Yf by yor honors intreation her maiestie might be induced to erecte such a lecture in Oxford, and the like for the arte of navigation might by some other meanes be established at London, allowing to eche of them fiftie poundes yearely with the same conditions, in my simple iudgment it wold be the best ten hundred poundes bestowed, that was bestowed these five hundred yeares in England. For it is not unknowne unto yor wisedome, howe necessarie for some of mariners arithmetike and geometrie are, and for our newe discoveries and longe voyages by sea the arte of navigation is, wch is compounded of many partes of the ~~mathematicall~~ aforesaid sciences. Understandinge heretofore of yor honors greate abundance of busines, and yor dangerous sicknes, I thought yt not meet to trouble yor honor with such thinges as I had carefully sought out here in Fraunce concerning the furtherance of the westerne discoveries, but chose rather to imparte the same wth Mr Carlile, which thinge I also did. But being lately advertised of yor recovery (for wch I humbly thanke almightie God) I was bold to signifie unto yor honor my dealinge wth Horatio Palavicini to become an adventurer in those westerne voyages, and among other talke, alleadged yor good disposition to the same, wch he hearing of, replied very cheerfully, that if he were moved thereunto by the least word from yor honor, he wold put in his hundred pounde adventure, or more. If Mr Carlile bee gon, yet yt might come in good tyme to serve Mr Frobishers turne, if yor wisedome shold like well of it, seing he setteth not forth as I understand untill the beginning of May.

I understand that the papistes geve out secretly in the towne that there shall shortly come forth a confutation of the defence of the execution of iustice in England wch was set forth in Englishe and Frenche in London. When yt cometh forth I trust to send yt wth the first.

There is good hope that the minister and those that were taken lately wth him in Paris by the abbot of St Genevieve shal very shortly be set at libertie, for the king secretly seemeth to favour them, and they have very discretly answered for themselves that they were not at any communion or sermon but that they mett together to consulte whether to goe out of Paris to some place lawfull by the edicte. A frend of mine told me he heard a frier enveying very outragiously against them in a sermon before a great congregation of people.

Wee have heard by dyvers lettres from Geneva that besides the earthquake wch was there about the end of Februarie wch buryed many houses and overthrewe many chymneis in the towne, there is besides a whole village in the countrey of Wallerie swallowed up, being fower dayes iourney of Geneva.

Those that favour the Spaniarde here in the towne spredd abroad these two or three dayes that Monsieur is dead: wch is nothing so.

Thus leaving other matters & advertisementes of importance to theire tyme, when they appertayne, wth remembrance of the continuance of my humble dutie to yor honor, and yor worthy and vertuous sonne in lawe I leave yo to the mercifull protection of the Almightie. Paris the first of April 1584.

Don Antonio his captaynes of his fleet are not yet departed from Fraunce, but looke every day to depart.

Yor honors most humble
Richard Hakluyt.

the subject in his later dedications, pressing it on the attention of the Lord High Admiral and of Sir Robert Cecil. His was a voice crying in the wilderness; and to this day the naval and military professions have no dealings with University education. The man who should bring these into touch, who should enlist soldiers and sailors for the furtherance of knowledge, and give to the Army and Navy and Merchant service officers wide awake to the scientific opportunities of their calling, would be a benefactor to his country and a worthy disciple of Hakluyt. One at least of Hakluyt's ideas has had a very recent fulfilment. In his dedication of the Third Volume of his *Voyages* (1600) to Sir Robert Cecil he speaks of a short treatise, which he had lying by him, touching *The curing of hot diseases incident to travellers in long and Southern voyages*, by one George Watson. He intended to include it in his book, but desisted, because it was very defective, and a certain Doctor Gilbert promised that the whole College of Physicians should confer, and produce something authoritative on the diseases of hot and cold regions. So the founders of recent Schools of Tropical Medicine are also disciples of Hakluyt.

Tropical Medicine.

Before the publication of his first book, Hakluyt must have moved from Oxford to London, in what capacity we do not know. Early in 1582 we find him in correspondence with Sir Francis Walsingham, who treats him as a recognised authority on Western discovery. It is a strange thing that he, the recorder of the Voyages, should have taken part in none of them. We hear of two Expeditions which he thought of accompanying. One was Drake's West Indies voyage of 1585. The other was the fatal voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583. What detained him, or changed his purpose does not appear; in the year of Gilbert's voyage he was appointed chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris, and remained for five years in France. Stafford was brother-in-law to Howard of Effingham, so that it seems likely that in this case, as in others, Hakluyt's preferment came to him from his interest in nautical affairs. He was on terms of intimacy with the Gilberts and Raleigh; his *Discourse of Western Planting*, presented to the Queen in the autumn of 1584, was written at the request of Raleigh, and was inspired by the reports of Captains Amadas and Barlow. It is the longest and most valuable of his extant original writings, though his unvarying modesty prevented its inclusion in his *Voyages*. In Paris he devoted himself with energy to the preparation of the book which was now the goal of all his efforts—a collection of the voyages undertaken by Englishmen. The first edition of *The Principal Navigations*, in one folio volume, appeared in 1589. Then followed ten more years of labour, and the second and final edition, in three folio volumes, was given to the world in 1598 and the two following years.

Hakluyt in Paris.

His chief original work.

His great Book.

Church preferment.

In the meantime, ecclesiastical preferment had come to him. In 1586, while he was in France, he became prebendary of Bristol, and in 1590 rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk. The date of his marriage is uncertain; in his dedication, to Sir Robert Cecil, of his Third Volume (1600), he speaks of his profession of divinity and the care of his family as having diverted him, for some years past, from the main endeavour of his life. In

1602 he was made prebendary, and in 1603 archdeacon, of Westminster. He was also chaplain of the Savoy; and in 1612 obtained the rectory of Gedney in Lincolnshire. He died, seven months after Shakespeare, on the 23rd of November 1616. He left a fair estate to an unthrifty son, who is said to have squandered it. His unpublished papers fell into the hands of Samuel Purchas, who scattered them about the four volumes of his *Pilgrims*, 'after his irregular and curtailed or contracted manner,' interspersed with remarks 'often silly, and always little to the purpose.' But the inestimable value of his materials has given Purchas a secure place beside his greater predecessor.

His death.

Lesser works.

Besides the *Voyages*, Hakluyt was responsible for the publication of several other works. He translated and published, in 1587, Laudonnière's account of Florida; in the same year he set forth an edition of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr. In 1601 he published *The Discoveries of the World*, a translation of a treatise by Antonio Galvano, the Portuguese governor of Ternate. His last work, *Virginia richly valued by the description of the maine land of Florida her next neighbour*, appeared in 1609; it is translated from a Portuguese account of Soto's expedition to Florida. Moreover Hakluyt took pains for the continuance of the work he had begun, and endeavoured to gather round him a school of younger men. English translations of accepted standard works on Africa, China, and Nova Francia were undertaken and completed at his suggestion and by his encouragement.

The apotheosis of industry.

The quality of Hakluyt which most impressed his contemporaries was his enormous industry. He often speaks of this himself, and confesses that only an ardent love of his country and care for her good name could have induced him to undergo labours so tedious and exhausting. 'I call the work a burden,' he says, 'in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in several hucksters' hands, that I now wonder at myself to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardness of many from whom I was to receive my originals.' And again: 'What restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment and ease I have neglected; albeit thyself canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feel, and some of my entire friends can sufficiently testify.' In process of time, no doubt, his work grew easier, as his purpose became known to a wider circle, and travellers of their own accord brought him material. The raids on the West Indies yielded him, as he confesses, some good literary profit. In 1592, off the Azores, Robert Crosse captured the huge *Madre de Dios*; a Latin treatise on China, written in the year 1590, was found among the spoils, and given to Hakluyt. It was 'enclosed in a case of sweet cedar-wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewel.' But for all his treasure-troves, his labours must have been

Chance finds.

unending. His life is a notable example of how singleness of purpose and dogged persistence, in a man not endowed, so far as we can tell, with any of the more brilliant attributes of genius, lead him, as if inevitably, to high achievement and lasting fame.

The moral of Hakluyt's life.

His main purpose he has himself declared. He belongs to that stalwart race of clerics who, next to the Kingdom of Heaven, love a fight; but fighting is the accident of his book, not the essential. The discovery of the world and the expansion of England are what make his heart beat faster; he is a zealot of the map and of the flag. He knows that he lives in an age of great attempts; the reproach of sluggishness and lack of enterprise, which was fastened on England during the earlier years of discovery, is now clean wiped away, and the English are at home on every sea. 'In this most famous and peerless government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects, through the special assistance and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and, to speak plainly, in compassing the vast globe of the earth more than once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth.' They started without those advantages of science and ancient learning which befriended the Portuguese; the parts of the world that were left for them to discover were more difficult and dangerous than 'the mild, lightsome, temperate, and warm Atlantic Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugals have made so many pleasant, prosperous and golden voyages.' Yet they redeemed their delay, and are become the teachers and pilots of others. The Dutch, says Hakluyt, deserve commendation for their Northern voyages, 'yet with this proviso;

The Expansion of England.

Pupils of England.

that our English nation led them the dance, brake the ice before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch.' Again and again his pride in his country, and admiration for her valorous seamen, make themselves apparent in the warmth and eloquence of his speech.

The founding of Colonies.

But the gain of these last happy years can be made good, he holds, in one way only, by claiming and settling the lands of the New World. It does not fall to Hakluyt to record any successful English attempt at colonisation. None the less, it is this that is the very sea-mark of his utmost sail. The history of his active life begins with the colonising schemes of Gilbert, Sidney and Raleigh; it ends with the colonisation of Virginia achieved at last, and the offer to himself of the living of James Town, which he prudently supplied by a curate. From first to last he preached the benefits of colonising for the furtherance of trade and the honest employment of the people. Statesmen and economists, from Sir Thomas More onwards, had complained of the multitude of loiterers and idle vagabonds in England, thrown out of work by the enclosure of land. Hakluyt adds his testimony, and offers a remedy. 'Our prisons are pestered and filled,' he says, 'with able men to serve their Country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, even twenty at a clap, out of one gaol (as was seen at the last Assizes at Rochester).'

Hakluyt and Virginia.

We should lead these people forth into the temperate and fertile parts of America, 'which, being within six weeks sailing of England, are yet unpossessed of any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto her Majesty's dominions than to any other part of Europe.' And, with a touch of learned rhetoric very unusual in his writing, he invokes the example of the Romans and Carthaginians, and of those 'small, weak, and unreasonable creatures,' the bees, who are led out by their captains to seek themselves a new dwelling-place. He lent a hand in all schemes that might lead to colonisation, and was one of the Company of Merchants to whom Raleigh assigned his Virginian patent in 1588. After the premature death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert the man who more than any other took upon himself the toil, and earned the credit, of establishing England's first colony, was Richard Hakluyt.

His practical wisdom.

There is no touch of the fanatic about him, for all his zeal. His reflections and advice on every subject that he handles are shrewd, cool and practical. He desires, for instance, the evangelisation of the Indies, but he will be no party to hasty methods. 'The means,' he says, 'to send such as shall labour effectually in this business is, by planting one or two colonies of our nation upon that firm,' (*i.e.* mainland) 'where they may remain in safety and first learn the language of the people near adjoining (the gift of tongues being now taken away), and by little and little acquaint themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and mildness distill into their purged minds the sweet and lively liquor of the gospel.' He keeps an open eye for all the material advantages that may attend the possession of a distant colony. Chief of these is 'the advancing of navigation, the very walls of this our Island.' Complaints have long been rife, he says, of the decay of our navy; and the means taken to encourage our people to a sea-faring life have met with very partial success. Queen Elizabeth,

His zeal for navigation.

in 1563, had ordained that Wednesday should be 'a new fish day,' the eating of meat being restrained to the end that fishermen and mariners should find a market for their takings. Yet little benefit to shipping had followed from indirect measures like this. 'At this day,' says Hakluyt, writing in 1584, 'I am assured that there are scarce two ships of two hundred tons belonging to the whole city of Bristol, and very few or none of the like burden along the channel of the Severn, from Gloucester to the Lands End on the one side, and Milford Haven on the other. Now, to remedy this great and unknown want, no enterprise possibly can be devised more fit to increase our great shipping than this Western fortifying and planting. . . . Moreover, in the judgment of those that are expert in sea causes, it will breed more skilful, cunning and stout pilots and mariners than other belonging to this land. *Benefits of long voyages.* For it is the long voyages (so they be not too excessive long, nor through intemperate climates, as those of the Portingales into their West Indies) that harden seamen, and open unto them the secrets of navigation.' Hakluyt, in short, perceived that the supremacy of the sea could hardly be achieved by a nation whose ships were mainly occupied in the coasting trade. He is no less concerned for the welfare of trade. From his cousin of the Middle Temple he had early *Commercial Geography.* learned the value of what is now called commercial geography. In his *Voyages* are printed many papers of minute and careful instruction for factors and merchants visiting foreign countries. The most remarkable of these, *Remembrances for a Factor at Constantinople*, is written by Richard Hakluyt the elder, and contains a reasoned defence of the practical study of beasts and fowls, herbs and trees, their properties and uses. 'If this care had not been heretofore in our ancestors, then had our life been savage now; for then we had not had wheat nor rye, pease nor beans, barley nor oats, pear nor apple, vine, nor many other profitable and pleasant plants; bull nor cow, sheep nor swine, horse nor mare, cock nor hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy, without which our life were to be said barbarous; for these things, and a thousand that we use more, the first inhabitors of this Island found not here.' By way of example the latest importations of strange commodities are cited, including some of those commemorated in the popular rhyme:

> 'Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Pickerels, and Beer,
> Came into England all in one year.'

The *Voyages* record many great deeds; but their editor scorns nothing as trivial, if it is likely to be of service for the material prosperity of England.

The Method of Hakluyt's Book.

This strong practical bent and concrete habit of mind served the Preacher well in the designing and ordering of his book. He is not misled by any encyclopaedic ambitions or by the lust of universality. It is a credit to him, greater than can be readily conceived by our scientific and empiric age, that he sets himself to record individual observations and particular experiences. He had been educated after the fashion of the time, in the vague generalities of the scholastic learning; and he would have none of them. It is the story of the travels of this man and that man, he says, which bring us to a certain and full knowledge of the world; 'not those weary volumes bearing the titles of Universal Cosmography, which some men that I could name have published as their own.' He is careful to ascertain and record the name of the historian of each voyage, as well as the name of the voyager, so that every man may 'answer for himself, justify his reports, and stand accountable for his own doings.' The classification and arrangement of the voyages follow a like practical method. First, as being the oldest, come the voyages to the South and South East; then the North Eastern voyages, the earliest of which were made under our Saxon Kings; and lastly, not without a purposed climax, the voyages to the West and 'the beginnings and proceeding of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia.' The voyages to the South West ('whereof I think the Spaniard hath had some knowledge') were in fact by far the most numerous, but they are given a small relative importance in Hakluyt's scheme. The West Indies have a place in his epic not unlike the place of Carthage in Virgil's poem; they are visited by the founders of the British Empire on the way to a greater destiny.

Arrangement.

Hakluyt as Editor.

To estimate Hakluyt's labours as an editor, it would be necessary to collate his *Voyages* in detail with the printed and manuscript originals, where these are recoverable. A good beginning has been made by the Hakluyt Society; and the complete task, however troublesome, will be no more than a just tribute to those great charges and infinite cares, watchings, toils, travels, and wearying out of his weak body, from which the Preacher long ago found rest. A comparison of some of his *Voyages* with the full originals, printed by the Hakluyt Society, reveals him as a conscientious Editor, wholly free from the vanity of self-assertion. He follows his authorities word for word and takes few liberties with them. He omits nothing that tends to knowledge, though he has a ready pen to excise what tends merely to edification. It was the habit of his age to begin even a nautical diary with a few remarks on the origin of the world, the history of man, and the opinions of Plato. To these excrescences the Preacher gives short shrift. If he was as severe a critic of himself as of other men, his sermons must have been models of terse and pointed exhortation. Master George Best's *Discourse* of the three voyages of Frobisher begins, in the original, with a dissertation on the sundry employments and delights of men. 'Man is born'—so the overture runs—'not only to serve his own turn (as Tully saith); but his kinsfolk, friends, and the commonwealth especially, look for some furtherance at his hands, and some fruits of his labour: whereupon sundry men finding themselves as it were tied by this bond and duty of human society, have willingly endeavoured sundry ways to show themselves profitable members of their commonweal.' All this, and much more, Hakluyt omits, to get on with the practical business of the voyage:—'First, it may be gathered by experience of our Englishmen in Anno 1553,' and so forth. No doubt, by thus stripping off the graces and ornaments of some of his pilgrims, he has diminished the attraction of his book for a student of our older literature; but, on the other hand, he has condensed within the covers of his three folio volumes a far larger amount of valuable practical information than could have been brought within the same compass by a reverent modern editor. It was utility that he valued; more than the thanks of lovers of elegant

His omissions.

Utility his aim.

prose he would have esteemed the profits of the East India Company, which occupied some part of his later thoughts, and which, according to Sir Thomas Smith, were increased by twenty thousand pounds through a careful study of the 'Books of Voyages.'

III.

The Voyages and the Age of Elizabeth.

HERE, then, in this Book of Voyages, set down in matter-of-fact fashion, one after another, with no striving after beauty of form, and no care for dramatic effect, are the records of the deeds that made England great. Over against the plays of Shakespeare and his fellows, as their natural counterpart, must be set the *Voyages* of Hakluyt; he who would understand the Elizabethan age, and what it meant for England, must know them both. 'The word,' says Chaucer, 'should be cousin to the deed.' In a wider sense than he intended, the word always is cousin to the deed; and the lives that men live express themselves inevitably in the books that they write. That marvellous summer time of the imagination, the Elizabethan age, with all its wealth of flowers and fruit, was the gift to England of the sun that bronzed the faces of the voyagers and of the winds that carried them to the four quarters of the world. Historians of literature have been prone to treat the imaginative growth of the Elizabethan age as if it were a problem of skilful gardening, an instance of high success in the mysteries of transplanting, grafting, forcing, and the like. But what nourished the pale slips brought from abroad? They struck their roots deep in a soil rich with the matter of life, and breathed a genial and stimulating air. The dramatists and poets were the children and inheritors of the Voyagers.

The new outlook on the world.

Man's imagination is limited by the horizon of his experience. When he attempts by guess-work to outgo the bounds assigned, his frailty and ignorance stand apparent; he is like a child explaining the world by its doll's house. The irremovable boundaries of knowledge are the same for every age; human sense is feeble, human reason whimsical and vain, human life short and troubled. But every now and then, in the long history of the race, there is a rift in the cloud, or a new prospect gained by climbing. These are the great ages of the world. Creation widens on the view, and the air is alive with a sense of promise and expectancy. Thus it was in the age of Elizabeth. The recovery of the classics opened a long and fair vista backwards; the exploration of the New World seemed to lift the curtain on a glorious future. And the English, the little parochial people, who for centuries had tilled their fields and tended their cattle in their island home, cut off from the great movements of European policy, suddenly found themselves, by virtue of their shipping, competitors for the dominion of the earth. It is no wonder that their hearts distended with pride, and, hardening in their strength, gloried. A new sense of exaltation possessed the country, the exaltation of knowledge and power. The rising tide of national enthusiasm flooded the literature of the people, and surprised the dwellers on many a high and dry inland creek.

Exotic ideals.

Charles Lamb, who loved all that is familiar and ancient and homely, somewhere expresses regret that the plays of Shakespeare and some of his brother dramatists hardly ever choose as their theme the simple daily life of the England of their own time, the affairs of the shop-keepers of Cheapside or of the countrymen of Essex. Had the dramatists been of his mind, we should have had no great English drama, and no Shakespeare. The regret felt by Lamb is only natural; he was a true antiquary, and the touch of antiquity has gilded the bucolics and citizens of Shakespeare's time. Vulgarity and stupidity are amiable enough in dead men. But the question at issue was a live question in the time of Elizabeth. The men of the new school turned impatiently away from the self-satisfied insularity and rustic ineptitude of their forbears, and hastened to become citizens of the world. The infection of foreign literatures and foreign travel changed customs and manners so fast that many sober observers stood aghast at the rapidity of the movement, and the country rang with denunciations of the innovators. In a single generation the change was complete. At the time of Hawkins' earlier voyages *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was a comedy of the newest fashion, and the highest reach of English tragedy was still to be sought in the Miracle-plays; before he died *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Doctor Faustus* had been seen on the boards of the London theatres. Action and imagination went hand in hand. If the voyagers explored new countries and trafficked with strange peoples, the poets and dramatists went abroad too, and rifled foreign nations, returning with far-fetched and dear-bought wares; or explored lonely and untried

The voyagers in strange seas of thought.

recesses of the microcosm of man. One spirit of discovery and exultant power animated both seamen and poets. Shakespeare and Marlowe were, no less than Drake and Cavendish, circumnavigators of the world.

The methods of Poetry.

The influence of the Voyages upon the great literature of the time has been little recognised, because the reflection of contemporary events in thought and imagination is always indirect, difficult to outline, and utterly unlike common expectation. When exact historians complain of a poet that he does not hold up the mirror to his own time, they are often merely complaining that he is not a reporter, a retailer of names and dates, the dupe of notoriety. Shakespeare, it is often said, tells us more of Italy than of England; yet in Shakespeare's plays only the labels are Italian, while every type of English character, from a king to a tinker, is drawn to the life. Othello is a Tudor gentleman. Petruchio, Bassanio, and a dozen others are adventurous Elizabethan gallants. Osric is a courtly gull, Mercutio a courtly wit, Edgar in *Lear* is a noble masquerading as an Abram man, Autolycus is a cony-catcher. All alike are heightened portraits of the men whom Shakespeare had met and talked to at the Court, in the tavern, or by the roadside. It is true that the names of the great men of his own time seldom occur in his plays. A living great man is celebrated chiefly by poetasters; who, for that matter, were not lacking to celebrate Drake and Frobisher and Howard. A poet commonly prefers to work with human material closer at hand, easier to come at, not hedged around by popular favour or on its guard against intimate research. He will select at his own liking from the life around him,

Shakespeare and the England of his time.

build up his own greatness, and borrow a name from ancient history or fable. But whatever is most characteristic and vital in the life and thought of an age will find utterance in its poetry, none the less. The impressions recorded will perhaps have no very obvious connection with the particular facts of history; they will be those rather that strike the eye and fire the imagination of a child. The romance of sea-faring will express itself not in an account of any one notable exploit, with due credit allotted by name to all who took part in it, but in some such vague memory and sentiment as that of the American poet:

The sentiment of the sea.

'I remember the black wharves, and the slips,
And the sea-tides tossing free,
And the Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
And the magic of the sea.'

Poetry speaks only that which it knows, and testifies only that which it has seen. What did the Elizabethan poets know and see of the world of promise revealed by the navigators?

Some direct and commendatory notice there was of the most famous voyagers by name, and many poems, some of them by good poets, were addressed to the adventurers on setting forth. The later books of *Albion's England* (1602), for instance, by William Warner, are much concerned with the achievements recorded by Hakluyt, and tribute is paid in passing to Hakluyt himself. But Warner belongs to that older school of Protestant poets who had their education chiefly from the practice of metrical psalmody. His zeal is great, and he gives high praise to many of the travellers, with a full account, especially, of the North Eastern voyages

Warner on the Voyagers.

and the deeds of Willoughby, Chancelor, Burrough, Jenkinson, Pet, and Jackman. But his style is less inspiring than his subject. Except as an accompaniment to stocking-weaving, there are no good uses to be found for verse of this kind:

'It is no common labour to
  The river Ob to sail,
Howbeit Burrough did therein,
  Not dangerless, prevail.

He through the foresaid frozen seas
  In Lapland did arrive,
And thence, to expedite for Ob,
  His labours did revive.'

Praise of Hakluyt.

The author gives advice which his readers will gladly follow when, after touching briefly on the voyages of Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Frobisher, and the rest, he commends his audience to the Preacher:

'Omitted then, and named men
  And lands (not here, indeed,
So written of as they deserve)
  At large in Hakluit read.'

Chapman's 'De Guiana.'

Perhaps the best of the poems dedicated to single expeditions is George Chapman's *De Guiana carmen Epicum* (1596). It is crabbed, like almost all Chapman's verse, but it embodies the very spirit that sent hundreds of young Englishmen over sea. The dream of gold is dreamed again in the description of Raleigh's purposed colony:

'Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
Stands on her tip-toes at fair England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mighty breast,
And every sign of all submission making
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred maid.'

The faith of the Voyagers.

The theme of the poem, however, is not gold, nor the expected miracle of Virtue rich; it is Patriotism, Honour, and the Faith that will risk all for these:

'But you patrician spirits that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
On brave endeavours, knowing that in them
The tract of heaven in morn-like glory opens;
That know you cannot be the kings of earth,
Claiming the rights of your creation,
And let the mines of earth be kings of you;
That are so far from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest y'are most confident:
You that know death lives where power lives unused,
Joying to shine in waves that bury you,
And so make way for life even through your graves,
That will not be content with horse to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affairs; . . .
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the stars,
That live not for yourselves, but to possess
Your honour'd country of a general store; . . .
You that are blest with sense of all things noble,
In this attempt your complete worths redouble.'

The new golden world.

The poem closes with a picture of the blissful community that is to live on the banks of the Orinoco, and of the new golden world, where peace and plenty reign; where learning is cherished and valour needs no weapons; where the old debate between rich and poor is closed for ever:

'Where healthful recreations strow their meads,
And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churlish avarice.'

Visions like these became familiar to the imagination of poets when every year was enlarging hope and extending knowledge:

'Discovering daily more and more about,
In that immense and boundless ocean
Of Nature's riches, never yet found out,
Nor fore-clos'd with the wit of any man.'

The new-born faith of the English in their national speech took heart of grace from the discoveries of the voyagers. Samuel Daniel, whose poem *Musophilus* (1601) is a long passionate hymn in praise of the new ideals, has expressed in a single couplet the two-fold aspiration of the age:

The Elizabethan ideal.

'What good is like to this,
To do worthy the writing, and to write
Worthy the reading, and the world's delight?'

The re-discovered glories of the ancients had for a time cast a damp upon national ambition. It seemed a paltry vanity in a writer of English to hope to win literary immortality for a speech shut up within the limits of a single island, and cut off from close commerce with the countries which inherited the traditions of Greece and Rome. By way of answer to this doubt Daniel points prophetically to the New World. The Ancients civilised their world; another world has been given to the Moderns to civilise; the native gifts of Southern eloquence and poetry may hereafter be 'bettered by the patience of the North,' and may achieve a yet greater fame:

The English tongue.

'And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
To enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in th' yet unformèd Occident
May come refin'd with the accents that are ours?

Or who can tell for what great work in hand
The greatness of our style is now ordained?

> What powers it shall bring in, what spirits command?
> What thoughts let out, what humours keep restrained?
> What mischief it may powerfully withstand,
> And what fair ends may thereby be attained?'

The poets as Empire-builders.

Before the first acre of land beyond the seas had been effectively added to the dominion of England, the poets had foretold the British Empire. The expansion of England was, in the main, the work of the Eighteenth Century; but the soldiers and statesmen who planted the Empire in India and Canada and the American Colonies, were the successors and pupils of Hakluyt's heroes; it was theirs to build the fabric that had been designed and to fulfil the prophecies that had been uttered in the great age of imagination.

Influence of the Voyages on thought.

The chief influence of the Voyages on the English imagination is not to be looked for in special tributes or even in exalted prophecies like these. The new ferment wrought in a deep and hidden fashion on the temper and habits of the mind. All preconceived notions and beliefs concerning cosmography, history, politics and society were made ridiculous by the new discoveries.

The widened horizon.

The world had been opened up by the fanatical self-confidence of visionaries, and had proved to be wilder than their wildest fancies. New kingdoms were to be had for the taking. Powers and virtues unknown to the peoples of the Old World had perhaps been preserved through the ages in remote and fortunate islands. All things became possible; credulity was wiser than experience; and the wonders reported were reckoned merely the first-fruits of greater things to come. The society of the Old World meanwhile was rent in twain by the schism in the Christian Church. Great monarchies were tottering to their fall. The signs and portents of the times pointed to the beginning of a new age, when the riches and power of the world should be the prize of bold adventurers, and courage the only passport to success.

Spenser's argument.

The argument from the Voyages is set forth explicitly by Spenser in a well-known passage of the *Faerie Queene.* His fairy world, he says, has been condemned by some as the forgery of an idle brain.

> 'But let that man with better sense advize,
> That of the world least part to us is red;
> And daily how through hardy enterprise
> Many great Regions are discoverèd,
> Which to late age were never mentionèd.
> Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru?
> Or who in venturous vessel measurèd
> The Amazon huge river, now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever vew?
>
> Yet all these were, when no man did them know,
> Yet have from wisest ages hidden been;
> And later times thinges more unknowne shall show.
> Why then should witless man so much misweene
> That nothing is but that which he hath seene?
> What if within the Moones fayre shining sphere,
> What if in every other starre unseene
> Of other worldes he happily should heare,
> He wonder would much more; yet such to some appeare.'

Hakluyt's argument.

t is not without significance that Hakluyt himself makes use of exactly the same argument. 'If any man shall object,' he says, speaking of the Friars, 'that they have certain incredible relations, I answer, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seem incredible.' And again, in praise of his own age:—'Which of the kings of this land before her Majesty had their banners ever seen in the Caspian sea? Which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and attained for her merchants large and loving privileges? Who ever saw, before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? Who ever found English consuls and agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and, which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now? What English ships did heretofore ever anchor in the mighty river of Plate?'—and so on, passing in review the unprecedented achievements of the apostles of navigation. Both Spenser and Hakluyt are right in making much of these things. The boast of the Stoic is empty, that the mind is its own place. The mind lives by its takings, and a fresh experience feathers the wings of the human spirit, and lends them scope and power.

The spirit of adventure: Tom Stukeley.

The fantastic adventure of the age and its intimate connection with grave historical events may be well seen in the career of the notorious Tom Stukeley. He was a man of small account, says Camden, 'a ruffian, a riotous spend-thrift, and a notable vapourer,' who had been disappointed in his hope of obtaining a small official post in Ireland. He offered his services to the Pope, promising to drive the English troops out of Ireland, and to fire the English fleet. To this end he was put in command of some eight hundred Italian soldiers levied at the charges of Spain. He set sail from Civita Vecchia and arrived at Lisbon, where he was to be joined by Sebastian, King of Portugal. Sebastian induced him, by way of preface to the Irish campaign, to lend his force against the Mahomedan powers of Northern Africa; and in 1578, at the battle of Alcazar, where Sebastian and two Moorish kings fell, Stukeley also was slain. By the death of the King of Portugal without a son the way was opened for the Spanish claim, and the attention of King Philip was for years diverted from his intended invasion of England. Stukeley's romantic career was subsequently dramatised for the London public in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*.

The New World and Romantic literature.

A career like this serves to show how the life of the age acted on its literature. The differences between the Romantic drama of England and the Classic drama of France can never be understood while the question is treated only as a conflict between two literary schools. It is true that France, by position, history, and training, was from the first more under the influence of classic literature and ancient theory than ever England had been. But in England, too, when the drama began its course, the partisans of the classical doctrine were first in the field, and made the bravest start. Then the new interests arose, and overwhelmed them. The echoes of ancient wisdom and shadows of ancient beauty which held the attention of France were drowned and scattered in England by loud voices and fierce lights. Extravagant deeds filled the popular imagination, and could not, by any legerdemain of pedantry, be brought within the prescribed critical compass. If the dramatists refused allegiance to the rules, they were merely following the lead of the adventurers. The fatalism of Greek Tragedy, where the end is known before the beginning, could give no real pleasure to a people intoxicated with the delights of surprise, and intolerant of all limitation. In a world where anything may happen, the fairy-story or the romance of adventure is the safest literary model.

Marlowe and the Voyagers.

The best exemplar of the new style is Marlowe, whose *Tamburlaine* set the fashion followed by Greene and Peele and many others. Without the Voyagers Marlowe is inconceivable. His imagination is wholly pre-occupied with the new marvels of the world and his heart possessed by the new-found lust of power. The tasks that Doctor Faustus assigns to his serviceable spirits might have been studied from the reports of travellers :

> 'I'll have them fly to India for gold,
> Ransack the Ocean for orient pearl,
> And search all corners of the new-found world
> For pleasant fruits and princely delicates ; . . .
> I'll levy soldiers with the coin they bring,
> And chase the Prince of Parma from our land
> And reign sole King of all our Provinces.'

Tamburlaine.

Gold again is the theme of the *Jew of Malta*, and conquest and kingship the inspiration of *Tamburlaine*. The Scythian conqueror, like Shakespeare's Italian gentlemen, is at heart an Englishman. When he tries to tempt the Persian general into his service, his persuasions savour of the nautical pride of the English :

> 'Both we will walk upon the lofty cliffs
> And Christian merchants that with Russian sterns
> Plough up huge furrows in the Caspian Sea
> Shall vail to us, as lords of all the lake.'

Historical parallels.

In 1567 Hawkins fired on a friendly Spanish squadron in Plymouth Sound, to compel the Admiral to lower his flag, and in 1570 Lord Charles Howard of Effingham exacted a like tribute in the open Channel from a Spanish fleet of a hundred and thirty sail which was conveying King Philip's bride-elect from Holland to Spain. Even the name of the Caspian was reminiscent of English adventure. 'Our nation,' says Hakluyt, writing in 1598, 'have adventured their persons, ships and goods, homewards and outwards, fourteen times over the unknown and dangerous Caspian Sea.' It is the dominion of the sea, as well as of the land, that Marlowe's Tamburlaine covets, and his eloquence reaches its highest when the sea is his theme. The defeat of Bajazeth, Emperor of the Turks, is a means to an end; the Persian fleet, already in Tamburlaine's control, shall circumnavigate the earth, and join forces with the Turkish Mediterranean squadron of men-of-war and buccaneers. Marlowe was an early friend of Raleigh's, and it is difficult not to read a political meaning into these sounding lines, written just after Drake's expedition of 1585, at a time when Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, had taken refuge at the English Court, and was being used by Raleigh as a counter in the great political game:

The dominion of the sea.

'So from the East unto the furthest West
Shall Tamburlaine extend his puissant arm.
The galleys and those pilling brigandines
That yearly sail to the Venetian Gulf
And hover in the Straits for Christians' wrecks,
Shall lie at anchor in the isle Asant,
Until the Persian fleet and men-of-war,
Sailing along the oriental sea,
Have fetched about the Indian Continent,
Even from Persepolis to Mexico,
And thence unto the Straits of Jubaltèr;
Where they shall meet and join their force in one
Keeping in awe the Bay of Portingale,
And all the ocean by the British shore;
And by this means I'll win the world at last.'

Tamburlaine's naval policy.

As a naval plan of campaign this belongs to the school of Raleigh, who complained that the Queen did things by halves. The immense popular success of *Tamburlaine*, which changed the fortunes of the English drama,

Topical success of 'Tamburlaine.'

was due not solely to the resonance and splendour of the verse or the magic of the strange names. The audience listened to it in a temper quite unlike the temper that Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* begets in the modern reader. This drama of the world at stake was to them a representation of real affairs, and the high speeches of Tamburlaine voiced for them the defiance and the pride of England.

The romance of discovery.

How entirely Marlowe's imagination had been captured by the discoveries and exploits of the navigators is clearly shown in Tamburlaine's dying speech, which expresses all the romance of geography and all the ambition of empire. The Conqueror feels his vital powers failing, and, with his sons by his side, calls for a map of the world:

'Give me a map; then let me see how much
Is left for me to conquer all the world,
That these, my boys, may finish all my wants.'

The map is brought, and he traces on it his victorious progress through Asia and Africa, 'backwards and forwards near five thousand leagues.' The Suez Canal is one of his unfulfilled schemes:

'Here, not far from Alexandria,
Whereas the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,
Being distant less than full a hundred leagues,
I meant to cut a channel to them both
That men might quickly sail to India.'

The dream of Empire.

Then, for a legacy to his sons, he points to that part of the world, better than all the rest, which remains to conquer:

'Look here, my boys; see what a world of ground
Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line,
Unto the rising of this earthly globe;
Whereas the sun, declining from our sight,

> Begins the day with our Antipodes!
> And shall I die, and this unconquerèd?
> Lo, here, my sons, are all the golden mines,
> Inestimable drugs and precious stones,
> More worth than Asia and all the world beside;
> And from the Antarctic Pole eastward behold
> As much more land, which never was descried,
> Wherein are rocks of pearl that shine as bright
> As all the lamps that beautify the sky!
> And shall I die, and this unconquerèd?
> Here, lovely boys; what death forbids my life,
> That let your lives command in spite of death.'

Serious import of 'Tamburlaine.'

Since the days of Ben Jonson it has been too much the habit of critics to cast ridicule or contempt upon 'the Tamerlanes and Tamer-Chams of the late age, which had nothing in them but scenical strutting and furious vociferation to warrant them to the ignorant gaper.' This last speech of Tamburlaine's, like some others that are given to him, is high and serious; Hakluyt, who knew the fascination of the map, and Gilbert, who gave his life in the cause of empire, might say Amen to it.

The Elizabethan temper.

The sense of liberty and power, and of belief in the capacity and destiny of man, which was quickened by the new discoveries, distinguishes the literature of the Elizabethan age from the great backward-looking periods of romance. It is a literature of youth and hope, with none of the subtle and poignant flavours that are to be tasted in a literature of regret and memory. If Marlowe may in some regards be fitly compared with Shelley, there is no counterpart in Elizabethan literature to the melancholy of Keats. Many old stories, it is true, were borrowed; mediaeval and classical fables were ransacked for themes. But Spenser's chivalry is a convention, and no true revival; he portrays his own age, and his own contemporaries, as they appeared to him; he too is concerned chiefly with the future. Plays like Dekker's *Olde Fortunatus* show the temper that animates Marlowe; the sober moral is almost forgotten in a maze of delightful wonders. But it would be wrong to regard a great literature as nothing more than the home and haunt of a thing so evanescent as the spirit of the age. Poetic imagination sits aloof, and studies enduring themes. Thomas Lodge wrote his gentle pastoral romance of *Rosalynd* on a voyage of discovery and pillage; George Sandys, being arrived off the coast of Virginia with the colonising expedition that succeeded at last, devoted his spare hours to the translation of Ovid. The New World did not obliterate the Old, and the new discoveries did not monopolise the thought of a century.

The unchanging themes of poetry.

In the case, therefore, of the greatest poet of all, Shakespeare, it is enough if it can be shown that his imagination was alive to this new world of speculation and opportunity. A poet's predilections are often more truly seen in his illustrations and digressions than in his choice of subject. Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, in his long, dreary *History of the World* is kept far away from almost all that had engaged his active life. But when he is moved to passion, his mind reverts to the sea. The greatest passages of his book deal with death and mutability, and continually illustrate human life from the experience of voyagers. 'When we once come in sight of the port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when by letting fall that fatal anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our health and felicity) return again,

Raleigh's metaphors.

and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past.' And again: 'For myself, if I have in anything served my country, and prized it before my private; the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time than doth a fair sunshine day to a seaman after shipwrack, and the contrary no other harm than an outragious tempest after the port attained.' Images like these, rising to the memory when the thought is most spontaneous and sincere, speak to the habitual workings of the mind, and are more convincing than the most elaborate descriptive sea-piece.

His habitual thoughts.

Though he was inland bred, it is certain that Shakespeare knew and loved the sea. The handling of the ship in the *Tempest*, and the talk of the sailors in the storm-scene of *Pericles* have excited the admiration of experienced judges. The single grave charge brought against his competence as a navigator is based on the two allusions in the *Tempest* to the 'glasses' formerly used as a measure of time at sea, and now superseded by bells. From a comparison of these two passages it seems that Shakespeare believed that the glasses measured hours, whereas they measured half-hours.[1] He could not

Shakespeare and the sea.

His single error.

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[1] The passages are: Act I. Sc. ii. l. 240, where, just after the wreck, Prospero asks the time;

Ariel. 'Past the mid season.'
Prospero. 'At least two glasses. The time 'twixt six and now
Must by us both be spent most preciously,'

and Act V. l. 223, at the close of the play, where the Boatswain reports:

'Our ship,
Which but three glasses since we gave out split,
Is tight, and yare, and bravely rigged, as when
We first put out to sea.'

There is a similar error in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act II. Sc. i.

have made this mistake if he had been moderately conversant with life at sea. His habitual carelessness, it is true, may be invoked to save his reputation as a seaman. But many other passages of his writing testify rather to a love of the sea than to a love of navigation. Venus, when Adonis breaks away from her, is compared to

'One on shore
Gazing upon a late-embarked friend,
Till the wild waves will have him seen no more,
Whose ridges with the meeting clouds contend:
So did the merciless and pitchy night
Fold in the object that did feed her sight.'

And his most famous descriptions, like that which occurs in King Henry IV's lament over the unattainable sleep, exhibit a marvellous power of poetic imagination and diction at work upon the material of common knowledge.

His sailors.

The seamen, whom he sketches unerringly, were to be met on shore. A real sailor's chanty, unlike any other song in the Plays, is given to Stephano in the *Tempest*:

'The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Loved Moll, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us cared for Kate.'

This little lyric, with its 'scurvy tune,' suggests life ashore, in the taverns of Deptford and Wapping. There is more technical knowledge of the sea than might have been expected in Shakespeare's plays, but no exact inference can be drawn from it.

Allusions to the sea.

The extent to which the sea and sea-faring dominated the imagination of Shakespeare may be better judged in more indirect fashion, from his figures and allusions. It is not merely that in at least a dozen of his plays there are sea-faring characters, or voyages, or scenes laid on the sea-coast. There is none of his contemporaries whose works are so full of the sentiment of the sea. To take one play out of many that would serve equally well, in *Othello* the scene is laid at Venice and Cyprus, so that nautical affairs bulk largely in it. But this is not enough to explain the frequency and the magnificence of Shakespeare's allusions. The height of joy and of tragic passion constantly find their most adequate expression in the language of the sea. So in the meeting of Othello with Desdemona at Cyprus:

'Othello.'

> 'O my soul's joy!
> If after every tempest come such calms,
> May the winds blow till they have waken'd death;
> And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas,
> Olympus-high, and duck again as low
> As hell's from heaven! If it were now to die,
> 'Twere now to be most happy.'

So, again, in Othello's reply to Iago's counsels of patience:

> 'Never, Iago. Like to the Pontic sea
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont;
> Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
> Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,
> Till that a capable and wide revenge
> Swallow them up.'

So, again, in Ludovico's last apostrophe to Iago:

> 'O Spartan dog
> More fell than anguish, hunger, or the sea.'

In the greatness of Othello's passion there is the lift and the wash of the sea; in the inhuman treachery of Iago there is its cruelty and its mystery.

Borrowed names.

There is evidence enough, in well-known passages, of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the discoveries of the voyagers. The name *Caliban* is almost certainly a distortion of Cannibal, and *Setebos* is a divinity of the Patagonians, described by Master Francis Fletcher, in his account of Drake's great voyage, as 'Settaboth, that is, the Divell, whom they name their great god.' But it was the reports brought home by the Virginian adventurers that set Shakespeare's imagination to work. *Virginia.* The colony was planted in 1609; and the first Governor, Lord Delaware, was diligent in building towns and forts, and in bringing the Indians under control. Sir George Somers, deputy-Governor, was shipwrecked on the Bermudas, which were in ill repute as the haunt of wicked spirits and foul weather, but were found by the castaways to be temperate, fruitful, and pleasant. The tale of these adventures, brought by word of mouth, or published in *The Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels* (1610),—a tract by Sylvester Jourdain, one of Sir George Somers' company,—gave the finest and subtlest wit in the world a theme for a play. *The 'Tempest.'* The *Tempest* is a fantasy of the New World. It is too full of the ether of poetry, and too many-sided to be called a satire, yet Shakespeare, almost alone, saw the problem of American settlement in a detached light; and a spirit of humorous criticism runs riot in the lighter scenes. The drunken butler, accepting the worship and allegiance of Caliban, and swearing him in by making him kiss the bottle, is a fair representative of the idle and dissolute men who were shipped to the Virginian colony. *Miranda.* The situation of Miranda was perhaps suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, grand-daughter of Captain John White, the first child born in America of English parents. She was born in 1587 and christened along with Manteo, one of the Indians who had visited England with Captains Amadas and Barlow. That same year she was abandoned, along with the other colonists. In 1607, when the settlement was next renewed, it was reported that there were still seven of the English alive among the Indians, 'four men, two boys, and one maid.' The strange girlhood of this one maid, if she were Virginia Dare, may well have set Shakespeare's fancy working. And the portrait of Caliban, with his affectionate loyalty to the drunkard, his adoration of valour, his love of natural beauty and feeling for music and poetry, his hatred and superstitious fear of his task-master, and the simple cunning and savagery of his attempts at revenge and escape—all this is a composition wrought from fragments of travellers' tales, and shows a wonderfully accurate and sympathetic understanding of uncivilised man.

Caliban.

The Golden Age.

These travellers' tales gave a new import to the old fables of Arcadia and the Golden Age. The poetic idea of the original simplicity and virtue of man seemed to be confirmed by the warrant of sober fact, and steadily gained in acceptance, until, in the Eighteenth Century, it overturned the institutions and disturbed the peace of Europe. Montaigne, in his essay *Of Cannibals*, expresses the view of a philosophic observer. 'I find,' he says, speaking of the Indians, 'that there is nothing barbarous and savage in this nation, by anything that I can gather, excepting that everyone gives the title of barbarism to everything that is not in use in his own country. . . . They are savages at the same rate that we say fruits are wild, which nature produces of herself and by her own ordinary progress; whereas in truth we ought rather to call those wild, whose natures we have changed by our artifice, and diverted from the common order. . . . I am sorry that Lycurgus and Plato had no knowledge of them: for to my apprehension, what we now see in those nations does not only surpass all the pictures with which the poets have adorned the Golden Age, and all their inventions in feigning a happy state of man, but, moreover, the fancy and even the wish and desire of philosophy itself; so native and so pure a simplicity, as we by experience see to be in them, could never enter into the poets' imagination, nor could they ever believe that human society could have been maintained with so little artifice and human patchwork.' Then follows the famous passage which Shakespeare borrowed for Gonzalo's description of his perfect commonwealth, in the *Tempest*. 'I should tell Plato,' says Montaigne, 'that it is a nation wherein there is no manner of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no name of magistrate or political superiority; no use of service, riches or poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no properties; no employments but those of leisure; no respect of kindred, but common; no clothing, no agriculture, no metal, no use of coin or wine; the very words that signify lying, treachery, dissimulation, avarice, envy, detraction, pardon, never heard of. How much would he find his imaginary Republic short of this perfection?'

Montaigne on Cannibals.

The perfect Commonwealth.

The humours of this ideal as a practical theory of colonisation tickled Shakespeare's fancy; the combination of the virtues of the Golden Age with that extension of trade and of sovereignty which was aimed at by the

Shakespeare and the Golden Age.

explorers made a delightful paradox; and he interrupts Gonzalo's speech with a running fire of scornful comment from the two men of sin. Yet he, too, came under the spell of the Golden Age, and, for all we know, would have been willing to say with Montaigne, 'I am sometimes troubled that we were not sooner acquainted with these people, and that they were not discovered in those better times when there were men much more able to judge of them than we are.' He had always coveted a retreat from the struggles and clamour of the Court and city; but the retreats pictured in his later plays have a primitive simplicity which is lacking in the pleasure-gardens of the King of Navarre and the masquerading of the forest of Arden. Perdita, who, like Miranda, is prompted in all her words and actions by a plain and holy innocence, is something of a devotee of Nature. She will have no flowers in her garden, not the fairest of the season, if Art has had a share in their production; and she is deaf to the reproofs of experience. The religion in which Belarius, the upright banished courtier in *Cymbeline*, educates his adopted sons is a pure religion of naturalism; their brief ritual is performed as they come out from the cave where they house:

The religion of nature.

Belarius. 'Stoop, boys: this gate
Instructs you how to adore the heavens, and bows you
To Morning's holy office: the gates of monarchs
Are arch'd so high, that giants may jet through
And keep their impious turbans on, without
Good morrow to the Sun. Hail, thou fair Heaven!
We house i' the rock, yet use thee not so hardly
As prouder livers do.'
Guiderius. 'Hail, Heaven!'
Arviragus. 'Hail, Heaven!'
Belarius. 'Now for our mountain sport.'

In these rocks Belarius has lived, he says, for twenty years, and during that time has paid more pious debts to heaven than in all the fore-end of his life. A kind of weariness of institutions pervades Shakespeare's later plays; and it is easy to believe that the fascinating tales told by the voyagers quickened his longing for a simpler society, and contributed something to his magical descriptions of innocence and kindliness, whether in the wizard's cell on the island, or on the shepherd's lawn in Bohemia, or in the cave among the mountains of Wales.

Influence of the Voyages on the national imagination.

There is no catching Shakespeare in the act of theft; his creative power transforms and inspires all that it touches, and brings it obedient to his own thought. It is certain that he was a poet; and there certainty ends. But whether it count for much or little in the history of his thought, the great fact of the Voyages can never be neglected, nor its influence on the national imagination denied. In this partial and naked record, preserved for us by Hakluyt, are inscribed the deeds which for half a century excited wild emotions, kindled emulation in the young, provided strange food for the intellect, and gave strength and purpose to the activities of a nation. What this scholar or that learned we can only guess; but here was the school of the people. It was a great training-ground, and gave noble exercise to those qualities of strenuousness, high carelessness, and almost braggart magnanimity which are the distinguishing mark of the Elizabethans. In those days the prudential virtues hid their heads, to wait for a less stormy season, when coasting voyages for profit should come into fashion again. The poets and men of action vied with each other in the effort to outshine deeds with words, and

The School of the people.

to impoverish words with deeds. Both were fantastic and extravagant, but the morbid literary extravagance which refuses the test of action, and claims to be judged as a thing apart, in a filigree world of its own creation, belongs to ages less full-blooded and vigorous and sane.

The Age of Elizabeth and the Age of Revived Romance.

This great background and seminary of action gave its colour and character to the literature of the Elizabethan age. The later and lesser outburst of Romantic poetry at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century had origins curiously different. As the Voyagers were the begetters of the Elizabethan age, so were the Encyclopaedists of the age of revived Romance. The later movement had its impulse and inspiration from the long labours of critical thought and the hopes of awakening science. The poetry of the Nineteenth Century, unlike the poetry of the Elizabethans, began in reaction and protest. For three generations and more before William Blake struck the note that was to dominate Romantic poetry, the disciples of positive knowledge had been busy at their work of questioning, examining, undermining, condemning, without hesitation or remorse; and the poets of the new age were the rebellious children of the destroyer. Some of them, taking advantage of the conquests of critical knowledge in the domain of history, flung themselves back into the Middle Ages, and attempted to live as pensioners on the faith of a bygone time. Others, fired by the hope of a new happiness to be achieved by experimental science and philanthropy, lived in their dreams of the future, built cloud-castles of wonderful tenuity and beauty, and peopled bubble-worlds with phantoms of men. Almost all the poetry of the age is 'sicklied o'er

The poetry of reaction and escape.

with the pale cast of thought.' Those of the poets who, like Keats, celebrate the joys of the moment, for the most part regard these joys as a palliation only, a brief respite and escape from the prevailing melancholy. They glut their sorrows 'on a morning rose, or on the rainbow of the salt sand-wave.' It is the distinction of Wordsworth that he alone among the greater poets did not renounce or blaspheme the age and the world, but found in it room enough for hope and faith and lasting joy. But the poetry of the age, taken as a whole, is disaffected—out of sympathy with the main motives that stir men to action, and liable to all the diseases generated by abstract thought. The worst of these, which attack only weak constitutions, producing kinks in the brain, and making men the fevered and querulous slaves of ideas they are not strong enough to master, may be discovered in not a few of the later followers and adherents of the Romantic movement. It was the misfortune of the age that, struggling in the meshes of thought, it found no sufficient opportunity for clear, united, whole-hearted, and decisive action. Some of its poets were ardent students of Godwin's *Political Justice*, a book alert and blind, full of vaporous casuistry, giving ample exercise to the logical faculty, and absolutely ignoring those passions, desires and powers, which are the breath of human life. The Elizabethan poets were happier in their teachers—they had Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

Diseases of thought.

Godwin and Hakluyt.

When all is said, the chief influence of Hakluyt and his noble company must not be looked for in literature. Literature is only one expression of the imaginative life of a people, and not the most important. It is true that poetry can never be divided from action

The value of deeds.

without paying heavy penalties. Only by keeping firm hold of that guarantee of sincerity which is supplied by the deed done can it steer clear of the slippery pitfall of rhetoric. But action is not dependent on poetry; and the inarticulate generations who inherited and carried on the work celebrated in the Book of Voyages played for higher stakes than praise. It was almost an accident that the book was made; the dynasty of Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher would have established its reign had it never found a chronicler. In 1736 proposals were issued for a reprint of Hakluyt, but support was lacking, and the scheme fell through. A single later reprint, numbering three hundred and twenty five copies, satisfied the demand of near three hundred years. It is the high reward of great deeds that they can afford to be forgotten. Fame is a luxury, if not a vanity. By secret and unconscious methods of initiation, by that unwritten tradition which descends from father to son, by the law of nature which gives currency to inherent value no matter whose the superscription, the ideas and aims of the great Elizabethan seamen have become the creed of the British Empire. Yet Hakluyt's book, though it has little to do with the history of letters, gives, to those who care to read, a rare opportunity of insight into the hidden processes of the making of a nation. When it was first published all that had been imagined and attempted, at the cost of so many years of effort and so many men's lives, was yet to do. No thoroughfare had been discovered by the North East or the North West. No English community had been established oversea. No gold-mine was in the possession of England. The

Reprints of Hakluyt's book.

A record of failure.

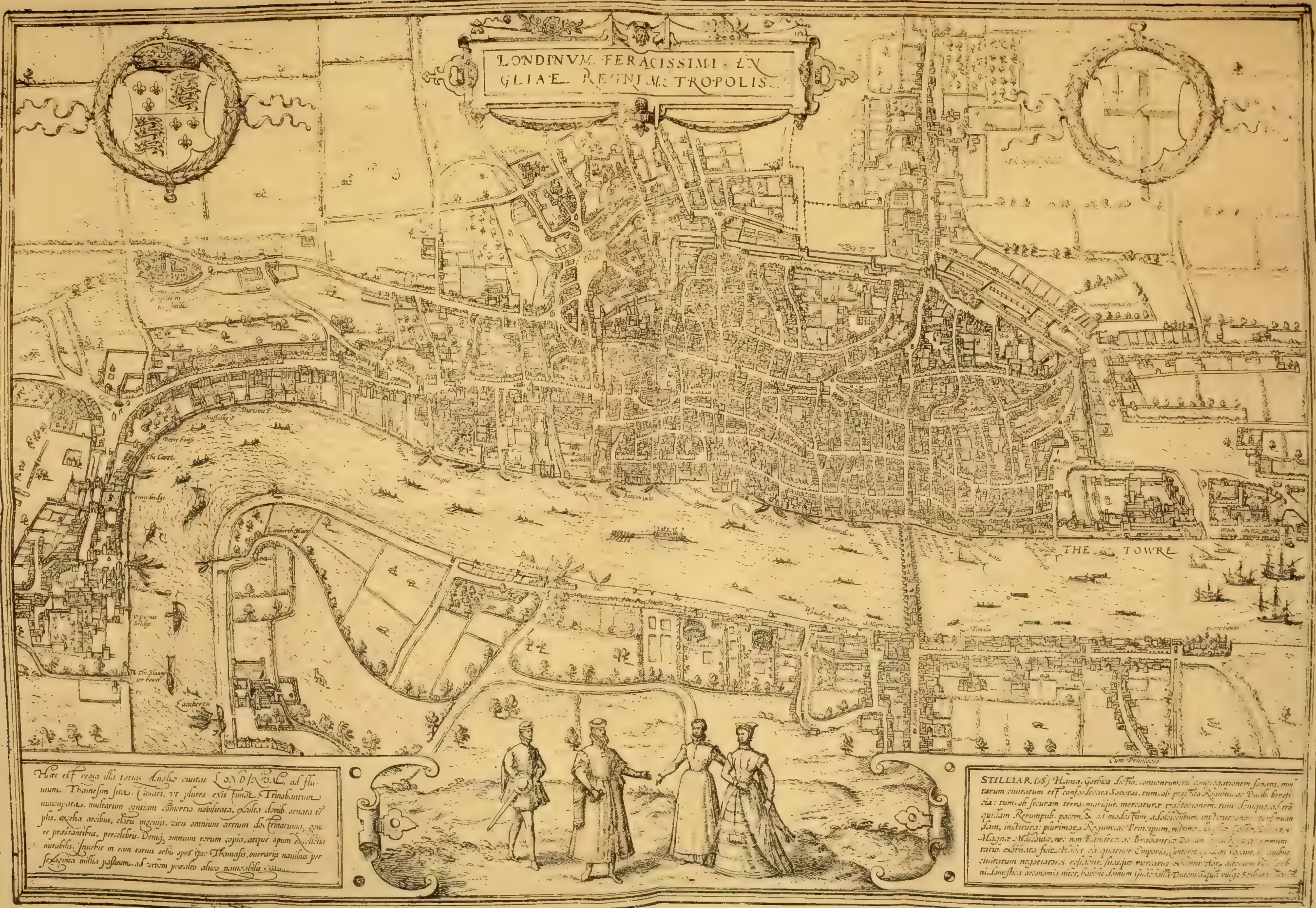
Spanish power was stronger on the seas than it had been before the Armada. So far the record is one of failure. But on the other side of the account there is an item which cannot be neglected. It is to be found in those long and dull lists of unknown names, of merchant promoters, gentlemen adventurers, intending colonists, and ship's companies, which give so business-like an air to Hakluyt's pages. It may be true, as someone has said, that these detailed summaries 'leave as little impression of excitement or emulation upon our minds as so many almanacks.' But they held in them the promise of Empire. The ideas of colonial expansion and of the command of the sea had captured the nation; the seeds had been scattered, and were germinating in tens of thousands of minds. From the sea England had been peopled by successive waves of conquest or immigration; to the sea, after a long interval, she gave back a race who had learned that there and there alone could her safety be secured and her name upheld. As a people—to borrow a phrase from the poetry of common speech—we follow the sea; it will be an ill day for us when the tides that wash the world run their ancient courses, and we may not follow.

The warrant of success.

The island and the sea.

WALTER RALEIGH.

September, 1904.



Hæc est regia illa totius Angliæ ciuitas LONDINVM, ad fluuium Thamesim sita, Cæsari, vt plures existimat, Trinobantum nuncupata, multarum gentium cõmercio nobilitata, exculta domib. ornata templis, excelsa arcibus, claris ingenijs, viris omnium artium doctrinarumq; genere præstantibus, percelebris. Denij, omnium rerum copia, atque opum excellentia mirabilis. Inuehit in eam totius orbis opes ipse Thamesis, onerarijs nauibus per sexaginta millia passuum, ad vrbem prealto alueo nauigabilis.

STILLIARDS) Hansa, Gothica dictio, conuentum vel congregationem sonans, multarum ciuitatum est confœderata Societas, tum ob præstita Regibus ac Ducib. beneficia: tum ob securam terra mariq; mercaturæ tractationem, tum denique ad certã quandam Rerumpub. pacem, & ad modestiam adolescentum instructionem conseruandam, instituta: plurimorum Regum ac Principum, maxime [illegible] Magnæ Moscouiæ, nec non Flandriæ ac Brabantiæ Du[illegible] communita, exornata fuit. Habet ea quatuor Emporia, Contores [illegible] vocant, [illegible] ciuitatum negotiatores resident, suisque vtuntur [illegible] Horum [illegible] Londini, domestica œconomia mire, habens domum Guild Halla Teutonicorũ quã vulgo Stilliard [illegible]

PLAN OF LONDON, CIRCA 1573

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